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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XIV.

JULY—DECEMBER 1850.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Scinde Blue Book.*
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WE purpose in the present article to present to our readers a brief review of the working of the administration in Scinde, subsequent to the annexation of that Province; not contenting ourselves with a bare recital of rules and regulations promulgated for the guidance of those entrusted with the management of its affairs, but enquiring, as far as our materials and limits will permit, into the extent to which those rules and regulations were carried out, and their effects upon the classes of subjects affected by them. In the prosecution of this design, we shall avoid the theoretical, and adhere to the practical working of the system. In all uncontrolled Governments, that is to say, where the Governor or Administrator acts alone and unaided, there is a natural tendency to confound the scheme as devised with its practical fulfilment. The former is given to the world, which showers down its laudations on the skilful administrator; the latter is given to the people, who too often receive it with a passive sullenness, mistaken for grateful acquiescence. Open remonstrance on their part is the work of time. This is the case even in single departments: how much greater then must be the chances of its existence, when the whole administration is in the hands of one man, who, from the multifarious nature of his duties, cannot possibly do more than lay down the general plan, leaving its details to be filled in by subordinate instruments, who thus themselves acquire a larger share of independence than is judicious. Under such circumstances, the head of the Government can but rarely acquire a faithful knowledge of the working of his system. There are few men to be found, who will voluntarily come forward with timely warning against measures eagerly upheld by a superior, though they see them to be practically pernicious. Some are callous, or with blind devotion play the game of "follow my leader:" others, foreseeing the results, either deem it beyond their province to utter a remonstrance, or care not to enter on what (experience teaches them) will probably be a futile waste of labor; for, when the warning voice is raised,

means are readily forthcoming to drown it by arguments of plausibility, or, those failing, by the more irresistible voice of dictatorial authority. So general has now become this powerful mode of retort, that a silent acquiescence in ill-conceived and worse-matured measures is dignified by the name of prudence : and thus, under the garb of that virtue, stalk forth pusillanimity, cringing, adulation, and inconsistency. But fortunately the public at large does not rest satisfied with the manifesto of this or that Governor, and requires something more than the mere perusal of a judicious code drawn up in the closet, whereby to judge of the merits of an administration. It is not that the public doubts a man, when he asserts that he has introduced such a measure, or carried out such a reform : but it knows the frailty of human nature, and the strong inclination of men placed in situations of uncontrolled power, and accustomed to look upon their will as law, to think that the expression of that will is tantamount to the execution of its decrees. All theories require the support of facts to give them value. It must be certified how and to what extent they were acted upon ; and, if carried out, whether the benefits anticipated were realized or not. A code, or a manifesto, may "*primâ facie*" demonstrate a man's general abilities and knowledge of the theoretical points in question : but what in theory might seem sound, may on further examination appear unsuited to the circumstances of the country, and uncongenial to the wants and tastes of the people, for whose benefit it was intended. It is necessary therefore, in order to arrive at a just conclusion regarding any form of Government, or its Acts, to examine that form, and to measure those Acts, by a local standard, throwing aside all pre-conceived opinions based on European principles, and confining ourselves to the one great point—their suitableness, or the reverse, to the state of the country, and the genius of the people, who are affected by them. It is evident that for this purpose our attention must be directed to details—to the mode in which the several parts of the great machine are linked together—to the security which exists for the due performance of the various duties in each branch—and to the checks created to restrain abuses and preserve the unanimity of the whole. Eloquence and verboseness are not required to ensure the favourable reception of just and liberal measures, fraught with good to the people : and no amount of seemingly plausible argument, or high-flown declamation, can avert the ultimate censure, which must be passed, sooner or later, upon narrow-minded, ill-judged expedients, teeming with error and evil.

We therefore again eschew all reliance on *paper* Government, and shall proceed to the less captivating but more useful review of the real merits of Sir Charles Napier's administration in Scinde, as observable in the details of its working. And here we would strongly repudiate all party feeling. We are not blind, on the one hand, to the many points of excellence appearing in Sir Charles Napier's administration; nor, on the other hand, are we prepared to assert that it is wholly faultless, and, as such, worthy of more general adoption. Seven years have now elapsed since the Province of Scinde became an integral portion of the British Indian Empire. It boots not for our purpose to enquire into the circumstances leading to that result: the "great fact" is before us; and it is with the consequences, not the causes, of that fact that we have to do. The events, immediately preceding, had followed each other in such rapid succession that the finale was unexpected and unlooked for: and the Hero of Meaní found himself on a sudden called on to administer the affairs of the province he had conquered. For a time indeed, some little interest attached to this new corner of the empire; but it gradually ceased; and the General was left unheeded to frame and execute what system of Government he pleased. During the last seven years, nothing, or next to nothing, has been made known of the details of that system in any branch or department. No reports —no returns—have been given to the public, from which could be gathered any real information of the mode in which matters were administered in our new Province. This silence does not seem to have attracted notice, and may have tended to continue that indifference to matters connected with Scinde, which has been observable so long. Several other reasons for it however existed; the strongest of which was perhaps the personality, which marked all the publications connected with it. Two parties arose, contending, for a length of time, with much acrimony and ill-feeling, on points of by-gone policy, and leaving in their wordy warfare no breathing time or room for the discussion of more material points, bearing on the present and future well-being of the country. The question was not, whether this or that measure, emanating from the new Government, was politic and just, or the reverse—but whether Napier had, or had not, forced the Amírs to a war: for such, on fair reasoning, appears to be the pith of the celebrated controversy, apart from the personal recriminations and retorts, which lie scattered on the surface. This bitter and fruitless antagonism absorbed such share of interest as the public were willing to bestow on Scinde; and the press, joining in the struggle, served only to urge the champions on, and embitter the strife. And so passed by the

first years of the Government, amid party turmoils injurious in many respects to the country, inasmuch as they distracted attention from more important matters. At last men grew sick of the contest, and withdrew from the witnessing of a struggle, in which both parties claimed the victory. By this time events had happened and were happening in the north, of intense interest to India generally, which, with few intermissions, have, nearly up to the present time, absorbed the attention of the public.

We have already observed that the data connected with Scindian affairs are few and scattered; nor has the local Press done anything towards collecting them. An attempt has been made; but freedom of speech was not a characteristic of Scinde; and without it the Press is no longer a "mighty engine." It is with a desire to collect and condense these hidden data, that we now venture on this hitherto untrodden ground.

It may be as well to preface our remarks by noting the general state of the country at the time of the conquest. In the first number of this *Review*, we gave a brief account of the Amírs of Scinde and their predecessors. The historical records of the country are scanty: but we can trace with tolerable accuracy the more important events, which have occurred since the Arab Muhammadan invasion under Muhammad Ahmed Ben Kasim, in the eighth century, at which time Scinde was a much larger province than it is now. We pass over the many years, which followed between that event and the rise of the Kalorahs, during the latter part of which period the country was governed by the vicegerents of the Mogul emperors, possessing more or less independence, according to the circumstances which rendered invasion more or less likely. The Kalorahs were originally a religious tribe from Central Asia, who entered Scinde under one Adam Shah, and gradually obtained influence there and landed possessions, until one of his descendants, Nur Múhammad, obtained from the Delhi emperor the government of the country. Under the princes of this dynasty, Scinde continued in a flourishing state; agriculture and commerce increased: and the fine canals, now intersecting the length and breadth of the land, though mostly out of repair and disregarded, are lasting memorials of their beneficent rule. But after a dominion of little more than half a century, quarrels arose between the Kalorahs and a family, which, at the time, held high office in the State, and from its position, had obtained great influence. The neighbouring hill tribes of the Brahús joined in the strife; and, after a succession of bloody and cruel murders, the Talpúrs, in 1779, overthrew their masters

and usurped the Government. The Talpúrs were a Belúch tribe, and are said to have derived their name from the circumstance of their having, on their first descent into Scinde, settled themselves in villages, or camps, composed of date leaves. They appear, on the whole, to have governed with ability and justice: but the various divisions of the country amongst the members of the family very much tended to diminish their power, as, in the absence of a foreign enemy, their internal disputes were frequent. The result of this territorial division must soon have been the usurpation of the whole by one individual of the brotherhood, possessed of a greater share of ability and daring than the others; but this was prevented by the occurrence of the only other probable event—the stepping in of a foreign power to ease them of the burden: and this power was the Honourable Company. It does not appear that these several changes of the Government affected, in any general degree, the peace of the country. Vicegerents of whatever power, Kalorahs, or Talpúrs, were alike usurpers, were equally without claims to supremacy, and owed their power to their mercenary bands of retainers, and their own individual abilities. The Scindians meanwhile, for centuries divested of nationality and common interests, received without hesitation or regret each succeeding race of rulers, looking no further than their fields and pastures; and, as their agricultural interests seem to have been, for the most part, left undisturbed, and their possessions secured to them by the new powers, they experienced no inducement to resist the change.

Under the Talpúrs, besides the natural wish of avoiding internal disquiet under a new rule, depending for its stability upon their personal retainers alone, there existed another reason for respecting the interests of the large body of landed proprietors and cultivators: and this arose from the above-mentioned anomalous division of territory amongst the Amírs, which, injurious as it was to their own interests, and in a great measure conducive to their final downfall, yet acted beneficially in some respects on the cultivating portion of their subjects: for undue exactions and overbearing imposts on the part of any Amír led to desertion from the territory of that Amír to the lands of his more politic neighbour—thus increasing the revenues and consequent power of the one, at the expense of the other. The same general peacefulness, and readiness to accept of the new foreign power, prevailed amongst the Scindians, when the victories of Meaní and Hyderabad placed the country in the hands of the victors. From what we have stated above, this is in no way attributable to their dislike of the former reigning

princes: the same quiet existed, when the Kalorahs first obtained power, and when the Talpúrs wrested that power from them. The bloodshed and violence, which accompanied the latter event, were confined to the court and its mercenaries.

The relative position of the Scindians and their rulers did not tend to any reciprocity of feeling. There was nothing national in any of the wars, which have thrown down and raised up dynasties. It was the business of the court: and, beyond the temporary confusion consequent on the change of local ministers, was unfelt and uncared for by the Scindians at large. Naturally quiet and industrious, they preferred peace to war—the tranquillity of their homes to the turmoil of the camp; and, their interests and customs being respected, they sided with neither party, but patiently awaited the result. At the time of the British conquest, we do not deny that there may have been some prospects of benefit entertained by the general mass of the people in anticipating our sway, not arising from former oppression, but from a certain vague idea of future betterment. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since Shore, with candid truthfulness, hesitated not to expose the fallacy, so common at that period, when it was assumed as an axiom, that "the 'natives were a low degraded set, with very few good qualities; 'their institutions, customs, and government, excessively bad; 'while we and ours, on the contrary, were everything that was ex-'cellent; and that they were pleased and grateful to us for 'having substituted a good Government for their own bad ones." Much has been done since that time to render Shore's rebuke less deserved: but much still remains to be done, especially in the proceedings of our judicial courts. But whilst we deplore what still remains of this national conceit, yet we believe, that where an accession is made to the British-Indian empire, and neither fanaticism nor national union is opposed to check the feeling, there will be found among the people an undefined but general conviction that the Company's rule will be beneficial to them. In Scinde this may be supposed to have been peculiarly the case, both from the total absence of opposing causes, and from the distance of the province from the countries then under British dominion. They heard of the proverbial honesty of intention of that Government, of the general tranquillity of the people, of its own greatness and internal unity, which assured its subjects of security from foreign invasion: but they were ignorant of the details of its administration, of the wheels within wheels which connected the governed and the governors, of the changes which would take place in their relations to each other, and of the many causes which would tend to affect their

social and domestic happiness. To such countries the Company's "Ikbál" is doubtless a grand vision: but its glories too often fade, the nearer it approaches. When General Napier drew the sword in Scinde, the task before him was (as compared with that before other invaders) an easy one; though its glorious termination, with the scanty means at his disposal, shed a noble lustre on his already high military renown. He had not to conquer *Scinde*, but the Amírs and their mercenaries. A victory over them once obtained, the work was done. There were no men of real influence about the court; few, who had influence even among the soldiery; and none, who could influence the country. Once thoroughly broken, there was no one, who could afterwards raise the standard of revolt, or even cause temporary annoyance to the Government by any attempt to do so. Sensible of this, the General himself was able to assert, immediately after his crowning victory, that "not another shot would be fired in Scinde." The expulsion of the Amírs, the dispersion of the army, and the peaceable disposition of the people, formed a rare combination of circumstances, which enabled the Governor to pursue his system of administration in tranquillity and ease. It then rested solely on the capacity of those first intrusted with power to strengthen and define the hitherto dawning, but vague, popularity of the new order of things—or on their incapacity to weaken and eventually annihilate it.

It has been sometimes asked, "What has become of those masses, who retreated sulkily from the Fulailí, on the memorable 17th February, 1843?" Let us consider the nature of those masses, and we may arrive at the solution of the question. Each Amír had his own retainers, and these consisted of many classes—the Rajpút, the Pathan, the Belúch, and the Sídí. Not only the reigning Amírs, but all their numerous relations, were alike attended by bands of retainers: and each jaghirdar, who held his possessions on military service, brought his knot of followers to swell the heterogeneous horde. Thus were collected from all quarters of India the thousands, who vainly opposed themselves to the British bayonet. Every one, who has had experience of the tribes of Western India, will be aware of the facility in raising from them a large army of military adventurers, who have nothing to lose at home, and everything to expect abroad. The Amírs, their relations, and feudal dependants, were possessed of wealth, the great attraction. High pay, and a free and easy life, were the inducements offered to retain their services, which were at the disposal of their masters, so long as the coffers of the latter were full.

But they were unaccustomed to fight "en masse," were uninstructed in war, and had no common bond of interest. But a small portion of those, who fought at Meaní, had a real interest in the country; and even defeat was not apprehended by the majority as entailing any permanent misfortune—nothing beyond a temporary want of employment. Such were the men, whose many-coloured turbans and varied costume caused that picturesque appearance, which has been not inaptly compared by the chroniclers of those events to "a field of poppies." When the struggle was over, and victory declared against them, when their masters were expelled, and their coffers the prize of the victors, these mercenaries had nothing more to look for; there was no latent hope of their services being again put in requisition; and the only course left to them was one, to which they were not unaccustomed, viz. to return to their various homes, and seek employment elsewhere. Nothing opposed them. No pursuing army was at their heels. No intermediate allies of the conquering power interfered to stay their progress. Meanwhile, the jaghirdars, now freed from their allegiance to the Amírs (for they were in fact mere contractors for mercenaries), had no longer any motive for retaining their soldiery; so that these too received their discharge. The dispersion was general, but gradual; the disbanding took place at different points, and the discharged adventurers journied towards various quarters. The same facility existed for their dispersion as for their collection. Probably not ten of those, who appeared at Meaní, could now be found together out of employment. All left Scinde, and are now scattered over the hills of Belúchistan, the countries beyond the Bolan Pass, Rajpútanah, and some parts of the Punjab, with no intention or inducement to return to Scinde. Nay, probably many fought with us and our ally of Bahawulpúr in the late campaign. Some few remained, and found employment, either under the British Government, or in the territories of Mír Alí Morad; whilst a portion of the Beluchís returned to their villages and to more peaceable employments.

With this general internal quiet, and good feeling towards us, how stood the country with regard to its neighbours? To the East, there was nothing to fear. To the North, there stood a bugbear, but only a bugbear—the Punjab. Invasion from that quarter was as needlessly feared, as it was frequently prophesied. Violent and fretful as was the Sikh army, there were yet able and far-seeing men, whose councils influenced it, and whose main ends would have been frustrated, had they turned their attention to Scinde. Was the ad-

vance to be made from Lahore? With the British to the east, hostile tribes to the west, and a known intriguer and dangerous friend to the north, the idea was too ridiculous to be entertained. An invasion was still less to be anticipated from the South: for there we had no enemy, but the Múltan Dewan, with the small garrison of his Fort, amounting, at the outside, to 4,000 men, and these principally foreigners. It may be said that he afterwards found no difficulty in raising an army to defy the British. But it must be recollected that incomplete arrangements and delays gave him many advantages, and lent to his cause a partial semblance of success; and even then, comparatively few of his troops were Sikhs—the remainder consisting of mercenaries, willing enough to enter his Fort, and draw his pay, but men, who, under no combination of circumstances, would have joined his standard in the field for the invasion of a country distant from their homes. Guns he had, it is true, but not in a condition to move them through a difficult country. Even when the revolt was wide spread, and victory was closer to the Sikhs than it had been to any native power we have met in India, to hold his own was all that was required of, or attempted by, him. But whether from Múltan or Lahore, the invading army would have had the Bahawulpúr army on their left to oppose them, and tribes of no friendly feelings to their right, with our creature Alí Morad in their front.

Invasion from Candahar was still more chimerical. It could not be anticipated, except as the result of a combined movement: and the chances of such a combination may be calculated from late events. When Scinde was almost denuded of troops, and reinforcements from Bombay, or the north, were out of the question, even when actually invited by the leaders of an apparently successful revolt, the Sirdars of Kandahar could do no more than boast and promise. Thus was Scinde as really free from all fear of foreign invasion, as of internal risings or revolts. One only cause of annoyance remained, in the predatory character of the Búgtís, Murrís, and other hill tribes on the N. W. frontier, whose excursions became frequent, and gradually so daring and formidable, that it behoved the Government to suppress them. Even here it must be remembered that a broad tract of desert intervened between their mountains and the inhabited parts of Scinde; so that it was the few villages on the borders, which alone were disturbed. It was necessary however to throw our protection over the remotest corners of the newly-acquired province: and accordingly Sir Charles Napier undertook the vigorous hill campaign of

1844-45, which terminated in the capture of the chief of the Dúmkí tribe, and the suppression of the plundering in any formidable degree. The campaign also gave his officers experience of the country and of the character of the enemy, which was advantageous in cases of subsequent aggression. When the General returned to his province, he left an officer to guard the frontier, who, formerly renowned, obtained here still further laurels, and gained a name prominent in the annals of Eastern Armies. Major Jacob and his illustrious corps were left to guard the troublesome frontier; and they performed that duty as they have performed all others.

Ere we leave this head of the subject, we must remark the population and extent of country, with which Sir Charles had to deal. The population of Scinde has been variously estimated at, from twenty to thirty per square mile: but, from the few local calculations which have been made, it appears that these numbers are too high, and fifteen per square mile seems nearer the correct proportion. An attempt was commenced in Scinde to make a census of the country: but it was supposed to be very unpopular, and connected with taxation, and was accordingly soon dropped. It is a pity that so little attention is paid in this country to statistical details. Some supposed disinclination on the part of the people is, in most cases, allowed to prevent the inquiry. But from what has been done, it is evident that much more might be effected by an uniform and unobtrusive method, whilst the reports of each year would be more accurate than the preceding one, as the people discovered that no results injurious to them were to be feared, and therefore came forward the more readily to assist in the preparation. The chief requisite is to obtain answers to the inquiries through the village officers.

The Scindians are principally cultivators and artisans. They are divided into numerous families or tribes; and the investigation of their origin and first settlement in the country would be an interesting enquiry. A great portion of them claim to have been originally Rajpúts:—and we find members of most of these families in the Punjab, some of them yielding precedence to the settlers in Scinde, and others claiming the chiefship for themselves. The fishermen, located in villages on the banks of the river, are a poor, but industrious, class. The Hindus are of two classes—the traders, and the men, who gain a living in the employ of Government. Almost all the revenue officers, and the hordes, who are sent out every season as assessors, amíns, zabits, &c. &c., are furnished from that class. From living in a tolerated state in a Muhammadan country, they have

lost much of their religious scruples, and are lax in the observance of their rites; they wear beards, adopt the Belúch head-dress, eat flesh and fish, and drink wine!

The best calculations, which have been made, seem to indicate the following proportions:—

Scindian Agriculturists and Fishermen	$\frac{2}{3}$	
Hindus	$\frac{1}{6}$	
Labourers of kinds	$\frac{1}{12}$	$= \frac{1}{3}$
Belúchís	$\frac{1}{12}$	

On looking at the Map, we are led to estimate too highly the nature and extent of country, which is under the British Government. On the left bank of the Indus, a strip of land from Ghotkí to Rorí is British; but it is very narrow. The country, south of Rorí to near Hyderabad, forms the territories of Mír Alí Morad—together with some very fertile districts between Ghotkí and Subzalkot, which were made over to him by Sir Charles Napier, in exchange for a barren and troublesome tract on the right of the Indus. The country south of Hyderabad is also British, as far as Cutch. On the right bank, the strip of land between the river and the west range of hills is British: but it must be remembered that this is not all well inhabited and cultivated. A desert tract runs between the hills and the cultivated strip by the river—very broad to the north, but diminishing as it proceeds towards Sehwan. Including this desert, the Province does not exceed in area 35,000 square miles: and, estimating the population at fifteen per square mile, their number does not exceed 525,000 souls.

Such was the country which General Napier found himself called on to govern; and it may not be uninteresting to compare its state with that of the country, since annexed to our Empire, by the conquest of the Punjab. In the latter, we had to encounter the firm national and religious bond, which bound the chiefs and army so closely together—a general odium towards the new power—the disaffected and turbulent state of the whole country—and the difference between men fighting for all they held dear and sacred, and those fighting as mere task work. In the one case, the army finished its work by the capture of the reigning Princes: in the other, it found in the ranks of the enemy a numerous and able body of chiefs, ready to succeed each other in the command and respect of their troops. In the Punjab, we found hostility and treachery on every side, fierce foes and dangerous friends; and, instead of a people, coming willingly forward to do what was required of them, and who had never joined in arms against us, we had a mixed and turbulent population—Sikhs, Afghans, and Hindús—all lately our enemies,

and all hating and keeping aloof from their conquerors. Here obviously caution was required at every step, and sound practical measures were demanded, with a stern disregard of all theoretical experiment, or pre-conceived prejudices. As might be expected therefore, the first measures taken by the two Governments were entirely different.

From the state in which Scinde was found at the conquest, we have shown that its future prospects and welfare were particularly liable to be affected, by the kind of officers selected at first to carry out the views of Government—their aptitude and capacity being sure to produce good effects, which subsequent misrule would not entirely or speedily remove; whilst their errors or incapacity would produce evils, which no after sound measures could easily eradicate. Let us then briefly enquire who those officers were. The Governor and Chief Magistrate was the conqueror of the country: and probably a more despotic, independent, and uncontrolled authority has never been vested in any other individual in India, or elsewhere. Most important and various were his duties. As the commander of a large division of the Army—and a commander too, who was not only so in name, but under whose keen eye passed all the minutest details of the Adjutant General's, Quarter Master General's, Commissariat, and Ordnance, departments—nay, even all the workings of regimental routine—everywhere his regulating hand was observable. In his Military capacity, however, his power was limited: he was still subordinate to higher authority. But it was not so in his civil capacity. On him alone devolved, in addition to a large Military command, the absolute conducting of the civil department in all its branches of the revenue, of civil and criminal jurisprudence, of the police, and of our relations with neighbouring powers. The weight of responsibility, which these multifarious and arduous labours imposed upon that one man, will better appear as we proceed. But we may here enquire what qualifications he professed to bring to this Herculean task.

Sir Charles Napier was a man of vast and varied experience. Early trained to arms, he had in many quarters of the globe obtained an acknowledged eminence and a well deserved fame, though hitherto rewarded with comparatively slight honours. He was a man too of undoubted general ability, of keen perception, of unwearied energy and application, of great firmness and decision, and with a peculiar act of ingratiating himself with those placed in subordination to him. Filled with boundless ambition, he was brought, late in life, for the first time into a position, which held out to him the prospect of

feeding that ambition to the utmost. With a pre-conceived and deeply-rooted aversion to every thing that originated, or had any connection, with the members of the Civil Service, he struggled, and certainly not without success, to render his Government as unlike any hitherto known in India, as possible. With no revenue experience to guide him, he yet paused not in attempting to hurl down, and to re-build upon European theories, systems and customs, whose venerable antiquity claimed and required at least a careful and experienced hand to remodel. If we consider the great difference, observable throughout India, in local customs and institutions in different districts and even villages, which renders a perfect experience in one part insufficient to guide a man in another, we must admit that a total inexperience is not likely to render any man competent as a Civil administrator. That errors have been made in the earlier periods of our Indian rule by Civil administrators is a notorious fact: but the Acts, passed at the commencement of the present century, must not be looked upon as the standard of subsequent enactments. These acts now stand out as warnings, while the steps, which have been since taken in the right direction, serve as strong encouragements: and no impartial person could view without admiration, what is perhaps the greatest improvement of all, *the settlement of the North West Provinces.* This work of many years—calling forth such a vast fund of talent, zeal, and benevolence—has resulted in the establishment of a system of revenue administration, which is not surpassed in any country, European or Asiatic, whether we look to it, as having reference to the general peace and prosperity of the country—the individual happiness of the people—the security of private rights—or the stability and benefit of the Government. In Scinde both the warning and encouragement were overlooked. They were the acts of a civil Government; and *therefore* the new Government would none of them.

Let us now turn to the subordinate officers of Government. Sir Charles Napier neither desired, nor sought for, in his secretary, one, who could counsel or warn him in revenue matters; and his choice fell upon one, who, in every other way, was suited for his office. Industrious, clever, and, what is called, "a good office man," the late Captain Brown deservedly obtained much credit in the discharge of his duties, and possessed the entire and expressed confidence of his chief. But the men of most importance, as being those through whom the orders of Government were to be carried out, and who were to be in direct communication with the governed, were the collectors and their deputies. These were all military men, taken from their

regiments without a day's experience of civil duties in any department, the greater part of whom had even, when in charge of districts, to learn the difference between the *Rubbí* and *Khurif*. Thrown upon their own resources, the deputies had none to instruct or encourage them; for the collectors, their immediate superiors, were as ignorant as themselves: and those perhaps succeeded best, who followed their great master's example, made the most of theory, and cut, instead of unravelling, the Gordian knot of each difficulty, which presented itself. Some doubtless, both collectors and deputies, were not content with such summary proceedings, but set themselves to work to teach themselves, and, in the course of time, obtained some insight into the nature of their duties: but the process was slow, even when this was the case, and the result but slightly advantageous to the people, or to themselves. A suggestion, or a hint, was replied to by the remark, that "His Excellency had not called for, or required, their suggestions." One would have supposed that the Governor of a newly-acquired territory, himself without the means of a personal communication with the people, would rather have encouraged than checked such suggestions; for, though most may have been crude or fanciful, some may be supposed to have arisen from careful observation and natural ability; and, it may be asked, why men, whose suggestions were not considered worthy of notice, were yet left in charge of districts with scarcely any check? But the evils, arising from the want of experience of all the officers of Government, were increased by other circumstances, unavoidable under the constitution of the Government, but traceable to that constitution. These were the want of leisure for inquiry, and the multifarious nature of the duties imposed on all. We find the Governor leaving his desk at the close of the year 1844, not eighteen months from his assumption of the Government, again to wield the sword, and at the head of a force to march against the mountain tribes, and carry on a difficult and arduous hill campaign—and this too at a period when his presence was so urgently required in establishing his new Government. It is true, that this could not be completed until the turbulent robbers were repressed: but, with two general officers under his command, it is strange that he himself should have been compelled to move; and, if every military undertaking was to be carried on by the Governor in person, the civil administration should, in common justice to the people, have been committed to other hands. The hot weather of 1845 was setting in, when Sir Charles returned to his Head Quarters, and had again leisure to draw up his measures of reform. But not long was this quiet allowed

him. We find him in the next cold weather again leaving his province to join Lord Hardinge at Lahore, delegating his powers in Scinde, civil and military, to Major General Simpson, his second-in-command. In the early part of 1846, he returned to Scinde, and remained at Kurrachí till his final departure in October 1847. Nor was this want of leisure confined to His Excellency; it extended also to the collectors and their deputies. The moving of the troops through the country required them to use their utmost exertions to collect and forward supplies: and this, it may truly be said, occupied the greatest share of their time and attention to the exclusion of more important matter.

Another great evil was the constant change of officers. There were five collectors of Upper Scinde in the first eighteen months, succeeding the annexation of the country! Instances occurred in some districts of seven deputy collectors within five years (two of whom were acting only)—and even of seven within four years, all of whom were permanently appointed. When we remember that these were all inexperienced, and had no systematic rules to guide them in revenue, civil or criminal matters, we may imagine the confused state of affairs, which must have arisen as the result; and we shall the less wonder at the cases of embezzlement, &c. which will presently come under our notice. It seems to have been the intention of Lord Ellenborough to adopt the arrangement, since pursued in the Punjab, of uniting the members of the civil and military services in the administration of the country, for which purpose he placed at Sir Charles' disposal three young officers of the former branch. But their stay was not long: they were soon returned in apparent disgrace, and met with a signal mark of the disapprobation of Government. It is supposed that the immediate cause of their removal originated in a complaint, that they were wanting in industry, and (puffed up with their own importance) refused to consider themselves as the mere writers of their immediate superior. That they were not wanting in ability, industry, or subordination, their subsequent career has abundantly proved; and if (as is said) the principal duties of themselves and their successors consisted in the copying of letters, the least that can be said is, that it was very expensive penmanship, when the work would have been done far better probably for 100 rupees per mensem. We will now turn from the officers, to the details, which they were to carry out in the different branches of the administration. Let us look first to the revenue.

For the first two years, no alterations were made in the mode of assessment, or of collecting the revenue. This, under the

circumstances, was a judicious proceeding: but, even if otherwise, it could not be avoided, for nobody knew what was to be altered, or what to be substituted in its room. The changes of officers were most frequent during this period: the Governor himself, as we have seen, was absent on a campaign for a part of it: and we may presume that a great portion of the time was occupied in making the primary arrangements, not only to secure the revenues, but also to place in working order all the other branches connected with the Judicial and Police departments. For this period, then, every thing was necessarily in the hands of the native officers. They sent in the accounts monthly in the old style to the collectors: and, as subordinate officers were appointed, translated abstracts were received from the district officers; but these were neither checks, nor guides in their then state of brevity and confusion. We have said that the assessment and mode of collection remained for two years "in statu quo:" and we must briefly describe both, in order that the state of affairs during that period may be understood, and that we may refer to it, when we come to describe the alterations subsequently introduced.

Under the ex-Amírs, and for centuries before them, there were three modes of assessment—Buttaí, Kasagí, and Cash Rents.

The *Buttaí* was a division of the produce between the farmers and the Government, the latter receiving its share in kind. This share varied from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$; but was, in most instances, $\frac{2}{5}$.

The *Kasagí* was also a mode of assessment, in which the Government share was taken in kind; but there was this material difference, that, whereas with regard to lands paying by *Buttaí*, the Government share was levied according to the produce of the season, without reference to the extent of land cultivated,—on the other hand, with regard to lands paying *Kasagi*, it was levied according to the extent of land cultivated, without reference to the produce of the season. The word is derived from "kasah," the sixtieth part of a karwar.* The assessment was so many kasahs per bigah. The average rate was seven kasahs: and, as thirty kasahs were the usual produce of a bigah in ordinary seasons, the demand was equal to something less than $\frac{1}{4}$.

The *Cash Rents* varied from three to five rupees according to the nature of the crop, and sometimes amounted to seven. These were principally levied on such remunerative crops, as

* The revenues in kind, and most other grain transactions in Scinde, were by measurement, and not weight. The scale was 4 Chaotís = 1 Patoí; 4 Patoís = 1 Toyah; 4 Toyahs = 1 Kasah; 60 Kasahs = 1 Karwar. For purposes of general calculation, the Karwar was employed; but for actual measurement, the Toyah was invariably used.

tobacco, cotton, sugar, and vegetables, grown in small fields and enclosures. The cotton, grown extensively, paid by *Buttai*.

By one or other of these methods was the revenue fixed: but they varied in the different villages, and even in different lands of the same village, and in the lands of the same proprietor. From the expressions made use of, it seems probable that one rate was originally fixed in each district or village: but leases given to individuals or communities, on bringing waste land under cultivation, digging a well, or cutting a canal, gradually left but a small portion of the village lands assessable at the old rate. The frequency, with which these leases were changed by the Amírs themselves, or by the local Kardars, and the circumstance that the original puttahs remained in the possession of the grantee, copies only being appended as vouchers to the accounts, led, at the commencement of the British rule, and even at a later period, to much chicanery and imposition—puttahs being produced of an old date, which contained more favourable terms than those of a subsequent date. At this time too the alteration of old, and the giving of new, puttahs were vested in the several revenue officers, or, if not regularly vested, were, at all events, assumed to be so. The heterogeneous nature of such leases may easily be imagined. In some cases, lands, described as "waste for years," but which in reality had been under annual cultivation, were re-assessed for a term of years at a rate, at first nominal, and gradually increasing to the established rate of the village: but this of course greatly depended on the degree of interest possessed by the parties with the Kardars, whose report was to decide the merits of the case. Such were some of the eccentricities of these martial economists: but it would occupy too many of our pages to dwell in detail on all the results, arising out of their ignorance and incapacity, and leading to much confusion and loss to Government.

Besides the amount, or share, at which the lands were assessed, several fees were also levied, varying in their nature according to circumstances in different districts, and frequently in different villages. They seem originally to have been very few; but their number eventually increased, as acts of extortion came to the notice of Government, on the part of the several officers and subordinates employed in the revenue collections. The sums, illegally demanded by them, and paid by the cultivator, were confiscated, and became thenceforth permanent fees levied by the Government. These were very complicated; and rendered the collection the cause of infinite petty vexation and interference on the part of the native officers. Their gross average on land, paying cash rents, was five annas per bigah, and

two annas per rupee on the amount of revenue paid; on lands paying by *buttai*, from two to three kasahs per karwar on the "gross produce;" and on lands paying *kasagi*, from twenty to twenty-five rupees per hundred bigahs. Besides this, before the grain was divided, a portion was set aside on no fixed scale for the payment of weighmen, field watchmen, &c. &c. We must not omit to mention here that the kasagídars frequently made their payments, not in kind, but in cash, at the half-yearly market value of the grain, estimated from the village records of certain fixed villages in the vicinity. The general rule appeared to be that all grain dues, not paid by a certain time, should be so commuted with a view to close the accounts.

From this brief statement of the modes and rates of assessment, let us turn to a consideration of the actual collections. The country was divided into divisions and districts, called pergunnahs and tuppahs respectively. Over each *division*, or over two or three according to size and extent of cultivation, was placed a Sazáwul, or head collector, who exercised a general superintendence over the whole, and had an establishment, varying according to the extent of his charge, with a treasurer, eight or ten munshis, and a party of peons. Over each *district*, was a Kardar, with a small establishment of munshis and peons; and he exercised a general superintendance over his tuppah or district, under the Sazáwul of the division. These officers transacted all the revenue business of the country: and the men, selected as Sazáwuls, were men of ability and good family—generally those who had been bred and born at the court of the Amír, whom they served. They were liberally paid, receiving nominally from three to five hundred per mensem, were treated with respect at court, and received numerous presents from their masters, and often gifts of land; whilst they had further ample means of providing for their immediate relatives. The Kardars were also men of respectability, and treated as such. Every season, an officer was sent by the Amír to take from the Sazáwuls their accounts, to inspect the districts, to correct abuses, and examine into complaints, who, for the time being, was vested with a general power over the local officers. He was usually one of the ministers, or sometimes a relative of the Amír. With regard to the granting of leases, when the question was one of importance, or required terms more favourable than those usually given, application was made to the Amír himself; but all ordinary pottahs were granted by the Sazáwuls and Kardars, who were the men most cognizant of the reasonableness, or otherwise, of the application. Arrangements were also made by these officers for the collection of the revenues, and the dispo-

sal of the grain. With regard to lands paying by *buttai*, it was essential for the interests of Government that the crops should be watched, from the time of their commencing to ripen till the revenue was realized. A buttai-dar or two were appointed to each district for a season, whose first duty was to appoint and place watchmen over the crops of each village. These *field-watchmen* were paid both by the farmers and the Government. The former usually paid in kind, and the latter at the rate of two rupees per mensem. When the grain was cut, cleaned, and collected, it remained under the Government seal, and in charge of *grain-watchmen*, until the rounds of the buttai-dar brought him to the village. The division of grain, with all the fees, &c., was the final work: after which the Government share was made over to the grain factor, under whose responsibility it remained. A very general mode of disposing of it however was to grain merchants, who purchased it wholesale upon the ground, and, from an examination of the accounts of the former Government, it appears that very little grain remained on hand at the closing of the accounts, beyond what was required for advances for zemindars, charitable grants, and payment to labourers on canals, &c.

The *kasagí* collections were more complicated. This mode of assessment was computed originally with relation to the *buttai* of neighbouring crops; thus, if the Government share of the latter was $\frac{1}{4}$, the equivalent kasagí rate under ordinary circumstances would be seven kasahs per bigah: if $\frac{2}{5}$, twelve kasahs per bigah; and so on. Now, it is evident that in a bad season, when the crops partially or wholly failed, the Government demand would still be but $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ of the produce absolutely obtained; whereas in kasagí lands, the proprietor would pay alike in all seasons. As a remedy for this, the method of appraisement was adopted. When the crops were nearly ripe, appraisers were sent out to examine them, and estimate the portion of the crop which had failed. Their reports were sent in to the Kardars, who, in making up their accounts, calculated the extent of land to be assessed, after deduction of the number of bigahs estimated (by the amín or appraiser) to have failed: and that officer's report was the voucher. The measurement of the fields proceeded as usual; and the grain due was either paid, or commuted, as above mentioned.

The cash rents were paid in to the Kardars, after the measurement of the field.

As has been stated already the modes of assessment and of collection for the first two years after the conquest remained unaltered in principle: but a great change took place in the native officers. The Collectors at first were employed in ob-

taining information, appointing and sending out the district officers, and examining the office records, which had come into their possession ; and in these duties they were most ably seconded by the Sazáwuls and Kardars of the former rule, without whose help and *instruction*, they would have foundered, and eventually sunk in a sea of confusion. With proper treatment, these men would have been invaluable ; but they were made use of, merely to be laid aside as soon as the newly fledged Collectors could see their way at all, or rather thought they could. The difference first observable was the appointment of an European Collector, in room of the deputy sent formerly by the court, to superintend the accounts and examine the state of the districts, and of a Deputy Collector in the room of the Sazáwul—the Sazáwul himself being retained as a mere head Kardar. These latter received no detailed instructions, but were instructed to continue in the exercise of their former functions till further orders, reporting and sending their accounts to the Deputy Collectors. But as usual, the first work was *reduction*. The former Sazáwuls were reduced to a salary of a hundred rupees per mensem, and their office altogether abolished ; subsequently, their establishments, and those of the Kardars, were reduced one-half; and the Kardars received, instead of fifty, only twenty-five rupees per mensem. They no longer possessed the confidence of their masters, and were no longer treated with respect, but denominated rogues from top to bottom. The natural consequence was the retirement of all men of real respectability and experience, and the substitution in their room of a worthless set of scoundrels, who consented to receive diminished salaries, and, with much self-laudation, proceeded to occupy the posts of men, whom they had lately looked upon, and not without reason, as their superiors in every way. At the same time the sphere of their duties was enlarged, and, for the sake of economy, districts were amalgamated. No longer a respected class, but hated on account of their oppressive extortions, the people at first complained against the officials; but the inexperience and misunderstandings of their new masters prevented anything being proved against them: and the sufferers gradually adopted the only other method left,—that of uniting themselves with their tenants, and, for a *douceur*, sharing in the general scramble and plunder of the Government.

Supposing the Collectors to have been the ablest men in India, such a state of affairs was inevitable, and cannot be laid at their door, but must be thrown upon the shoulders of those, who entrusted the welfare of thousands to inexperienced novices. If such were the Sazáwuls and Kardars, what could be expected of the

hosts of minor instruments—the land measurers, the appraisers, the buttai-dars, "et hoc genus omne," let loose like destructive locusts on the country? Not one of the frauds practised by these myrmidons could have escaped undetected under the former Government; but the new race of officials soon discovered their safety in the ignorance and inexperience of their European masters. The accounts too were unchecked, and the receipts regulated by the pleasure and caprice of the Kardars. Under the Amírs, a certain month saw the accounts of each season closed; but now those of one season remained unadjusted, long after the crops of the following season were off the ground. During this period, we might, not un-faithfully, describe the system adopted, as the retention of all that was oppressive or evil in the old system, the discarding of all that was useful, and adding much evil of our own; whilst experience and honesty were exchanged for inexperience in the superintendence, and fraud and oppression in the subordinate branches. However, a change was looked for, and it was not long coming. Sir Charles Napier, on his return from the Hill Campaign to Kurrachí, summoned thither his three Collectors to frame the rules, which were to regulate the future revenue proceedings of the province. One of these Collectors had accompanied Sir Charles on his late campaign, and had had a few months' experience only of civil duties; the other two had made scarcely more progress in their new studies. The Council met, and wasted several months at Kurrachí in organizing their system, which was at length given to the world, or rather to a portion of it: and, in the autumn, the members returned to their posts to carry it out. The documents commenced thus—"The Governor, in communication with the three Collectors (Shikarpúr, Hyderabad, and 'Kurrachí) has determined," &c. &c. The first article was the abolishment, "in toto," of the *kasagí* mode of assessment. This was a judicious measure: for, complicated and liable to abuse even under the former Government, the Kasagì was still more so under our own; and its abolition was advantageous to all parties. The second clause declared, that two modes of assessment were henceforth to be adopted, at the option of the farmers themselves, who were to sign engagements to pay their revenue in one or other of those modes for seven years. The Buttai rate was fixed all round, and in both seasons, at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce, and a fee of four kasahs per karwar; and the cash rents, in Upper Scinde, at 1-8 per bigah in the khurif* and

* The inundation takes place in the Khurif season, *i. e.* between May and September; but it benefits in the Rubbí, or next spring crop, sown after the receding of the waters.

2-8 per bigah in the rubbí; and in Lower Scinde "vice versâ"; together with a fee of six per cent. No distinction was made between the nature of the soil, and the capabilities of the different villages: all were to pay alike. The difference, observable in the cash rates between Upper and Lower Scinde, was caused by the circumstance, that, in the former, a much larger portion of the land is subject to inundation than in the latter; and the expenses of cultivating such land were very trifling, in comparison to those incurred in cultivating the higher land. It was a just argument on the part of the Upper Scinde Collector, that such lands could afford to pay at a higher rate than the lands not subject to inundation. But, said the Lower Scinde Collector, "the Khuríf in my district is of far greater extent than the Rubbí: and although the same arguments hold good regarding the greater facilities and benefits to the farmer in the cultivation of inundated lands, yet my revenues will be less than his." We are not surprised at such arguments being advanced; but we are surprised at "the Governor determining" to be guided by them. If it was determined to make but two broad distinctions between all lands in their assessment, the rules for Upper Scinde, founded on good sense and sound principles, should have been extended to Lower Scinde. As it is, it comes just to this—that, of inundated and un-inundated lands, those should be assessed at the highest rate, which were most extensive, and would therefore, by being so assessed, yield the largest revenue to the State! With regard to the rates themselves, we do not remember meeting with any so high in the whole of India:* for it must be remembered, that the measurements of, and payments for, lands, were made every harvest, and that the above rates are not annual. We have it not in our power to state which of these modes was most universally adopted: but neither was received with satisfaction, though the cash rate was advantageous to those, who cultivated tobacco, sugar, and vegetables, which formerly paid cash at higher rates. These sowings however were of small extent. The great error of this assessment was the placing all lands upon an equality, whatever might be their respective capabilities; whilst, on the other hand, it had the advantage of abolishing the former system of taxing the land with reference to the crops produced: but perhaps the advantage was not equivalent to the disadvantage, inasmuch as the nature of the crop produced was in very many cases a tolerably correct criterion of the quality of the land. It is true that the Collectors had the power of

* The Napierian bígah was fixed at 2,500 square yards, or 22,500 square feet. The Bengal bígah varies from 14,400 to 16,000 square feet.

recommending "pottahs" for waste land brought under cultivation, granting them rent free for two years, and also of recommending an increased rate, where the vicinity to market towns, or other causes, gave the cultivators superior advantages. In this proclamation was also contained a permission for the purchase of the fee simple of land, for a term of 7, 14, or 21 years, at such rates, as the Collector might think just to both parties.

A species of Licinian Law followed, declaring that no man should hold more than a certain number of bígahs of land; that what he could not cultivate in excess, might be cultivated by any applicant, whose property it should then become! This decree was attempted to be justified by a reference to the evils caused by an overgrown landed aristrocracy in Europe: in fact, it was an anticipation of the 'coming man'—M. Prudhon. The document concluded by a request to the Collector to introduce the Ryotwarí system, so beneficially adopted by Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras Presidency, in order to avert the evils which had befallen Ireland through middlemen. Now both these last decrees showed either an utter contempt, or a total ignorance, of the local institutions and landed tenures, not only of Scinde in particular, but of India in general. As might be expected, both remained a dead letter;—not that the Collectors considered them unadvisable innovations, but because they were partially unfeasible. With regard to the first, it is an undoubted fact, that there are vast tracts of uncultivated land in Scinde, for the most part the hereditary property of individuals: but it was not the latter circumstance merely, that served to keep those lands uncultivated:—it was the want of population. The uncultivated land might be cultivated by any party desirous of doing so, on the payment of a proprietary fee to the Zemindar, the amount of which was in all cases fixed by local custom, and was in no instance so exorbitant, as to act as a preventive to their cultivation. It must also be borne in mind, that the irrigation in Scinde is artificial, in all tracts beyond the influence of the annual inundation; and that consequently the uncultivated lands of villages require a large outlay to place them in a culturable state. Supposing a Zemindar, A, to have expended considerable capital in bringing a watercourse through his estate, and carrying it on half a mile beyond the cultivated portion of it, in the expectation of extending his cultivation as opportunity offered;—in the next generation, the estate is in the united possession of B, C, and D, his sons. A foreigner, F, taking advantage of the new law, comes and settles at the outskirts of their cultivation; and, to bring the land under cultivation, he must continue the watercourse. The conse-

quence of this would be, that the original lands would receive in many years an inadequate supply of water, and in all less than formerly. But would this be fair to those, who had expended their capital upon it? Would it not be to benefit, at their expense, a new settler? Now supposing F to have gone in the first instance to B, C, and D, and applied for the land, on the usual terms of the village; he would have received land more advantageously situated, besides saving himself much outlay. If it were necessary to extend the watercourse, the Zemindars would have an equal interest with himself in prosecuting the work, and, according as the one party or the other took the lead therein, the rent would be fixed. Further, the men, who would avail themselves of this law, would be men of capital. Besides, all the capital available to agriculturists would be expended on their own lands, and on the extension of them by purchase: such men would not remove to a distance to expend it. On the other hand, Hindus would rarely be found willing to lay out their capital in the cultivation of land on their own account. They might, indeed, by making advances at an exorbitant interest, settle cultivators upon it: but what would be the advantage to Government of placing land in such a condition? Here indeed would be middlemen—and no mistake. Nor could it be supposed that the country would ever be apportioned amongst a class of overgrown landed proprietors. The laws of inheritance were sufficient guarantees against such a result. They are not those of England or Ireland.

With regard to the last decree, it is difficult to understand what was intended by the "introduction of the Ryotwarí system," or by "middlemen." The latter did not exist in Scinde. It could surely not be applicable to the Zemindars. A man, who is held responsible for, and personally transacts all business connected with the management of his hereditary possessions, cannot be denominated a "middleman." There was no right, hereditary or other, in Scinde, which gave the superintendence of estates, singly or in batches, to the class of men, known under various names in other parts of India, as talukdars, tokdars, &c. &c. It is needless to enter at any length into the nature of the tenures of that country, for they are in principle the same as exist in most part of the countries of the Bengal Presidency. Local customs there are, which do not affect the general principles, either of landed rights, or the laws of inheritance. We find then the *bona fide* Zemindar, the Biswadar, the hereditary cultivator, and the tenant at will, with all the village officers, and uniting bonds between all classes. But the intention appears to have been, to render the

cultivators independent of the Zemindars—the nucleus of the anticipated "overgrown landed proprietors." This was in fact to change with one stroke of the pen all existing rights, and to substitute those, which must inevitably have led to violence, fraud, and the eventual ruin of the country. What can be thought of a proposition, which practically would be tantamount to making over to the cultivator that portion of the rent payable to his landlord, which remained after payment of the revenue? This would be the assumption of an absolute proprietary right on the part of Government, which no argument can justify. But, as we have above observed, this decree remained a dead letter. Its import was not understood: and it was certainly too much to expect from inexperienced revenue officers, that they could carry out measures connected with such weighty and important subjects, and comprehend at once what has taken the most able men many years to obtain any insight into. At the same time, no steps were taken to record or define existing rights, which must ever be the first duty of Government in a newly acquired country, whatever mode of assessment it may adopt. Rights and customs, which have existed uninterrupted for centuries, must have some features, which are congenial to the habits, tastes, and wants of the people, and cannot be supplanted by chimerical theories. To record, define, and protect those rights should be the object of Government, and not to change them. No further rules ever existed for the Collectors: a few circulars, bearing on certain points, were indeed occasionally issued; but these were not of any general application.

We have said that the option was given to the landholders between the above two modes of assessment; but even in this, there was much error. In the first place, time was not allowed to the parties affected to examine a question of such importance to them, and which was rendered still more urgent, when it was stated to them, that all the lands of one village must be assessed in the same way, and that all must choose the same. Now a part of the land might have been so situated, as to have rendered a Buttai assessment advantageous; and the rest, cash rent. If these lands were held by one and the same party, to have adopted either the one, or the other, mode would have been injurious to him; but, where they were possessed by different parties, how was the case to be settled? Why the weakest must go to the wall. Nothing like cutting the knot! So thought the incipient Munros.

Whilst this change was taking place, no alteration occurred amongst the European officers. The Province continued to be divided into three collectorates, each collectorate being sup-

plied with five or six Deputy Collectors, whose duties in the Revenue Department mainly depended on the Collector: one or two generally remained at Head Quarters, and the remainder were sent into the district. Each Deputy superintended a district, containing from 300 to 400 villages, and yielding a revenue of about two lacs, or two and a half. The whole Province was not much more than a Commissionership in India—the Collectors having charges of perhaps equal extent with those in the N. W. Provinces; whilst the charges of Deputy Collectors were about equal to Tahsildarís. In each Deputy Collectorate were from 10 to 15 Kardars with their establishments, having from 50 to 80 villages in their Tuppahs. Further reductions took place annually; and the Collectors seemed to consider it necessary to shew reductions in each succeeding annual report, though no reason was ever assigned for this repeated crippling of establishments: but it looked well on paper.

The Scinde establishments have frequently been considered by those, who have seen only partial statements, to have been at all events *cheap*. But, on the contrary, they were not only inefficient, but exorbitantly expensive. A number of ill-paid, and consequently untrust-worthy, men were located all over the country, for the performance of duties, which a few well paid men of respectability could have done far better. European officers were placed in great numbers—six being appointed, where two would have sufficed. It is true that the pay of these permanent establishments did not appear large in the aggregate; and the pay of these only has been hitherto taken into account. The enormous multitudes of land measurers, Buttaí-dars, and their múnshís, with the field and grain watchmen, and the expenses of stowing and weighing grain, have never been brought into the calculation, and were charged in contingent bills. These officers and watchmen, who were nothing less than a permanent gang of thieves fixed on the country, amounted on the lowest scale to 40,000 men. After all the reductions made, the expenses of collection in Scinde amounted to not much less than fifteen per cent. on the gross revenue. It has been estimated that the *whole* civil expenditure of the Punjab (a newly acquired country) will not exceed that per centage.

With regard to the native officers, their low pay and want of respectability were not the only objections to them. They were mostly paid in grain. Now this gave them vast opportunities of extortion. The receipt of money from the farmers could never be *criminally brought* against them; for it might appear readily as payment for grain, and a fair transaction between man and man; at the same time that it obliged them to speculate more

or less—a custom most objectionable. But the system was injurious to the country. As much coin, as could be gathered, was thrown into the Treasury: but not a pice ever left in it, for which a grain equivalent could be given. The management of the grain sales was left entirely in the hands of the Collectors, and possessed too much of a mercantile character. In some parts, the grain was sold peremptorily without reference to the state of the market: and this was the best and only legitimate method of procedure. In other parts again, it was kept in store till prices rose: and it is quite certain that the eventual loss to Government by this practice was more than could be compensated by occasional profits, at the same time that it gave an improper influence to Government in the market. The injurious plan was afterwards contemplated of leaving the grain in the hands of the Kardars, who were to receive a percentage on the sale.

Another point connected with the Revenue Department remains to be observed, viz. the system of accounts; and here, as might be expected, was much confusion. The complicity of the collections at every stage, of itself, rendered a clear account impossible; nor was it known in the offices what statements and returns were necessary as checks. The only accurate document therefore was the monthly Treasury account; that is to say, the Collectors accounted only for sums absolutely received: but from that it was in no way evident, that the said sums were what *ought* to have been received. Every thing from first to last was speculative. The Collectors might indeed, at the commencement of the harvest, frame an estimate of their probable receipts from the average of former years, and the general prospects of the season; but such documents were not to be depended on; and no correct account could be given of each season's receipts, till the whole had been collected, and the grain sold, which was frequently not till several seasons had passed by. No periodical returns were furnished, except of actual monthly, quarterly, half yearly, or annual receipts and disbursements—those of the different seasons running into each other.

It is true the accounts of each season were drawn up in Persian, and lodged in the Collectors' offices. But it must be remembered that few of the Collectors and Deputy Collectors could read, write, or understand Persian. Even those, who could, had not the leisure to go over the voluminous records contained in each season's accounts; so that all were more or less in the hands of an ill-paid office múnshí. As for audit, it was a farce; there was no real auditor, but the Collector

himself. The Bombay auditor certainly might check errors in the abstracts of permanent establishments, or errors in calculation; but that might have been done equally well by a good head clerk. But with regard to the items in the Contingent Bill, which contained all the large and important sums of expenditure, the payment of the real ministers of collection, &c. &c., the auditor-general could merely gaze at them, wonder, and *suppose* it was all right. What did he know of field-watchmen, storekeepers, buttai-dars, zabits, &c. &c.? How could he assert, that five field watchmen were entertained, at village A or B, in excess of what was required? And when they came to be paid in grain, by certain portions of the fees levied, it became a case of 'confusion worse confounded.'

During this time, the Collectors, as they gained experience, detected the more glaring evils, which appeared in the mode of collection, and applied remedies of greater or less efficiency. Thus the facility for fraud, by the use of the heaped measure, early met discovery; and a strike measure was substituted with great advantage. The original measure had been, as observed in a former note, the toyah. It was a conical wooden measure with an iron rim; and it is evident that, by the mode of heaping it up, a vast difference might be caused, which, in large measurements, would amount to an immense sum.* An iron measuring rod (symbolical, to some fertile imaginations, of the Napierian rule) was substituted for the old wooden one; and both these strike measures and measuring rods were obtainable from the Collector by private individuals. These improvements were all mechanical. The universal frauds, committed by the Kardars, and every man subordinate to them, in the collection of the revenue, early attracted notice; and measures were adopted with a view to check them: but all was patchwork, and none struck at the root of the evil. The most common was the use of that degenerate class of men—informers. Low-born rascals, of infamous character, with cringing, buttered manner, spread their influence, like a foul and noxious vapour, over the length

* It must be remembered that all grain transactions in Scinde were regulated by measurement. The average weight of the undermentioned grains per karwar of 240 Toyahs, was:

Jówain and Barley	18 mds.
Bajhue and Gram	20 „
Rice and Arjún	14 „
Wheat, Pease, Múng	21 „
Mustard and Kúnjud	16 „

Now if we consider that 1 toyah was thus equal to only about 3 seers, we may imagine the difference that could be made by fraudulent variations.

and breadth of the land; their very touch, pollution; their haunts, a sink of iniquity. The alliance of Government with such a class of men could not be otherwise than defamatory. Nor did it answer the end in view. Without checking fraud, it only tended to a wider perpetration of it, and the entire withdrawal of good men. A few karwars of grain propitiated the informer; whilst the Kardar, unable or unwilling to pay the required *douceur*, was seen on the roads of the principal station, adorned with the felon's distinguishing mark. But we were still as far as ever from the radical evil. In all these attempts at improvement, the Collectors were left to their own resources, and each adopted his own views of the case; so much so, that from the system in force in each district we might without difficulty or previous acquaintance describe the characters of the several Collectors.

> "All philosophers, who find
> Some favourite system to their mind,
> In every point to make it fit,
> Will force all nature to submit."

Another crying evil, attended at times with equal injustice, was the trial of revenue officers by military commissions; but we shall speak more at large upon this point presently, when we examine the nature of those Courts. We now turn for a while to the mode of administering *criminal and civil justice* in Scinde.

The *bonâ fide* Magistrates were the Collectors and Deputy Collectors. But the Captains and Lieutenants of Police had also magisterial powers, and at first exercised them as frequently as the regular Magistrates. The officers, commanding the Scinde Horse, and the Camel Corps, were likewise magistrates, as well as the Officers of the Camel department, and of the Indus Flotilla. These department-magistrates were intended to act only in cases connected with men serving under their immediate command; but this was not specially stated; and the rule was often transgressed, even when a regular magistrate was on the spot. The plan was good; for when a corps, as the Scinde Horse, was at a distance from any Magistrate's station, with a large bazar, and a number of camp-followers, it was very expedient that the Commanding Officer should be vested with magisterial power: it saved much time and expense. We cannot see the advantage however arising from the extension of the system to officers of corps at the station of a magistrate, or to officers of the Navy, who were similarly located. These departmental magistrates furnished no periodical returns, and were subordi-

nate to no superior. Collectors, Deputy Collectors, Captains and Lieutenants of Police, were all vested with equal powers. They were empowered to punish summarily by imprisonment, with or without labour, for three months ; by corporal punishment of fifty lashes ; or by fine of 100 rupees. In all such cases, the entry of the case, in a book kept for that purpose, was deemed sufficient. They might punish by imprisonment, with or without labour, for six months, on taking down the proceedings in Persian. But this was a mere farce, and served as no check, because there was no system of appeal in such cases ; the proceedings were briefly, carelessly, and unmethodically recorded ; and remained in the office to rot. Of both these kinds of cases, a monthly return was forwarded, through the Collector (who had no superior powers to the Deputy Collector), to the Judge Advocate General at Kurrachí. In cases requiring a higher punishment (except fraud on the revenue by Kardars, highway robbery, wounding, or murder), the proceedings were taken down in English as in a Court Martial.

The following is the form of record employed :—

"Proceedings held before ———, Magistrate of ———, upon the trial of ———, who appears a prisoner before the Court, and the following charge is read to him :—

CHARGE.

For having on or about ——, near ——, between the hours of ——, stolen two bullocks, the property of ———, of ———.

Q. How say you —— ? are you guilty or not guilty?

A. ———

The witnesses for the prosecution are then called in, and examined—the questions and answers being all recorded *verbatim*, and so those for the defence. The finding and sentence follow in due form. The latter was at first unlimited : but afterwards a scale of punishments was drawn up, giving the minimum and maximum in each case ; and Magistrates were advised to adopt a middle course, where no circumstances appeared of an extenuating or aggravating nature. These proceedings were forwarded to the Collector by his Deputies, and to the Captain of Police by his Lieutenants. These officials expressed their approval or disapproval of the finding, or sentence, by remarks at the foot, and transmitted them to the Judge Advocate General at Kurrachí, who made his remarks upon them ; and they were finally submitted to the Governor, who perused them, and made his remarks either confirming, commuting, remitting, or *increasing* the punishment. This was final. An extract of the charge, finding, sentence, and the remarks of all the intermediate authorities, was made in the Judge Advocate General's office, and returned through the regular channel to the Magistrate, when the sen-

tence was carried out. Where corporal punishment formed a part of the sentence, it was carried out on the spot :—pleasant to men, who might after all be acquitted ! There is however much in this system to admire. In cases finally disposed of by the Magistrate, a system of ready appeal might advantageously have been introduced ; but even here, if the inadequacy of his punishments to the crime was constant or glaring, his monthly returns would shew it, and the error be checked for the future. With regard to the record of the proceedings in Persian, in cases requiring from three to six months, it might as well have been omitted. But we think that the method, pursued in more heinous cases, was, in itself, admirably arranged, and tending to the administration, in the great majority of cases, of strict and substantial justice. We have first the opinion of the Magistrate on the spot, who observes the manner of the several witnesses, is aware of local customs and habits, and, by recording the case in his own language and with his own hand, has all its merits before him. We have next the opinion of the Collector, or Captain of Police, supposed (though it is a non-sequitur) to be more experienced than his Deputy or Lieutenant, and who, at all events, views the case apart from all the circumstances, which might have acted, prejudicially or favourably, on the mind of the first Magistrate : then the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, a man, whose whole time and attention is given to the investigation of such cases, and who is best able to detect erroneous conclusions or omissions—and lastly, the judgment of the Governor himself. The decision, in cases so closely scrutinized, is likely to be as correct and just, as one given from the Bench or closet of the ablest Judges.

But whilst we admire this system "*in se*," we cannot overlook the circumstances, which are against it. We must reflect on the great loss of time occurring, when the duty of the Magistrate is thrown on the shoulders of men, whose time would be more than occupied in a proper performance of their other duties. Had the Collectors of Scinde been better acquainted with those duties, and consequently better able to perform them, they could not have had time to try and record such cases without assistance. It will be supposed that a large English office must have been attached to each Deputy Collector. Not so !—the establishment given him for *all* his duties, revenual and judicial, consisted of one English writer, two múnshís, and two peons. Another thing must be considered—the character of the Governor. Sir Charles's energy and admirable habits of business enabled him to undertake a task, which most men would have shrunk from, with far fewer duties of other descriptions to occupy them, and

which few men, military or civil, would, under similar circumstances, have had the ability to go through. Even Sir Charles himself was, after a time, compelled to delegate the confirming power to the Judge Advocate General, in cases, regarding which he agreed with either of the former officers, or when he disagreed with both. But where the trying Magistrate still retained his opinion, he had permission to have the case referred. In such cases, too, the Judge Advocate had not the power of increasing the punishment originally awarded by the Magistrate, though he could remit a portion of it.

And now for the heinous cases above mentioned. In these, the Magistrate confined himself to an investigation of the charge, which was also recorded in English, as in a Court of Enquiry—the Magistrate confining himself to the expression of his opinion, as to there being sufficient grounds or otherwise for further proceedings; and this record, like those of regular trials, was transmitted to the Governor through the Collector and Judge Advocate. Here we must notice the formation of this department. The Judge Advocate General resided at Kurrachí, and was the medium of communication between the Courts and the Governor. He had three assistants, at Kurrachí, Hyderabad, and Shikarpúr. These were generally officers of Her Majesty's service, and conducted the proceedings of Military Commissions. Were the case deemed fit for further trial, the proceedings of examination were forwarded to the Deputy Judge Advocate of the division, for trial by Military Commission. These Courts were held under a letter from the Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) in Council, authorizing Sir Charles, till further orders, to assemble such Courts for the trial of heinous offences—the letter, however, recommending that regular Criminal Courts should be constituted as early as practicable. The Court was composed of a Field Officer as President, and two Members (who were not to be under the rank of Captain, where practicable, and in no case to be officers of less than seven years' standing), an Interpreter, and the Deputy Judge Advocate. On the receipt of the original proceedings, the latter officer summoned the witnesses, and, when prepared, requested the officer commanding the station to assemble the Commission. The Court proceeded as at a Court Martial, and, though no rule beyond that of conscience was given for their guidance, yet the principles of English law, as laid down by the judicial officer, were attended to at the discretion of the Court. The proceedings were then submitted to His Excellency, who had power either to remit a portion, or the whole, of the sentence, to commute it, or even to enhance it. He might

also quash the proceedings, and direct the prisoner to be tried "de novo." Some officers were loth to pass a sentence of death under such a warrant; but there is no doubt that, as long as Sir Charles Napier remained as Governor, the warrant was good in law; though we doubt his power of enhancing the sentences. The recommendation for an early institution of regular Courts was not attended to; and the Military Commissions continued judicial Courts, even after Sir Charles had left Scinde, though their sentences required the confirmation of the Bombay Government. For the first few years after the annexation (though there does not appear any sufficient reason why such Courts should have existed for more than a year or so) it was as cheap and summary a mode of administering justice, as any which could have been devised. But, after all, they had no real *power*. So long as they continued to sit, they were merely the advisers of the Governor, who could attend, or not, to their opinions. Had the decision of the Court been final, or, at all events, not subject to enhancement, we should have approved, at that early stage, of the system adopted; for, as in the minor cases, so here, there existed a strict investigation by different parties, entirely unprejudiced; and we see no reason for supposing that impartial and speedy justice could not be administered equally well in this mode, as in modes of greater technicality.

But no impartial person can acquiesce in either the justice, or prudence of rendering revenue officials amenable to these Courts, for frauds committed on the revenue, even had the revenual administration of the country been perfect, and had the European officers been well instructed in its details. But what must have been the case, where the revenue, in all its branches, was in a state of indescribable confusion—where there was no regular system of accounts—and where all details were kept only in the Persian language and character, or, with respect to private transactions, in the Scindí? To investigate, with any show of justice, cases connected with fraud on the revenue, required at least some knowledge of its details, of the terms employed, and of the system of accounts. Yet men were tried on such charges before a Court, composed of officers, previously engaged only in military duties, who knew no difference between buttaí and kasagí, between a jumabundí and a jumakburch, who knew nothing of the duties, or responsibilities of a Kardar, or the commonest terms employed in the revenue or mercantile transactions. It is to be observed that no Kardar was ever brought to trial upon the *bonâ fide* detection of fraud by the Collectors. Their real prosecutors and persecutors were the above-mentioned

knavish race of informers, who made the calumniating of others their trade,—and a thriving one too in Scinde. Now no Kardar would *openly* commit fraud; such actions might be brought to light, either from a most careful perusal and comparison of papers, or the chance-finding of some private document. The real proof rested in most cases upon documents, the vague and extraordinary nature of which seldom led to any clear results, and often led to the seizure, and unjust and injurious retention, of all the books and accounts of respectable members of the mercantile community. It may well be conceived what mischief was caused by these Courts, and with what general odium they were looked upon. We have not heard of one man brought before them, as a revenue embezzler, who was acquitted. The members of the Commission could not be blamed. They admitted the incompetency of their Courts to adjudicate on such matters: and we doubt not for a moment, that they acted to the best of their judgment. But there was a feeling, prevalent amongst all military men, adverse to Kardars, and men employed in revenue matters. In fact one seldom heard their names mentioned, unaccompanied by some epithet of abuse. Bad as the men might be, justice required that they should be tried by a competent tribunal, or jury. The sentences were exorbitant. They were adjudged to very heavy fines, amounting often to ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand rupees, in addition to imprisonment, with labour in irons, for periods of seven and ten years, and sometimes more. Now, when we consider the lowness of their pay, the ready hearing given to informers, the difficulties thrown in their way in exculpating themselves (none would come forward against Government for fear of being apprehended as accomplices), and the utter ignorance, on the part of the Court appointed to try them, of all matters connected with the subject under investigation, the almost certain punishment, and the final disgrace and impoverishment of themselves and families, we may well ask what man of common respectability and honesty of purpose would accept of service in such a state of affairs? If cheapness were the object, surely a more efficient Court could have been established; and those, who were at all events the best acquainted with revenue details, might have been selected to compose it. Why should not the Collector have been President, and two of his deputies, or those of the neighbouring Collectorate, the members of the Court—the committing Collector or Deputy acting as prosecutor? This would have been something in the right direction, though still open to much abuse and error.

The administration of civil justice was also in the hands of

the Collectors and Deputy Collectors. The departmental Magistrates, however, had power to take up and decide civil suits, not connected with land—as also the Captain and Lieutenants of Police. These all were independent: save that monthly returns of all suits were sent in to the Judge Advocate General, who, together with his Deputies, was likewise authorized to decide civil cases. The instructions stated that Magistrates were to decide all civil suits brought before them to *any amount*, merely remarking that none but Collectors and their Deputies were to take up suits connected with land. It was also ordered that in cases, where the amount in litigation was more than three hundred rupees, the proceedings were to be recorded in Persian; but this remained a dead letter, for no form was given, and all suits were in fact summarily settled. No suits were to be heard, where the cause of action dated before the battle of Meani; but in cases, where good reason was assigned, the period was extended to three years prior to that event. The great majority of suits terminated, where they were instituted; though they were frequently brought up again at a subsequent period, either before the same or another Magistrate.

When a suit was carried through, there was no regular mode laid down for the execution of the decree: that was effected at the discretion of the Court. Where large sums were in dispute, and decrees given, there were very few cases, in which the holder of the decree obtained the value of the award. Perhaps there was no department in Scinde, where more weakness was displayed, than in the execution of decrees. They were generally so much waste paper. No stamps were employed; and the petitions daily presented were innumerable. For one case, where a just decree was fully carried out, there were ten not enforced, and more than forty times the number instituted only to annoy parties at a distance, by causing their being summoned to the Court. The imprisonments, seizure of papers, placing property under the seal of the Court, and other arbitrary measures, taken with a view to carry out decrees, exceeded all belief. Vakils were allowed to plead in Court; and at all the larger towns these existed in numbers, nor were the Courts ever free of them. There was no appeal established by law: in some cases the Collector assumed the right, but very seldom. Sir Charles heard all cases brought before him: but this could only be done, when he was marching through his district, and that was only once. Even cases, which found their way to him, usually led to nothing more than a call for explanation from the Collector, and a confirmation of his decision. The execution of decrees, the summoning of parties and witnesses,

&c. &c., were all effected through the Police, or Kardars, according to convenience; and such orders, and all others, even in the Revenue department, were transmitted by the hand of the plaintiff or petitioner, which opened the door for much bribing and extortion: whilst the officer, from whose Court the process emanated, frequently heard nothing more of the case. Fraudulently, debtors were allowed to be imprisoned on the payment of their subsistence money by the decree-holder. No remuneration was given to witnesses summoned in civil suits. Those required in criminal cases were paid, at the discretion of the Court, up to four annas per diem. The adjudication of cases by Punchayat was authorized and recommended; and the Magistrates gladly adopted a system congenial (fortunately) both to themselves and to the people. In suits connected with land, and in cases of undue exaction on the part of a landlord, or of non-payment of rent on the part of tenants, there was equal confusion and want of system. A perwannah (often loosely worded) to the Kardar generally terminated the case; though it might only have called for information on certain points; and this frequently was never given at all. The evil practice, so common under native governments, was freely adopted in Scinde, viz. that of granting provisional orders, that, if the Kardar on enquiry should find so and so to be the case, then he should do so and so—a practice, which was tantamount to the delegation of judicial authority from the Governor down to the lowest order of officials. It has been stated that no stamps were employed: but subsequently five per cent. on the value of property in litigation was ordered to be levied in all cases. In other departments of the administration, it is not to be denied that there were many points of excellence, but in that of civil justice we can see absolutely none.

We turn next to the *Police*, which Sir Charles Napier has, in his public dispatches, styled "admirable;" and so, in some respects, it was. The European officers were distributed in three divisions; the Captain and a Lieutenant were stationed at Kurachí, and Lieutenants at Hyderabad and Shikarpúr. The force under these officers consisted of mounted, rural, and town Police. There were in round numbers:—

Mounted	600
Rural	1,500
Town	300
Total	2,400

The greater part of these were retained at head-quarters; the remainder were scattered over the country in small detach-

ments of three or four men, and a native officer, in charge of a district. The mounted and rural Police were drilled and disciplined, and went into their districts with their arms and accoutrements, the former a fusil and bayonet. The town Police were located only in cities, to patrol the streets. One of the reasons for forming this Police, was to render them capable, on an emergency, of taking the place of regular troops: and this they have often (especially the mounted Police of Upper Scinde) most praiseworthily done in small "dours." But if the Police were not required internally, why raise them at all? And if so required, and they were drawn together to repel foreign attacks, who were to supply their room in the districts? Moreover, when we consider that the greater portion of the Police was nearly always (in bands of a few men) distributed over the country, we cannot expect that their discipline would remain intact. When so situated, such men are better without discipline at all. Their dress and their heavy arms unfitted them for the duties of an active Police. The horse were excellent as patrols, but we speak more of the rural Police. No man, acquainted with the native character, will attempt to deny that a man on seven, or even ten, rupees per mensem, placed in a village far from controul, with extensive powers, will abuse those powers, and do as little active work as may be. Now, it is a known fact in Scinde, that although less evil resulted than might have been expected—yet that the Police in the villages did commit many overbearing acts; that men were kept in the stocks, were sent as prisoners long distances to the nearest Magistrate on frivolous and sometimes groundless charges; that immediate steps were not always taken to apprehend offenders; and that they had the power, and frequently used it, of submitting men of respectability to much inconvenience, if not to absolute disgrace. No regular mode of reporting existed: and the general mode of procedure was to detain a prisoner in the stocks, until the Policeman (frequently a naick or havildar) had made such investigation, as the case appeared to him to require. After, in many cases, a long detention, the prisoner and witnesses were sent in to the Magistrate, even though the Police officer might have considered him innocent. These acts are not to be laid to the policeman, for he had no contrary instructions, whilst vast power was left in his hands: and it would be absurd to suppose that the men, who formed the Scinde Police, were a superior class of men. We do not recollect having heard of any case in which the Police *prevented* crime, and few in which they even were the bonâ fide apprehenders of criminals. The people trusted in most cases to their own efforts; where crimes

were committed at a distance from the Police station, they were seldom reported; for the inconvenience and discomfort attendant on our Courts were such as prevented a man's willingly coming forward. He knew that he seldom recovered his property through the Government agents; and, if he did, that circumstance was no compensation for the loss sustained by a long journey, and probably longer detention at the Magistrate's Court. In petty cases of assault, petty theft, &c., it was not left optional to the parties to prosecute—not reporting such acts led to the imprisonment of the prosecutor himself. We have said that the people generally trusted to their own exertions to recover their property; and this is certainly advantageous in all countries: but that is no excuse for a Police becoming less vigilant or active. Mutual assistance should be given and received. In most Oriental countries, there exist systems of internal Police of greater or less efficacy according to the nature of the Government. In Scinde, such a system had long existed in great perfection. It may be observed, that the act of tracking up thieves and cattle by their foot-prints was one in general use, and carried out with astonishing success. As the zemindars of villages were held responsible for property so traced to his village, unless he could carry the marks out of it on to the lands of another, it was his interest that his village should boast of one or more able and experienced trackers: and, as they were well paid, they were a numerous body. But it must be borne in mind, that the zemindars had then greater influence in their villages. They were respected and looked up to, and consequently possessed the means of producing the thief, if really in the village; and they received several privileges and immunities for these and other responsibilities attached to their position. Besides this, there were several other village officers, kotwals, and choukidars, who remained at the village, and watched and protected it, receiving for their pay either certain lands at the village, or fees at harvest time in cash or in kind. Now our rule superseded all this internal economy, or at all events disregarded it. It is true we adopted the system of tracking, and acknowledged the responsibility of zemindars in cases, when the prints were taken to their villages. But here the trackers were not the only parties in such pursuits: the Police must be there too: and in all cases the tracker must be sent up to the Magistrate, and suffer all the losses attendant thereon. Good trackers therefore became scarce. They bargained not for all their new extra labour and unpaid endurance: it was no longer an honourable and well-paid employment. In many cases, they did not even receive the original fee bargained for; and thus we lost the

best aids to our Police, that could have existed. But if a good tracker was not procurable, one must be forced from the nearest village, who, in all probability, never tracked for twenty yards in his life. His only course was at once to proceed to the next village, and throw the responsibility on the zemindar. What was originally, and is, in itself, an admirable preventative of crime, became under us the means of injustice and oppression, and tended to facilitate crime. Moreover, we had, from a bias against zemindars in theory, and a tendency to uphold their tenants and dependants against them, caused them to lose much of the respect and influence they formerly possessed; and we therefore crippled them in their ability of knowing and watching the internal condition of their villages: at the same time that they lost under us all their former periodical grants in the shape of remissions, lúngís, &c. &c. Was it fair then to continue holding them equally responsible? The people no longer paid, with their wonted regularity, the kotwals and other village officers, who accordingly no longer performed their duties. Government did not enforce them: and all these causes led to the natural result of a general break down of all that was good and useful in the old regime, while in its place was substituted an inefficient and uncongenial Police.

It has been frequently remarked that Sir George Clerk, when Governor of Bombay, and on a visit to Scinde, highly praised the Scinde Police: and, seeing it, as he did, this was no wonder. He came to Kurrachí, stepped on board a steamer, and was conveyed to Hyderabad; whence, two or three days afterwards, he returned by the same conveyance to Bombay. His Excellency therefore had no opportunity of seeing the Police in villages, or of hearing the accounts of villagers: and, highly as we must esteem the opinion of such a man, we cannot, in this instance, take it as at all affecting the real merits of the case. The powers and duties of the European Police and revenue officers were not sufficiently defined. Both were Magistrates: but offences committed by the Police were punishable only by their own officer, and not by the officer, in whose district they were serving; and consequently they had no dread of the latter. If a policeman committed an offence, or neglected his duty, he had to be sent ninety or a hundred miles off sometimes, although two or three Magistrates were located on the road. The one officer complained, and the other retorted: and this constant clashing of their masters led to similar misunderstanding amongst the subordinate native officers. Scinde, from first to last, was a compound of parties.

The Scinde Police has been upheld by some on account of its cheapness. It was certainly small in number: but we must recollect that its duties were limited, and that a great portion of its real duties were thrown on the regular troops. In a country, where the Military and Civil Government was in the hands of one man, this was easy. In Scinde, the guards over Civil Treasuries, the Jail guards, Treasure (civil) escorts, guards over prisoners on the roads at the Central Jail, and the guards over gangs of prisoners sent from one Jail to another, were taken from troops of the line. Deducting all these expenses from the Civil Department in India, or the Punjab, and testing the result, cheap enough would be the Police required for other purposes! Further, we must not forget that, if internal disturbances had taken place, the Police, scattered about in small numbers, could have done nothing by themselves: but there were troops of the line at hand to aid them. There were troops at Sukkur, troops at Shikarpúr, troops at Larkanah, troops at Khangrah, and at out-posts along the frontier, troops at Hyderabad, and troops at Kurrachí! The tranquillity of Scinde is not so much to be ascribed to the Police, as to the presence of the soldiery, and to the natural peaceableness of the people.

As connected with the Police, we cannot pass over the Jails of Scinde. They were, for the most part, inappropriate buildings, admitting no classification of the prisoners. All were kept together: and the hardened criminal and the young offender, convicted of a first misdemeanour, worked in irons, side by side. Sufficient attention also was not paid to their food and treatment. No reports have reached the world, but many emeutes have occurred, which, had they happened in India, would have called up a hurricane of indignation, and lengthened enquiries. Prisoners shot "en masse" in attempting to escape, and gangs effecting such escape, are not incidents unknown to the Scindians, though they are unknown beyond its frontiers. In every country, especially in a newly-acquired one, such occurrences may take place. They are mentioned here to shew that the amazing efficiency and excellence of all Scinde measures are not quite so apparent, as some have wished to shew.

We have yet one more department to notice, namely, that of the canals and forests. The intention, which led to the formation of this department, was an excellent one. The country, being visited by no periodical rains, was dependent on artificial irrigation, beyond the influence of the inundation of the river. Any thing, therefore, likely to render the means of irrigation more extensively and amply available to

the people, must be looked upon as liberal and judicious, and any outlay on such works cannot reasonably be carped at. Such an extensive work must, at the outset, be opposed by many difficulties, and should not receive censure for not producing immediately any extraordinary results. Statute labour was required in Scinde, and was very justifiable. Perhaps, however, there might have been a more systematic and fairer selection of such labour: and the payment in grain, not always of the best quality, was not a pleasing arrangement. Native agency too might have been more extensively employed, and local native experience. We should like to dwell at greater length on this important subject: but we have not space to do so in this article, and moreover we would not wish to appear to censure, where so much of what would call it forth was really unavoidable.

We do not purpose at present to enter into any discussion, as to the absolute *net revenue* derived from the Scinde Province. We believe that no correct return has as yet been presented either to the public, or to Government: and, moreover, we believe that the necessary records for the preparation of such a return do not exist, and could not be framed in the present state of the revenue offices in the country. But we cannot conclude this brief summary of the working of each separate department without giving, in round numbers, a general idea of the expenses incurred, in comparison with the receipts obtained. The revenues of Scinde have been variously estimated: we will assume them at the highest figure, which, with any shew of reason, has been put forth—namely, forty lacs. The general return of the revenue and expenditure of India for the year 1844-45 gives the receipts from Scinde at twenty-five and a half lacs, and its charges at nearly fifty-five lacs; and, for the year 1845-46, its receipts are stated at twenty-six and a quarter lacs, and its charges at sixty-four lacs! But in this are of course included its military charges. Allowing, however, forty lacs for receipts—and we will venture to say that the estimate will be found far too high—against this, we will set off the civil charges only.

Gross estimated Revenues	Rs.	40,00,000
Expenses of Collection including that of Land Revenue, Customs, &c. &c.....	8,00,000	
Police charges	4,50,000	
Judicial charges, including Jails.....	2,00,000	
Canals and Forests	1,50,000	
		16,00,000
Balance.....		24,00,000

This would leave a balance of 24,00,000 Rs. for its general and military charges. We have not included the charges for jaghírs and charitable grants, supposing them to have been deducted from the gross revenue: nor have we alluded to the charges on account of public buildings. It must also be borne in mind that many of the most important of the police and civil duties were performed by troops of the line; that military officers, receiving no extra pay, formed the principal judicial Courts of the country; all of which, if comparison be made with other provinces and districts, must be considered. The military charges to be computed are those of a division staff, of an arsenal and ordnance department, an extensive commissariat, the Executive Engineer's department, of the wear and tear of large barracks, of the two regiments of Scinde horse, the camel baggage corps, one troop horse artillery, two field batteries, one regiment of European infantry, four regiments of Native infantry, two Belúch battalions (officered as local regiments), and the contingent expenses of all these.

We must not close the period of Sir Charles' administration without alluding to some general measures, which we have not yet noticed. The first of these was the abolition of slavery. Slavery in Scinde was in a state of comparative leniency, its name being all that was practically infamous; for the so-called slaves were rather dependants of the family, and in most instances had no other homes to go to. Nevertheless, the abolition was a liberal and humane measure. It closed the door to much of what, at all events, appeared tyrannical; and, being carried out with great vigour, was useful in proving the power of the Government, and shewing that power first exerted in the cause of the most helpless class. Two other measures, equally productive of good, and both founded on philanthropy, were proclaimed and most vigorously enforced. The Scindians, like all the people beyond the Indus, were accustomed to travel abroad, armed with swords; and the natural consequence of this was the frequent occurrence of woundings, and even murder. In general, no search was made for arms: but it was prohibited to wear them: and any infringement of this law was visited with the heaviest punishments; so that, in a short time, one might travel through the length and breadth of the land without meeting an armed person, when formerly to have met an unarmed one was an equally rare occurrence. We admire too the mode of enforcement employed. A general search by the police, or others, would have led to much petty annoyance and

social disturbance: but the mode adopted left with honest men the means of self-defence.

The other measure, to which we allude, was the prohibition of that barbarous custom, so prevalent in Scinde, of murdering parties caught in adultery—a custom rendered legal by the former Government. It is said indeed by some, that though this practice appeared to be on the decrease, yet that it still continued in secret: that the death of the female was equally brought about by the more secret means of poison or the cord; and that the frequency of cases of alleged suicide on the part of women was to be attributed to this; but we do not agree with this statement, and are of opinion that the crime was really less frequent. Suicides appear to have been equally frequent in the time of the Amírs: but the local officers, not at first aware of suicide being held as a crime, did not report them, till the vigorous move made by Government, in all cases connected with the death of women, brought such deeds to light. And further, in most cases of suicide, there existed some cause for the act. They generally occurred in the poorest families, and were committed by old, as well as young, women. Disease, rage, poverty, or ill-treatment were not amongst the Scindians to be considered as inadequate persuasives to the act: and, in the case of younger females, may be added the strong incentives of jealousy and resentment. We think then that the crime of murder did decrease, which was all we could immediately look for. It was not to be expected that men, who had had peculiar and national ideas of honour, and of the consequences, general and social, of the loss of that honour, could be all at once disabused of their error by the mere dictum of foreigners, who differed from them in religion and social feelings. But it behoved the Government to take the lead, and to use its *power*, rather than its *influence*, to stop the evil. Time alone could render the remedy perfectly efficacious: but the greater the power exerted by the Government, the sooner would that time arrive. More aid should have been sought, however, from other quarters, and principally by meeting with severity the great root and cause of the evil—viz., the crime of adultery. Seeing the almost certain bloodshed resulting from it, it should have been attacked with vigour, and a further punishment should have awaited it, than could be awarded by the decrees of Civil Courts. This was a point well deserving the attention of able legislators, and of those especially, who were well acquainted with the people, and competent to trace, through all its blood-stained course, the numerous circumstances attending, facilitating, or retarding that crime.

The abolition of taxes was another measure, which, under the circumstances, was attended with advantage. We do not see the necessity of such abolition in so strong a light, as many do: but as the East India Company have chosen to abolish them in their other possessions, the benefit was fairly extended to Scinde. We think, that when they have existed on a just principle, or are capable of being fairly equalized, that they might be advantageously continued—with an adequate diminution of *the* tax on land. The great evil, usually resulting from such taxes under native governments, is the fact of their being almost universally farmed out to contractors, who abuse their trust. The taxes in Scinde were of three kinds—1st, "Sharshumair;" this was not (as its name imports) a poll-tax (counting of heads), but rather a shop tax. It was only imposed on such artificers as were Muhammadans, and was levied on every shop at rates varying from two to nine rupees per annum, having no reference to the number of individuals composing the family,—though it made allowances for those men, who could not carry on their business without hired aid. At the father's death, if the son carried on the trade, he continued to pay the tax: but, if too young to do so, nothing was levied from him, till he opened business. Weavers paid four rupees per annum, paper makers eight rupees, dyers nine rupees, &c., &c. The second tax was called "Bahrah," and was levied upon the fishermen. They formed "Mianis" or fishing bands,—each Miani being taxed "*en masse*," and fixing among themselves the rate at which each was to pay. The third, or "Peshkush," was a similar tax levied from Hindu communities, fixed for the town or village, and portioned off into shares by themselves. These taxes were abolished on Sir Charles's return from the hill campaign.

Let us pause here awhile, to consider the vigour and energy of all his measures up to this time. We find Scinde not only conquered as to its armies, but the people sensible of our power, and seeing the Government seeking the advantage of the poorer classes, and adopting measures for the better preservation of life and property—and not only framing such laws, but enforcing them, before it arranged for its own revenues. They saw the inroads of their frontier foes repressed, and provision made to secure future tranquillity. They saw too, in the very first act affecting the revenue, the foregoing by Government of a large sum, which it might have demanded. Scinde was in fact fully ready to receive our civil rule, and, as such, had been *conquered* in the true sense of the word. Up to this time how greatly must we admire the vigour, energy, wisdom, and philanthropy, which

had marked the steps of the conqueror!—how deep should be our admiration of the man, who had extended such blessings to half a million of people, and opened the way for their further enhancement under a more settled government! Here his duty properly ended: and it would have been far better for Scinde, and probably for his own fame, had he then withdrawn. The confused state of the revenue would have been in no way attributable to him, but looked upon as a natural consequence of the change of dynasty, and as offering the first object of attention to an experienced hand. But alas! he undertook more than he could perform. The undivided wisdom of a Napier, in suffering itself to be supplanted by the crude theories of the Kurrachi Revenue Triumvirate, at the same time that it assumed the paternity of their measures, lost its glory.

From this time forth, the acts of the Government were marked by want of vigour, of energy, of wisdom, and of experience. Measures ill-conceived and worse carried out, if carried out at all, brought forth nothing but confusion, fraud, and uncertainty. We have before remarked, and would here again observe, that most of the decrees, circulars, and documents, which emanated from the Government, were so much waste paper. They were not in themselves feasible: and even, had they been so, there was no machinery to carry them out. What was called machinery was so many separate wheels, unconnected, and therefore useless, and, in their nature, of a wrong sort. It seemed to be considered necessary that there should be a certain number of wheels—whether cart-wheels, or watch wheels, was immaterial! They must be constantly revolving, but not with any reference to each other, or to any central directing power. The *energy* of the Government alone was to render everything else unnecessary. Now Sir Charles left no doubt as to the nature of the Government which he aimed at: in his own General Orders he asserted it to be "essentially military"—to such an extent, even, that the senior Officer at a Station (in army rank) was to command at that Station; and, in the same way, a military Officer, employed in his military duties, might interfere with an Officer employed in the civil department, on his own responsibility, if such latter officer was junior in army rank. But this principle is plainly and grossly erroneous: for it follows from such a rule, that the Captains of a Regiment *must be* more fitted for civil affairs than the Subalterns—and that merely, *because* one is Captain, and the other Lieutenant. Yet many Subalterns have proved them-

selves good civil Officers; and we doubt whether any vast amount of administrative talent must necessarily exist in the venerable brains of every Brigadier. After all, the distinctive character of a Military Government is not, that army rank is the rule in all departments; and that the two great branches, the civil and the military, are to be inseparably connected; nor does the mere employment of military officers justly give a Government that name. If it did, what a vast portion of India is still under military rule! When therefore we talk of a Military Government, we mean one that is so in its principles of action—one that is divested of forms and technicalities; where *expediency* is the great moving principle; where the summary proceedings of military law in the field are the temporary law of the land; where there is *no* civil power; where armed and disciplined forces take the duties of the police; and where the institutions are temporary—their duration depending on the military operations going on in the country: in short, a Government of *physical,* as opposed to one of *moral,* force. The object of such a Government ought only to be to prepare the way for a Civil Government. To argue that it was required in Scinde permanently, would be to declare that Scinde is still unconquered. To say that the Scindians would gladly retain it, would be absurd; for there is nothing in its nature congenial to their habits and institutions. But we need not argue further, for the Government in Scinde was not Military beyond the year 1845. Afterwards, it was an attempt, and a very unsuccessful one, to amalgamate the Civil and the Military; and it is to be hoped, for the sake of India, that such administrative experiments will not be suffered to occur again.

We have alluded in several places, to the confusion and want of checks, observable in all the departments. A plan was adopted to remedy this; viz., periodical (weekly) diaries were required from every person at the head of an office, which were perused by the Governor. These contained the subject-matter of every English letter received in, and despatched from, the office, and a similar brief record of every Persian paper so received and despatched, also of *purwanahs* and *urzis*. *Rubukaris* were unknown in Scinde. It is evident that this plan must have caused great labour in an office, the English duties of which devolved on the European Officer and his clerk. The labour, however, would have been of slight moment, if the system acted as any real check; but, except in glaring cases of irregularity, it failed in being of any general utility. In such a brief record, it was impossible to enter into the

merits of a case; and the subject-matter, as recorded, might be very different from the real contents of the *purwanah*, or *urzi*, through the total inadvertence of the transmitting officer. Thus the following might be the entry:—"To the Kardar of so and so, informing him, that a lease had been given to A. B., granting him twenty bigahs of land in village D., rent free for two years, and subsequently to be taxed at the usual rate." Now who was to judge of the expediency of this lease, or of the circumstances attending it? What check was this brief memorandum? In some cases, however, it acted well, as in the following supposed entry:—"To the police officer of Allahabad, blaming him for the long detention in confinement of Kadir Buksh, accused of theft, without reporting." Now, if such an entry as this appeared frequently, and served to indicate an existing evil, it might lead to a circular order, laying down some rule for the timely reporting of such detentions. But one letter would have answered as well; and the remedy would have been applied at an earlier date. In fact, the diary was a good means of testing the qualifications of different officers, by shewing their attention to their duties and to minute details: but it was, and could be, no *real* check.

At length, in October, 1847, Sir Charles Napier left Scinde for England, and was succeeded in the Civil department by Mr. Pringle of the Bombay Civil Service, under the title of Commissioner of Scinde. Sir Charles, on making over the province, proclaimed it to be no longer under a Military, but under a Civil, Government: and great changes were naturally expected. But these came not so rapidly: every thing remained as before: even the Military Commissions continued to be the chief Criminal Courts, although, we believe, they were thenceforth illegal. A report indeed obtained circulation, that Mr. Pringle saw nothing requiring immediate change, and that the then existing system met with his cordial approbation. This, however, was given out so immediately after his arrival, that we are not inclined to attach more credit to it, than to the alleged extempore satisfaction of Sir George Clerk with the Scinde Police: and Mr. Pringle's subsequent cautious conduct does not warrant our acceptation of this, certainly premature, opinion. However, whether by choice or necessity, no radical changes were made. But it soon became apparent, that the vigour and energy of the head were gone: and this fact speaks volumes against a system of Government, the success of which depended on so precarious a circumstance, as a change of Governors. Vigour was the main spring of the former rule, and alone had given it whatever it possessed of good

working and success. A want of it by degrees crept into all departments; and what had been bad before, became worse now. As no change in revenue matters, which had been so long looked for, seemed likely to take place, the landholders resorted with greater freedom to their only resource; viz., extensive combinations with the Kardars, and other native revenue officers. Even supposing Mr. Pringle to have had the option and inclination of placing the revenue administration on a firmer and more efficient principle, he could not have carried it out without competent ministers; and those of the old school would not easily have been broken in for the work. Besides, we believe, the powers, with which the Commissioner was vested, were not so ample as some have supposed. He certainly conferred one great benefit on the people, by throwing wider open the door of appeal. This soon became known: and his Court was overwhelmed. But these appeals were not (as they ought to have been) direct. They were forwarded by dâk to the Commissioner's Persian Interpreter—an excellent officer of Her Majesty's army: the subject-matter was written in English on the back, and the Interpreter passed the order received from the Commissioner, in English, or Persian, on the face. If the Courts of the Western Presidency at all assimilate to those of the Eastern, Mr. Pringle must have had certain muscular twitchings, on receiving the proceedings, which emanated from some of the Courts of Scinde. They consisted, for the most part, of the original petition of plaint, with the decree written across it, or in a corner, varied at times by the annexation of a Scindí scrawl, supposed to be a bond. At all events, a stricter adherence to form was the consequence, and it may be supposed, in many cases, a more impartial judgment. Beyond this, and a few other patchings, no radical change has been as yet introduced.

An attempt has been made towards a settlement: but it has failed. The reasons are obvious. The mere limitation of the Government demand for a term of years will not render it popular or advantageous, unless the interests of all parties in the estate are so clearly defined and secured to them, as to render the advantages resulting from such limitation, not a matter of scramble and speculation, but of fairness and certainty. This can only be effected by a record, however brief, of the rights of all individuals concerned—and this for each village. The *primary* settlement of a country, though carried on without such accurate data as those made at future periods, is, perhaps, of all the most important: and, it seems to us, should not only never exceed, but should even fall

short of the rates, which appear in the first instance to the settlement officer to be just. Nor should his work be done at his Sudder Station, but at the villages—too much stress not being laid on the absolute returns of former years, but due allowances made for the nature of the lands, and other local circumstances affecting each community. Nothing of this nature, however, can be expected in Scinde, so long as the present race of Kardars remain in power. It is against their interest, and that of the landholders in combination with them, to aid the introduction of such a system. The province of Scinde (as we said before) is not of greater extent than would form a good sized Commissionership, containing three subordinate districts, or four at the outside, with a district officer and two assistants, civil or military, covenanted or uncovenanted, in each. Well-paid Tahsíldars would occupy the posts of the Deputy Collectors now existing. The combination would be broken, and the settlement of the country effected. If a cash payment was found impracticable at first, the Jumma might be fixed, partly in cash and partly in kind ; but the inconvenience and loss entailed on the farmers by this mode of payment would become practically so apparent to them, that, we confidently believe, its adoption would not be necessary after a few seasons. The regular payment of instalments, a matter hitherto totally neglected in Scinde, would not be the least advantage resulting both to Government and to the people from this system. Another great practical benefit would be the greater efficiency of the establishment, and the carrying out of all orders, instead of their dwindling down, as is now too frequently the case, into mere delegations of authority. The wish of the Collector would be the turning point, and not that of the Kardar.

"Sit annulus tuus, non ut vas aliquod, sed tamquam ipse tu, non minister alienæ voluntatis, sed testis tuæ."—*Ciceronis Epist.*

We must now bring our remarks to a close : but before doing so, we would remove an objection, which might be brought against us, for an overweening estimate of the merits of Civilians, as *a class*. The inefficiency, which we have had to notice in the executive officers in Scinde, was not intended to be brought against them *as military*, but *as untrained*, officers : and our remarks would apply with equal force to members of the Civil Service, placed in such important situations, without previous training in subordinate posts. We are not of those, who consider a two years' residence at Haileybury as *necessarily* making a youth more absolutely qualified for

civil duties, than his brother, the soldier. According to the disposition of the lad, it may or may not act beneficially on him, by implanting habits of industry and study, which will tend to lead him through his career in life with honour to himself and utility to his fellow-creatures. But the same objects are attained by the soldier, who receives the liberal education of a gentleman (and what soldier does not in these days ?) and we believe the one to be equally qualified with the other for civil duties, so far as education is concerned. Let the young man, fresh from Haileybury, and the ensign, from his regiment, come together in India, and commence training—and all will rest on their relative natural abilities, industry, and perseverance. According to that, ten years will see the civilian and soldier, either neck and neck, or distanced the one by the other. The names of some of the ablest of India's civilians are coupled with a military title; and in some cases too, their brows are adorned with the laurels of the hero. We cannot but think that all impartial men will agree with us as to the inefficiency of either the untrained civilian, or the untrained soldier, when placed in civil charge of a district.

In conclusion, we trust that we have, to a certain extent, succeeded in delineating the general nature of an administration, which was truly one *by itself*—which owed all its advantages to its illustrious designer, and many of its failings to causes, over which he had no controul—in which weakness, inefficiency, and injustice were strangely blended, with vigour, talent and philanthropy; and in which the candid observer will find so much to censure, and so much to praise.

ART. II.—*Zeila; the Fair Maid of Caubul; a tale of the Afghan insurrection and massacre of the British troops in the Khúnd Caubul passes, in six Cantos; by Charles Mackenzie, Esq., late 41st Welch Regiment. London.* 1850.

A POEM in six cantos, and four hundred long octavo pages, is rather more than we can stand in this, the prosiest of ages. But from his work, whatever he think, a doughty critic must not shrink. Being "a scholar," it is fit, that he should boldly "speak to it."* 'Tis true such apparitions are, in these prosaic regions, rare. They seldom come across our path, to win our smiles, or wake our wrath. We very rarely have to do, with any thing that is not true. Our pages *have* a sombre hue. And yet we do not look askance, at either poem or romance. Far be it from us to refuse a fitting welcome to the Muse. But ever on the critic's table, lie heaps of fact and little fable. Southey is dead and Moore is dying, perhaps, e'en now, in grave-yard lying. Scant, therefore, are the streams that flow, from the great spring of D'Herbelot.† It would be something to review *Kehama* on the banks of the Ganges; and *Lalla Rookh*—dear Lalla—too, where now encamped are our phalanges, at Hussan Abdul,‡ charming spot, where Akbar's son the world forgot—forgot his throne, pomp, power, and all, in presence of his Nourmahal. But hard, most hard, the critic's fate, born half a century too late. Practise we must, however inclined, reviewing of another kind; for, fatal to poetic hopes, our work is now with troops, not tropes. With fleshly feet 'tis ours to tread lands to which airy fancy sped—with adult eyes to look on things, beyond our young imaginings. Hydaspes now, or Hyphasis, like any other river is; and "frosty Caucasus"§ no more, than

* "Thou art a scholar. Speak to it, Horatio."—*Hamlet.*

† D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* was once the Hippocrene of our Eastern tale-tellers. They drank their inspiration there. "I dont care one lump of sugar for my poetry," said Lord Byron; "but for my costume and my correctness—on those points I will combat lustily." All things considered, our English Poets got up their orientalism with tolerable correctness. The only wonder is, that they did not make *more* mistakes.

‡ Hussan Abdul is honorably mentioned in *Lalla Rookh*, as one of the halting places of the princess, and we are told that "here often had Jehanguire, the Light of the Faith, wandered with the beloved and beautiful Nourmahal; and here would Lalla Rookh have been happy to remain for ever, giving up the throne of Bucharia and the world for Firamorz, and love in this sweet lonely valley."

§ Or who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking of the *frosty* Caucasus?—
Horace calls it 'the inhospitable Caucasus'—
Sive facturus per *inhospitalem*
Caucasum, vel qua loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.

Shooter's Hill in days of yore. 'Tis nothing now at all to scan the mystic realms of Khorassan; we look at it quite close and swear, that there are no "veiled prophets" there. Whilst even in thy fair realms, Cashmere, we smoke our pipes and drink our beer. Thy blissful vale, thy perfumed lake, are only things for us to—*take*. Time *was*, we dreamt of thee with rapture. Time is, we think but of thy—capture!

But happily we are not so pressed for time as to be unable to write ordinary prose. Mr. Mackenzie seems to have found it very easy to write verse. When Mr. Wakley said in the House of Commons that it was very easy to write such poetry as Wordsworth's by the mile, he made a very grievous mistake; but it certainly is not difficult to write verse by the mile. It is easier indeed to write verse of a certain kind than to write well-balanced prose. One is seldom at a loss for a rhyme; but one is often sorely puzzled about the euphonious rounding of a sentence of prose. Many people can dance tolerably well, who cannot walk with becoming elegance and dignity. We do not say that this is Mr. Mackenzie's case. He walks better than he dances. We like his prose, of which there is a scattering in his *notes*, much better than his poetry. We do not see under what compulsion he was to deliver himself in verse. Judging by the *notes*, to which we have referred, our author possessed a "MS. Journal," kept during his residence in Afghanistan,—a journal which, judging by the specimens before us, would have been more acceptable to the friends, who have subscribed to his book, and more likely to be patronized by the public, than the poem in six cantos before us. We do not ask why the author publishes at all. He has satisfactorily answered the question; and we honour him for what he has done. "An object," he says, "of the deepest and *most filial interest* has sanctified 'the author's labours throughout the composition of the present 'work;" and we have heard enough from other sources to believe that no book was ever written under a worthier impulse, or better deserved the patronage of the public. All we ask is why he should have written a poem in six cantos, whilst he, apparently, had a volume of unexceptionable prose already written on his table. We say "apparently," for it is just possible that the oft-quoted "MS. Journal" may be something like

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Our troops who wintered at Bamian, found it both frosty and inhospitable. As for the *Hydaspes*, in spite of the enthusiastic protest of a writer in the *North British Review*, it has ceased to be a "fabulous" river. It is nothing more to us now than the Thames. Victor Hugo thought it a very fine thing to read the *Constitutionnel* on the banks of the Hydaspes. In these days we read anything anywhere, and feel no surprise at all.

the "MS. Dramas," which novelists, lacking more legitimate mottos, are apt to quote at the head of their chapters—useful, and not unpardonable, fiction. But assuming the journal to be a fact, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Mackenzie would have acted with more wisdom in publishing it, than in writing and printing eight thousand lines of octo-syllabic verse. The "subscribers," whose names are printed in the volume before us, would have paid their guinea, we repeat, quite as cheerfully for the writer's prose as for his verse; the public would, to some extent, have purchased the volume; and it is not improbable that we should have had to welcome a really valuable addition to our scattered records of the Afghan war. As it is, we can hardly hope that *Zeila* will find many purchasers among the public, or many critics among the press. There are very few poems in the present day, which find either purchasers or critics.

We are very sorry for this. We are always sorry for the poets. They are more sensitive on the score of failure than other men, and they are much more certain to fail. A novelist, an essayist, or a writer of travels, seldom fails altogether. He obtains some readers; he sells some copies of his book; he is pretty sure to be noticed by the critics. But for the poet there is nothing but great success, or profound abysmal failure. It was recently remarked by a writer in one of our local journals, dating from that great mart of unsaleable literature, London, that there is nothing sadder in the vocation of the critic than his necessary contact with heaps of poetry, that he cannot conscientiously praise, and which he is most reluctant to condemn—poetry, which he knows will neither be bought nor read by any living creature beyond the pale of the author's own immediate connexions. Doubtless, this *is* very sad. Poets, as we have said, are very sensitive, and their delusions are very strong. They have great faith in themselves. An historian has faith in his facts; a novelist has faith in his story; but a poet has faith in his own genius, and believes that *that* will sell his book. His failure is, therefore, the more mortifying, inasmuch as it is more personal to himself. He has more pride in his work than any other literary workman, for it is more immediately, and more entirely, an emanation from his own soul; and he loves his brain-child in proportion to the pleasure, which it has afforded him to beget it. It is fortunate, if poetry is to him "its own exceeding great reward:"* for it is often-times the only reward

* If we err not, this declaration has been put forth manfully enough by a young Anglo-Indian poet, in one of two volumes of poetry, of more than ordinary merit, recently published in London. We have now only one of these before us, and in this he writes:—"I have written poetry, because I felt it; I publish for no better reason." Mr. Minchin, who dates his prefaces from Tranquebar, is, we believe, a young Civilian

that is in store for him. The public will read very bad novels, very indifferent biographies, and very vapid books of travel, but they have no place in their hearts, or in their libraries, for any but good poetry. It must be *very* good to induce them to read it at all.

We are sorry then, that Mr. Mackenzie should have thought of writing a poem in six cantos instead of publishing a volume of prose: but, as the deed is done and not to be cancelled, we purpose to give some account of the performance. The character of the work is pretty clearly indicated by the title-page. A little time ago, the loves of an English officer and a fair maid of Kabul would have afforded a subject for one of those wild and incredible romances, which the reader never thinks of associating with the incidents of real life, any more than he does the exploits of Hercules, or the achievements of the Giant-killer. Now such an incident belongs rather to the historical, than to the romantic. "Omne ignotum pro *poetico*." We think of the intrigues of British officers and Kabuli ladies, not to marvel, but to deplore. No sketch of imagination is demanded. We have to regard but a sombre fact. The Parises and Helens of the Afghan war are, unhappily, no creatures of the fancy. When the history of that great event comes to be written, the historian may deal gently with the crime, by fairly weighing the temptation: but he must not obscure the fact. Like all other facts, it must have its legitimate place in history. The "causa teterrima" was there. But to what extent it conduced to the

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on the Madras Establishment. His two volumes of poetry published in England—"*Trafford, the Reward of Genius, &c.*" are of too European a character to warrant our reviewing them in this journal; but we may here transfer to our pages a fine sonnet, addressed to a Jesuit Missionary in India. The poems are among the best, that have emanated of late years from authors unknown to fame, and, as such, have been honoured with unusual commendation by some of the leading critical journals of Great Britain:—

May the pure thoughts, that in thy spirit bloom,
Shield thee from all the glooms that might appal.
Seldom on thee thy country's accents fall:
In youth and health thou seek'st a living tomb.
The comforts of an affluent English home,
The voices of affection, that would call
Thee back to earth, thou hast abandoned all,
And followed God. Wait: thy reward will come.
We are of different creeds: but He recks not
What human names they bear, who love Him here:
The forms, for which we battle on this spot
Of earth, are nought to Him. The heart sincere
Makes the true worship: and a world forgot
Is, aye, the noblest altar we can rear.

This is very dangerous doctrine, but it is not bad poetry. We hope that Mr. Minchin will give us some day an opportunity of reviewing a volume of his poems.

great Kabul outbreak, it is the province rather of the historian, than of the critic, to declare. Mr. Mackenzie seems to have very little doubt about the matter himself. But what would the *Iliad* be without Paris and Helen? What should we care about the siege of Troy, but for the judgment of Paris, and the fatal gift of "Idalian Aphrodite golden-reined"—

The fairest and most loving wife in Greece ?*

What should we care indeed, for the battle and the strife, but for these loving auxiliaries? And what would Mr. Mackenzie's poem be without its *Zeila?* But we must proceed to show what it is.

The poem opens with a brief description of an Afghan autumn, which is not an unfavourable specimen of the author's powers of rhyming:—

O'er Caubul's far famed clustering vines
No more the summer's sun declines;
O'er orchard, bow'r, and shady grove,
The signs of early autumn rove;
And russet tints o'er nature fling
A sober dim apparelling;
The waning earth seems strewn with gloom;
And, mournful of her summer bloom,
The year, grown ancient and sedate,
Lacks the broad, genial beams, which late,
With affluent sheen and fervid pow'r,
Gladden'd its lost meridian hour;—
And summer smiles no longer strew.
The rugged steeps of Behmaroo,
Or sport the heathery shrubs among,
Which stud the slopes of Seah sung!

The time being thus indicated, we have a sketch of the place. The reader is told that if he would "Caubul's city fairly view," he must "seek Kaja-Suffa's westward height, when morning beams are o'er the dew;" and, looking down thence, he will see "the village roofs of Beni-sher" and the "hushed city," "Behmaroo's storied height, and the British cantonment." This last unfortunate section of the panorama calls forth some serious reflections, and is indignantly apostrophised by the poet:—

Doth martial musing chain thy mind?
Sad recompense thou'lt surely find,
If fall, in mute and just surprise,
Thy practised and prophetic eyes,
Where the ill-famed cantonment lies.
Oh! monument of feeble skill!
Oh! offspring of one ruling will!

* So Alfred Tennyson—but whether Helen was the most loving *wife* in Greece, let Menelaus declare.

Oh! sorry stronghold, wrought and planned
With scarce the merit of design—
Hemmed in, o'er-looked on every hand ;
The neighbouring forts, and heights command
Each inmost or more distant line !
Oh! was it that our English blood,
However 'gainst fierce odds, withstood
Victorious and triumphantly,
The battle-shock on open field,
Unaided by the rampart's shield,
That thou wert fashioned thus to be
The grave-yard of our chivalry?
On whom may fall the signal blame,
Be their's the deep and lusting shame—
Be their's the woe, which harrowing roams
Through Britain's desolate bleeding homes—
Be their's with shrinking soul to hear
The phantom wail and shriek of fear,
Yelled constant o'er the severing wave,
From that barbarian distant clime
Of treacherous wrath and damning crime,
Where Britain's thousands for all time,
Have found a wide unhonored grave?

Having thus bestowed a poetical imprecation upon the designers of the Kabul cantonments, whom, perhaps, in Parliamentary language, we ought to call upon him to "name;" our author proceeds to describe the state of suppressed feeling at Kabul—the smouldering fires of yet undeveloped rebellion. He asks—

Why doth each stalwart Barukzye,
With restless and indignant eye
Each passing Affghan vengeful scan,
Who wears no emblem of his clan ?

and then proceeds to answer the question, by saying that the hated Suddozye brood had "turned a traitor hand" against "their common country's good" and were lording it uncontrolled :—

Upheld by British foemen's gold,
And British aid alone.

The poet then apostrophises the unfortunate Shah, and plainly demonstrates that he is no supporter of the Palmerston, Auckland, and McNaghten policy :—

Oh! thou Shah Sujah—puppet king—
Imbecile and misgoverning !
Thou. o'er whose long-debased soul,
No virtue holds a due controul ;
Thou, false alike to friend and foe,
False to thy birth-land, and her woe—
Cruel, sagacious, and forsworn,
Beware, beware ! The coming morn
Of retribution is at hand,
When the night-darkness of the land,

And fell oppressions cankering blight,
Shall yield to freedom's holier light!
Beware! Fate's keen and vigilant eye
Now gloats above thy destiny.
Full soon one vengeful, Afghan knife
Shall seek thy long proscribed life;
For vow'd and planned the signal doom
Which shall consign to traitor's tomb!
What, though the striker sear thy name!
Not his shall be the assassin's fame;
But thousands shall applaud the blow
Which lays the tyrant sovereign low,
And vaunt thy double treachery's meed,
A glorious and a patriot deed!

Poor Shah Sujah! He has no friends, not even among the poets. The gentle race deal with him even more ungently than the historians. He tried very hard to convince the world, through our political officers, that he was true to the British cause; but neither the political officers, nor the world, would believe his stories. When he fell at last—when his strange eventful life was ended by assassination—no man sorrowed for his fate. Mr. Mackenzie, it may be remarked, has taken a poetical licence in the couplet, which describes the death of the king. He says His Majesty fell by "one vengeful Afghan *knife*;" and then, in a note, quotes a passage from Eyre's Journal, showing that he was shot by a double-barreled gun. The knife of the assassin is, we know, the legitimate instrument sanctioned by poetry and romance, and it has the advantage of rhyming with "life," which a gun cannot possibly do.

We suspect that our author is not far wrong in his estimate of Shah Sujah's character. That he was the falsest of the false, it is difficult not to believe. We do not mean to say that this is broadly apparent on the surface; for nothing more puzzled our political officers, both before and after the Shah's death, than the part taken by His Majesty in the disastrous rebellion, which terminated his own life. When Mr. Mackenzie says that he was "false alike to friend and foe," he probably lands, after a flying leap, in the same conclusion, that would be reached, after much diligent investigation and much balancing of evidence, by a pains-taking laborious historian. The Shah probably had no settled purpose of any kind; but was willing to unite himself with one party or another, as his interests or his fears dictated. Intensely selfish, he cared neither for the British, nor for his own countrymen, and would have sacrificed, for any purpose of his own, the one with as much willingness as the other. He was ostensibly going out to attack Jellallabad, when he was murdered; and, whilst preparing for the expedition, was writing letters of fervent devotion to the British

authorities, and urging them to supply him with money. He professed the same loyalty to both parties, and would have been prepared at any moment to ally himself with either, as soon as victory declared itself unmistakeably on one side or the other. What he wanted all along was British money and British support, without British controul. The Company has had many hard bargains in its day; but never such a bargain as that Shah.

After thus apostrophising the "Puppet King," the poet goes on to describe the general longing of the people of Kabul for the return of Dost Mahomed. Britannia is then exhorted to look to her fading laurels,—

> For Caubul owns one resolute man,
> The astute Aminullah Khan.

We have then a sketch of the career of this resolute man; and are presently introduced to "Aminullah's halls," where the conspirators are assembling. The picture of the Afghan Sirdars is not a very flattering one. Their antecedents are set forth in the darkest possible colours;

> For there be those, whose deeds may vie
> With aught of foulest, darkest die;
> Whose fiery temperaments may mock
> The tempest's most unfett'red shock;
> Whose appetites for blood may suit
> Alone th' untamed and tameless brute;
> Or those terrific monster forms
> Which Afghan superstition deems,
> To o'errule the devastating storms,
> And guide the lightning's livid beams.

We then have a sort of Homeric catalogue of these worthies, now deep in the conspiracy. "Sage Aminullah leads the van," and after him come divers chiefs, whose somewhat impracticable names are thus ingeniously woven into verse :—

> Moollah Shikor—Nawaub Zemaun;
> The fierce implacable Sultan Jan;
> Syud Gholam Moyanudin,
> The Mullah Momund; Khan Sherin,
> The Mirza of the Kuzzilbashes;
> The Sirdar of the Hazirbashes;
> The bold and chivalrous Shumshudin,
> The chieftain of Jubbar Khail;
> The brother of th' exiled Amir,
> Gaunt Jubbur Khan—and Khojah Mir;
> Abdullah, Lord of Pisheen's vale,
> The leader of the Atchukzyes;
> Mahommed Shah—the powerful Khan,
> And chieftain of the fierce Ghiljyes;
> Asman, chief Khan of Kohistan,
> Taj Mahommed—Abdul Rahim;
> The Khans Secunder—Zulficar—Kurim,

And Sultan Khan and Shah Pazi,
With Sirdars of less haught degree.
And never since the race of Ghore,
In the stern boist'rous times of yore,
Allegiance to their Shah forswore,
Was like assemblage known.

This, we think, very probable. That such assemblage was ever known at all seems in the last degree problematical. We might take exception to more than one name in this list: but it seems especially hard that poor Khan Sherin Khan—the chief of the Kuzzilbashes, who, Mr. Mackenzie tells us in a note, was the only chief true to the British—should be included among the conspirators. It was a great mistake that we did not make more use of this man. He might have done us good service in our need.

This respectable assembly is harangued by Aminullah Khan, who begins by denouncing the amours of the Feringhis:—

And shall we brook the foul disgrace,
The Kaffir heaps on our ancient race?
Must we our nerveless spirits school,
To fawn and cringe to British rule,
With freedom—birth-land—bought and sold,
For the accurs'd Feringi's gold?
Shall the Feringi's gentler voice
Ravish unscath'd our household joys?
The recreant daughters of our land
Stretch out the soft enticing hand
Of fellowship, and all resign
Their yielding nature's frail design,
To amorous dalliance, and their charms
Confide to our oppressors' arms!
The laced Rhoobundis, cast aside,
No longer their bright features hide;
But, careless of their country's woes,
They wive them with its bitterest foes!
They taunt us—ceaselessly revile,
And insult upon insult pile!
Declares each braggart infidel,
In Afghan promises may dwell
Nor faith nor truth; that they
A wide interpretation claim—
For shameless guile the fitting name;
That honour's fair and stainless fame
Our household dictates disobey—
That no more ruling feature they
In Afghan character descry,
Than dark deceit and treachery!
They tell us too in ribald words,
How Afghan wives despise their lords,
And scandalous proverb quote:
An Afghan dame in Búrka-cover
Is never without a secret lover—
Woe worth each lying throat!

Having said this, and much more besides, in denunciation of the British, he is followed by "Gaunt Jubbur Khan" (we cannot

extol the felicity of the epithet) who descants upon the wrongs of the Barukzyes, and promises to revenge the sufferings of his tribe upon "haughty Shuja's race accurst." Abdullah Khan Atchukzye is the next speaker, and he does not mince his words more gently than the former speakers.

'Twere waste of words and time to tell
What further in the conference fell—

says Mr. Mackenzie; and the curtain falls on the first canto, the seeds of rebellion having been sown broadcast over the doomed country.

From this dark scene of rebellion and revenge we are suddenly transferred, with good artistical effect, to a paradise of fair women, doubly gentle and doubly delightful after our recent intercourse with the bloodthirsty vindictive Khans. There is some good scenic description; and then we come to this very enticing account of the dames and maidens of Kabul, who are sporting free and unfettered in the open air:—

A merrier band hath never yet
'Mid those secluded precincts met,
To hold a festal jubilee,
Than now, in joyance wild and free,
Spirit away the tedious hours,
Disporting mid the laughing bowers,
O'er-clustered thick with autumn flow'rs.
The merry song-note rings on high,
Twin'd with the rheband's harmony,
And the light echoes sweetly roam
Along the Musjid's fretted dome.
Joy, the welcome guest, is there
Caressing fond each maiden fair,
Shedding o'er each fluttering heart
The emblems of his subtle art,
Fanning now with pliant wing
Each secret soft imagining,
Gilding each moment as it flies
With the sunshine of his smile,
While around are sparkling eyes,
Just tribute paying all the while.

A carpet rich in brightest hues
The Musjid's marble floor bestrews;
And its soft and yielding breast
By damsel forms is lightly press'd.
Grouped around like cluster'd roses,
Here one listless form reposes,
In lolling ease; another there
Braids her chosen comrade's hair;
Another yet, and fairer still,
Binds, with happiest taste and skill,
Wreaths of rare and radiant flowers,
Rifled from the neighbouring bowers;
While her next companion's eyes
Gleam with eloquent surprize,

As her graceful arm she throws,
Child-like, around the breathing snows
Of an envied favourite's neck,
To scan with feminine delight,
The mingling chains of sequins bright,
And jewels rare, which sparkling deck
The wearer's form with rays of light.
Twain, engaged in grand duello,
With a well-judged aim and sure,
Launch the purple globes and mellow
Of luscious Husaini Angur ;
Or, continuous to and fro,
O'er the carpet's noiseless breast,
Opposing Surdas deftly throw ;
While triumphs one with child-like jest,
If, in the opposing shock, the first
Her rivals fruity missiles burst ;
For scattered wastefully around
Ripest fruits bestrew the ground,
Mingl'd with flowers of lustrous bloom,
Wafting floods of rich perfume ;
While sprinkled o'er the numdah's green
Honied sweet-meats various hued
Recal the modest daisy's sheen
O'er trim lawn adorning strewed.
Thus the lessening hours pass by
Unshadowed, sinless of alloy,
Beaming ever rapturously,
Banded neath the rule of joy !

We are then introduced to Zeila herself,—

———proud Caubul's boast,
The loveliest of her damsel host ;
The heart, the pride of Kohistan,
And ward of Aminullah Khan !

It appears from the account given of her "birth, parentage, and education" that she was born in Kashmere, raised in Kohistan, and called the Fair Maid of Kabul.

Night came on, as it ever will in Kabul as in other places, and the "damsel band" were compelled to betake themselves home again "to their lordly halls." Their horses were brought to convey them homewards ; and so, encasing themselves "in the all-concealing Burka cover," for which Mr. Mackenzie, like other men of taste, has no toleration, they started for the town of Kabul. On the road, however, Zeila's palfrey runs away, and, making a desperate leap over the trunk of a tree, "stumbles, struggles, scrambles on," and presently comes fairly down with his lovely burden. Just at this critical moment, the hero of the tale makes his appearance :—

With one unearthly giant bound,
He clears the space—now rescuing weaves
His powerful arm her form around,
From scaith, perchance from death receives
The maid, ere yet she reach the ground !

We are greatly relieved by this assurance; for, as the lady had fainted, and the horse had "rolled prostrate upon the grass," we confess that we had jumped to the conclusion, that the lady *had* reached the ground.

For sometime we are left in doubt as to the nature of "the form," which, "with lightning rush, burst through the dense and neighbouring bush." It might be an Afghan—perhaps, Aminullah Khan himself; or an Englishman, Sir William McNaghten, General Elphinstone, Sir Alexander Burnes, or any other distinguished character. Whoever it might be, we soon learn that, determined to prove that it is something more than a bundle of clothes which he has rescued, he "unclasps the jewel band," and the "unfettered folds reluctantly"—

> From the veiled features slowly glide,
> And, falling timorously aside,
> Reveal the lovely mystery.

We have then an animated account of the beatific vision, that burst upon his enamoured sight; and, in the following stanza, we learn that the gentleman, who is so "enraptured and amazed," is "young Evelyn." The effect of so much beauty was quite bewildering. It was too much for his weak intellect to withstand:—

> So wild the visionary trance,
> Which steeped his being with delight,
> That all around him seemed to dance
> And float amid a sea of light;
> The very sward, the circling trees,
> Seemed life-endued: the moaning breeze
> Hovered above the silence there,
> With pinion jubilant and benign,
> And seemed to modulate the air
> With hymns unearthly and divine;
> Gazed he, and gazed he o'er again,
> With feelings, which were almost pain;
> He kindled ever and anon,
> 'Neath the new light which round them shone;
> And he had spurned in that rapt hour,
> All that the world most values ever,
> Riches, pride, birth, dominion, power,
> Might that fond vision vanish never.

To measure aright the extent of this sacrifice, we should remember that young Evelyn was a subaltern in the army.

Zeila comes to life again in due time; and then,—

> Oh! Heaven! she finds her unveiled charms
> Gaz'd o'er, and clasped by stranger arms.

And, soon after she has made this alarming discovery, there is a noise of men and horses, and a party appear, who have come in search of the missing Zeila. The lady upon this discreetly desires the stranger, whoever he may be, to depart as quickly as

possible. Whilst he is making up his mind on the subject, she gives him a love-token; and it is very evident that love at first sight has taken possession of them both. Young Evelyn hurries off, "deer-like, o'er the ground;" and, a flood of desolation falling over poor Zeila, she sinks—

—— the lovely and ill-starred,
Weeping and desolate on the sward!

Evelyn gets safely home; but does not sleep comfortably that night. So he leaves his sleepless couch, and begins wandering about in the open air, thinking of the fair Zeila. After a little time, he begins to ascend the Jehan-numah. Having climbed the rock, he looks down, just as morning dawns upon the scene below, of which we have a very animated and picturesque description. Evelyn, looking down upon the landscape beneath him, falls into a brown study, from which he is awakened by—

—— sounds of war
And shouts tumultuous from afar!
Hark! 'tis the crack of long jezail,
That rings adown the neighbouring vale!
Again, again, with rapid sound
The mingling matchlock shots resound!
Hark! 'tis a bugle's distant note
That rises on the passing breeze:
Hark! louder still the echoes float
Amid the hill declivities!

In short, the rebellion has commenced; and young Evelyn has nothing to do but to make the best of his way to cantonments.

That bugle's summons, loud and shrill,
Has shorn him of his personal will,
And claims his martial energies.

The poet then gives us a description of his hero, from which we gather that he is a Scotchman, and that his name is not Evelyn, but Bruce, or rather that he is called Evelyn Bruce, and is a descendant of the hero:—

The Bruce, the Bruce! Yes! his to claim
That monarch's lineage and his name!
The glorious blood, now throbbing wild
Within each young and ardent vein,
Retinged with nought of southern strain,
Speaks him old Scotia's reverent child.
The Bruce, the Bruce! Oh yes from him
The grace and vigour of each limb,
The bold, commanding, noble mien,
The beauty on each feature seen,
The haught nobility of soul,
No recreant thought may dare controul,
The dauntless courage native-born,
From childhood mid his mountain's nurst,
Which e'er doth toil and danger scorn,
Which, second to none, must needs be first
To nobly face and dare the worst.

"Such Evelyn Bruce"—in outer semblance. The characteristics of his mind are next set forth—his gallantry, his loyalty, and his other high qualities: and then we are told that, hearing the shrill bugle-notes,

> With zealous haste he onward flies,
> And cityward shapes his arduous way,
> To join the distant, deathful fray.

It appears that the Bruce was at this time attired in the Afghan costume (though we are not quite sure that Scotia would have approved of his thus denationalising himself) and that he therefore managed to escape, "unharmed, unquestioned, unobserved." The rebellion has broken out. It is the fatal 2nd of November. The whole city is in a blaze:—

> In vain, O Burnes! are watch and ward;
> In vain the prowess of thy guard,
> The valiant, the devoted few,
> To the last gasp so staunch and true;
> In vain thy noble brother falls
> Pierc'd by a score of matchlock balls;
> In vain doth gallant Broadfoot bite
> The dust amid the unequal fight.
> Immortalised thro' every age,
> Be that brief conflict's fruitless rage:
> Died they as soldiers alone may die,
> Flashing (the gaze of their agony,
> Full on the face, as their bold spirits passed)
> Unshaken defiance, and proud to the last.

We have then an animated stanza, devoted to a record of the murder of Burnes:—

> Vainly they fought, as vainly fell:—
> For hark, a wild discordant yell
> Of savage triumph peals around.
> Their bloody search hath prosper'd well.
> A nobler victim they have found!
> Horror! Oh most unholy sight!
> Whom drag they, thus denuded, forth
> From out yon hummaum's narrow door?
> Whom 'neath redoubled sword strokes, smite
> They ruthless to the soddened earth,
> A weltering mass of wounds and gore?
> See how the assassin miscreants swarm
> Around that gashed and fallen form!
> Ill-fated Burnes! What hidden power,
> Malignant ruled the imminent hour,
> And thus revealed thy fatal place
> Of shelter to thy murderer's gaze?
> Oh! was it that presentiment
> Of scaith so long foreseen, which bent
> Thy high-souled daring to out-brave
> The unsparing stroke of Afghan glaive?
> Or that devotion of thy soul
> So swayed by honor's high controul—
> So wedded to the noblest sense
> Of duty's every exigence;

So glowing with the sacred flame,
Which gilds the patriot soldier's fame,
And bids him 'mid the ranks of death,
Joyous, yield up his latest breath,
If left unstained his country's name.
Though undismayed, unrobed, unarmed,
Why sought'st thou, with persuasions vain,
Rebellion's outburst to restrain ?
Full well hadst thou escaped unharmed,
Thy bloody fate : the favouring bath
Had shielded from their murderous wrath.
Yet didst thou, in that hour of woe,
Give thee to their death dooming ken :
Nor parley nor remonstrance then
Might turn aside one deathful blow.
Too well thy prescience had foretold
The coming crisis, and the doom
Which must consign thee to the tomb.
Vainly thy warnings sought t' unfold
The growing evil, vengefully
Doomed in rebellion to outburst ;
And thou, oh ! Burnes, ordained to be
Its noblest victim and its first !

Evelyn makes his way through the city; and, as he is going, somewhat doubting what course to take, he is arrested by a strange object, which "smites the ground close by his feet;" it turns out to be "a slender arrow curiously wrought, with amber barb and shaft of gold," and attached to it is "a scroll with some fair legend fraught." This is, of course, a letter from Zeila, warning him to escape from the city, and telling him that two steeds are waiting him, "or at the Shor's, or Chandoul's gate," and that he had better fly as far as he can. But how the fair Zeila was so well acquainted with the accidental movements of the Bruce, does not very plainly appear.

Of course the Bruce rejects this unbecoming advice, and journeys on his perilous way through the city. Our apprehensions for his safety are here somewhat mitigated by the discovery, that he has both a sword and a pistol under his *chogah*, which, having been previously assured that he was "weaponless," we had not by any means suspected. A party of rebels discover him to be a Kaffir, in spite of his disguise, and incontinently attack him. He stands at bay for a little time, but his "better angel" discretion "prompts him well;" and he "springs aside," turning up a narrow lane, and speeding on, until a "half-ruined dwelling meets his view," and seems to invite him to enter. He plunges in, ascends the staircase, finds himself on the roof, and

———thence on he strains
Along the far outstretching line
Of house-tops.

The enemy pursue him; and his doom would now soon

be sealed, but that he comes fortunately upon a something, that affords him a chance of escape:—

> Ha! yon object strange
> A partial shelter may bestow,
> And cheat their eyes' eluded range!
> Forward he springs; not far aloof
> A fabric rude and perch-like rose
> High from the centre of the roof;
> What may its farmost side disclose?
> 'Tis hollow—happy chance, and lo!
> A flight of steps conducts below.

Evelyn descends the steps; and the readers of romance will be less surprised than delighted to learn, that he soon finds himself in the presence of the beloved Zeila. A very tender scene then ensues; the lovers, surrounded as they are by danger, plight their troth to each other, and, in an agony of alarm on the one side, and of desperate but manly sorrow on the other, part, as the footsteps of Aminullah Khan are heard upon the stairs. Evelyn escapes through a secret door; and Zeila is left alone with her grief.

Evelyn makes his way through strange passages and dungeon vaults, until at last he emerges into the light of day, near the Chandoul gate, and finds the steed, which had been sent there by the faithful Zeila. Perceiving that it is the identical animal, that had rolled over with the fair maid, he mounts and gallops off

> To safety and to Khan Sherin,

whom we are glad to see no longer classed among the rebels.

We are then again introduced to the conspirators assembled in Aminullah's halls; and somewhat surprised by the apparition of Akbar Khan, whom we did not expect to meet at so early a stage of the proceedings; as history asserts, with much confidence, that he did not reach Kabul, before the 25th of November. Aminullah is of course rejoiced to see him, and exclaims,

> Allah! be praised! Oh! hour of pride,
> Which views brave Akbar by my side.

Akbar, disclaiming all powers of eloquence, makes a long speech about patriotism; but the time for talking is at an end, and the conclave is soon broken up by the bombardment of the city:—

> Hark 'tis the boom of a heavy gun;
> Full soon has the work of wrath begun;
> A fearful crash! a well-aimed ball
> Hath shattering rent the chamber wall;
> Another boom. and the echoes tell
> The rushing flight of the death-winged shell!
> Up-spring the Khans—

and we are soon in the midst of the rebellion.

The events, which followed each other in such rapid succession through that perilous November, are but briefly recited by the poet. A hasty tribute, however, is paid to the memory of those who fell :—

The martial spirits of after-days
Shall proudly re-echo their kindred praise ;
Shall the wondering ear of their offspring court,
Mayhap with a faltering voice to teach,
How dauntless Raban o'er-crowned the breach,
In the storm of Sherif Mahommed's fort ;
How there in his glory and youth he fell :
How fought—how died brave Mackerell,
Ere the Rickabashie's hold was lost,
To the murderous bands of the Yaghi's host—
How then the glorious Bird laid low
With his single arm, in tens, the foe ;
How there, sword-gashed and pierced with shot,
Fell nobly the gallant Westmacott ;
How Wyndham, Jenkins, King, to fame,
Bequeathed an undying and hero name ;
How Leighton, Macbrea, Swayne, Robinson,
And Gordon, their heart's bright blood outpoured,
As their souls on warrior pinions soared
To the highest heaven, and glorious won
Their honour'd names from oblivion.

The passage, which follows this, though there be nothing very original in the conception, is among the best in the entire volume :—

Midnight's silence dark and deep
Caressing laps the soldier's sleep,
Wearied, mid the morning's fray,
Or martial duties of the day ;
Stretched upon the cold bare ground,
Rest at length his limbs have found.
Mayhap, mid his peaceful slumbers,
Foemen slain he boastful numbers ;
Or, amid his dreamy trance,
Marks, with eye of proud disdain,
Fresh opposing foes advance
With flint of steel and quivering lance,
Ready to act on bloodless plain
Yestennom's fierce scenes again ;
Or haply now his errant dreams,
O'er the severing ocean's foam
To the far off island roam,
Where the westering sunlight beams
On verdant meads and purling streams,
Round his merry childhood's home ;
While above his joyous dreaming
Memory's blazoned wing is gleaming,
Each familiar voice recalling,
Each beloved familiar face,
Clothed in beauty's maiden grace,
Every joy ere while enthralling
Each emotion of his soul
With subtle art and love's controul.

Soldier ! slumber on, nor wake,
Till the ruddy morning break :
Then thy weary couch forsake,
Martial trapping o'er thee cast,
For the trumpet's jarring blast
And the bugle's rousing note
Must o'er the camp's deep silence float ;
Neigh of steed and tramp of men
Mingling with the turmoil then,
And the tone of high command
Coercing rank'd and filing band
Must, till the camp's awakened life,
Prepare it for the coming strife.

After a brief glimpse of the sorrowing Zeila, we come upon an account of the unfortunate affair of Behmaru :—

Now fetterless incapacity
Lords it with mandate sternly high ;
Inertness, culpably obtuse,
Has shorn each weapon of its use.

The poet does not attempt to veil the melancholy truth, but describes the rout of the British troops in a manner too humiliating for quotation.

The next canto brings us back again to the young lovers. In spite of war's alarms, they have contrived to meet at a convenient trysting place, and to snatch a brief rapture amidst the all-surrounding misery and strife. Evelyn is wounded at Behmaru ; but he nevertheless carries his "cleft cheek" and "wounded hand" to the pressure of the fair Zeila, who tells him that Akbar Khan has determined to seize the person of the Envoy. On this Evelyn hurries off to McNaghten ; but his warnings are disregarded. The conference takes place, and the Envoy is murdered.

Out burst fierce Akbar,—"Never more
Canst thou our confidence restore,
Foul liar, nor thou, nor thy base host
Shall friendship hence, or mercy boast ;
Know thou art trapp'd, thy cause is lost,
Infidel dog, thou'lt rue the day
When soughtest thou Akbar to betray :
Begur—Begur—bind, hence convey."
Sprung instant boldly to their feet
The Envoy and his startled suite ;
Trevor, Mackenzie, Lawrence, all,
Dauntless their ready blades unsheathed,
And fierce defiance loud out-breathed,
Resolved to shield him or to fall.
"What," cried the furious Akbar, "Slave,
Darest thou to struggle and outbrave
My will ? Take then the fitting meed
Of traitor, foul and doubly banned :
Outwitted fool ! Thine own base hand
Behold, hath furnished well my need—
On thine own head the vengeful deed."

MacNaghten bleeds. That pistol shot
Hath reached his life's most vital spot.
He reels,—he falls—the Ghazi throng
Rush round with yells of vengeance fierce :
They seize, they mutilate, they pierce ;
Adown the slope they drag along
The lifeless carcase ; piecemeal hewn
At length around 'tis widely strewn.

The sixth and last canto is devoted to the retreat of the doomed force through the dreadful snow. Evelyn and Zeila have bidden adieu to each other, and the army has commenced its march. The sufferings of the unhappy troops and the more unhappy camp-followers are traced from day to day with much painful minuteness. Evelyn toils and fights on through the cruel passes, but at last is stricken down and left upon a heap of slain. Here Zeila comes to seek him. Disguised as an Afghan youth, she has followed the remnant of the retreating army, and now seeks the body of her beloved ;—

Slender of form, of youthful mien,
Around his brows a turban green ;
The russet chogah, flowing wide.
May not the broidered nimchi hide ;
The kummerbund about him wound
Doth not, as wont, with arms abound ;
An Afghan youth in peasant guise
Seems he, who thus all mournful plies,
Amid his slaughter'd enemies,
Some filial search of tears and woe ;
For mingling with the Kaffir foe,
Lie forms abundant weltering there,
Who Afghan form and features wear.

She succeeds at last in her melancholy search, and finds the bloody and seemingly stark corpse of her beloved; but, still not abandoning all hopes, tears the turban from her brow to bind his wounds, and then—

——— the eager gusty wind
Doth now each raven tress unbind—
Scatters aloft with sudden whirl,
The beauty of each moon-lit curl,
And lo! reveals each softer trace,
That lines on gentle woman's face;
For 'tis a maiden's form, that bends
Above the dying soldier there ;
It is a maiden's heart that rends,
Anguished and torn by deep despair ;
A maiden's tear-flood, which descends
So affluent, and so scorching warm,
Upon that mutilated form.

It is, in fact, Zeila herself, who, faithful to the last, has come to die with her Evelyn ;—

Yes; yes, twas Zeila! Almighty pow'r !
Oh! comfort in this bitter hour !

Her Evelyn she had sought among
Those stiffening corpses strewn around ;
At length that lov'd one she hath found,
In whom her last fond hope was bound,
Her heart's sole Lord, so dauntless, young,
To whom alone her being clung ;
Oh! God, and thus to find him lying
Dead, oh! merciful Heav'n! quite dead ;
Churl—churl! with utterance too all fled,
Nor yet one slenderest hope supplying!
Could but one tender accent fall
Upon her vainly listening ear,
Though worlds were all the risk—oh! all,
How proudly could she brave and bear.

In the agony of her grief she calls upon him to speak only one word to her ; and, as she pours out her distracted sorrow, the body begins to move ;—

It breathes—it palpitates—revives ;
Kind Heav'n! its death-hour still survives.

But the gleam of life is but momentary. The dying soldier opens his eyes, recognises his beloved, faintly murmurs "my own—own Zeila!" and expires. Upon which Zeila goes mad—and not improbably perishes in the snow, though the poet is silent on the subject.

We have now given some account of these *three hundred and fifty* pages of verse ; and we turn, with something of a sensation of relief, to the notes which conclude the volumes. The most interesting of these are extracts from the author's "MS. Journal." Mr. Mackenzie has considerable descriptive powers, and he never appears to so much advantage, as when he is writing of what he has seen—jotting down the impressions of the moment. Then he is often picturesque, and minutely faithful in his details. The following is not a bad description of the Shor Bazar of Kabul :—

The Shor Bazaar is the most beautiful and remarkable structure in Caubul. It was erected by the celebrated Ali Murdan Khan, some time Governor of Candahar, during the reign of Jehangir. He was a chief of great power and distinction, and possessed of such vast treasures as to have excited the cupidity of his master, the Shah of Persia, who endeavoured to obtain possession of his princely person, in order to divest it of its capital embellishment. To save his head and enormous riches from the cruelty and grasp of the rapacious Lion of the Sun, Ali Murdan yielded up Candahar to the Emperor Jehangir: and, being received with much kindness and distinction by that monarch, lived in ease and quietude for the remainder of a long and honourable life. His memory is perpetuated in the beauties of the Shor Bazaar of Caubul. It is a succession of four lofty arcades, two stories high, between fifty and sixty yards in length, and seven or eight in breadth, and separated by three open intervals, about sixteen or seventeen yards square; in the centre of each of these spaces is a small tank, or basin, coped with white marble, and supplied with a jet d'eau, for the refreshment and delectation of the frequenters and occupants of the

Bazaar. These roofless intervals are called chouks; and their sides are occupied by a number of small shops, built in an octagonal form, as the path leads round on either side of the reservoirs, from the extremity of one arcade to the entrance of another. At the outward extremities of the first and last of these covered passages, are two open spaces of larger dimensions than the intermediate ones—these being about forty yards square. The arcades are all constructed of brick, and in a perfectly straight line. The interiors are somewhat grotesquely painted; trees, fruit, animals, and the "human form divine" in every possible phase of distortion, daubing, and chaotic grouping, affright the fastidious "connoisseur"—purple, red, green, and yellow, predominating on a white or rather whity brown ground—the clumsy skill of the artist being lamentably conspicuous in a thorough contempt for the accessory contingencies of proportion and perspective. A range of shops occupies the lower portion of each arcade; and the upper story is partitioned into small apartments, the habitations of the vendors of the various articles of merchandize, of which the Shor Bazaar is the grand emporium.

The next prose extract, which we have marked, is descriptive of the night after the taking of Istaliff. We have reason to think, that the horrors, which attended the capture of the place, are here somewhat exaggerated. The passage, however, is on many accounts very interesting, and is by no means badly written:—

The night was bitter—intensely cold: it was scarcely possible to sleep, and many of us were unprovided with either cloaks, or pasteens. The wind rose high and cutting about midnight. A sharp frost set in, and continued throughout the whole of the following day and night. During the earlier part of the day, towards the close of the fighting, which had continued for nearly five hours, and when the terrified inhabitants became conscious that their last hope of successfully resisting us was gone, and that the city must inevitably be ours within another hour, they had poured forth in hundreds from the upper part of the town, and began to ascend the heights in its rear, to seek safety in flight and in the fastnesses of the hills beyond. Hundreds of women and children, enveloped in their long white burkas, studded the side of the mountain, as they plied their rapid and dangerous way towards the summit. Every moment their numbers became more dense, until at length the face of the hill appeared almost as if a wide and snow-like sheet had overspread it. The whole of the female population of Caubul, and their families, had been removed for greater safety to Istaliff, on the near approach of General Pollock's force—the impression obtaining that the "maiden city" as it was termed (and which was traditionally known never to have been taken, and hence considered impregnable) could never by any possibility fall into our hands. Fatal mistake! It fell; and throughout that bitter and inclement night, the shrieks and wailings of perishing thousands were borne past by every icy gust, which howled amid the ruins of the old Castle—chaunting, as it were, an unearthly requiem over the stark remains of Evans, who had been shot through the heart on that eventful day. It was subsequently reported, that upwards of 4,000 men, women and children, had perished from cold and hunger among the mountains. A mighty woe had indeed fallen upon the devoted city: its pride was quenched for ever; for, superadded to the thousands, who had succumbed to the extermination of cold and famishment among the hills, the purling and slender rivulets, which

hurried adown her precipitous streets and declivities, were deeply tinged with the blood of numbers of her defenders, whose lifeless and mutilated forms mingled in incongruous heaps with every imaginable description of merchandize, furniture, tents, brocades, velvets, satins, and similar costly articles, choked up every avenue which led to the citadel. The sufferings of those devoted people must have been terrific. On the morning of our departure from the scene of slaughter and devastation, even the fear of being shot down by the rear guard did not deter numbers of famishing wretches from swarming different portions of the encamping ground, which had been but a few minutes before evacuated, and gathering together every rag, or piece of clothing they could find, and every revolting particle of offal, or bone, that was likely to appease their ravenous hunger. This I witnessed with my own eyes, when, as the troops departed, I lingered behind for a few brief and sad moments over the scarce recognizable graves of my poor friend, the youthful, gallant, and ill-fated Evans, and M'Kerricker—the former a brother subaltern with me in the Light Company, and whom I had known as a child—and the latter also a light Bob, one of the bravest and most favourite of my men: and yet as I bent a last look upon that spot, which even I could scarcely recognize, so metamorphosed had it become by the heaps of straw, which had been burned upon it, and the quantities of feathers and rubbish strewn over it to prevent its being detected by the enemy after our departure, whose invariable practice, whenever they discover the grave of an infidel, is to disinter the body, mutilate it, and cast it to the four winds of heaven—yet, as I say, when I looked a last adieu upon the gory resting place of the boy-soldier thus smitten in the very bud of youth, and hope and glory, but who had nevertheless attained the zenith of affectionate esteem in the hearts of all his comrades, and of the veteran soldier, who slept beside him, it was a matter of somewhat mournful gratulation, that scarce recognized by myself, that mountain grave would remain undesecrated and unpolluted by the hand of the ruthless and vindictive Afghan. I turned from that dreary spot with a pained heart and humbled spirit. I gave them all that I could give, a sigh, a parting tear. I went on my way, breathing a prayer for the peace of their mortal ashes, and yet another for the salvation and bliss of their franchised and etherealized spirits; not unforgetful also, in all the humility of a genuine grief, of our silent, yet soul-felt impulse of homage and thanksgiving to that sole and omniscient Ruler of the Universe, who had so long spared, and might still spare, me amid dangers as imminent, and battle-fields as stormy and blood-dyed, as that in which their noble and gallant hearts had fallen.

With two brief personal notes we shall bring our extracts to a close; the first is in illustration of the dangers, which sometimes befel our officers from wearing the Afghan costume:—

The native costume was not always the most safe, however, as an incident, which occurred at the taking of Istaliff in the Kohistan, had very nearly and fatally exemplified. All the prisoners, after their liberation from the clutches of Akbar Khan in 1842, on their arrival at Caubul, wore the Afghan costume; indeed they were destitute of any other description of clothing. Captain Colin Mackenzie was one of them, and subsequently accompanied the expedition against Istaliff. He still wore the oriental costume, and narrowly escaped being shot dead by one of the Light Company of the 41st Regiment, the soldier having mistaken him for one of the enemy. Strange to say Captain Mackenzie recovered at this very place a portion of his European wardrobe, which had been plundered from him during the insurrection and massacres of the January

previous. A pair of regimental pantaloons in particular were brought to me by one of my own men, who imagined that they must be mine, as they were marked with my initials and name, which are the same as those of my gallant and distinguished kinsman.

The second relates to Sir Alexander Burnes:—

I am enabled to state positively, on the authority of a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes himself (one of the last he ever wrote, and addressed to an officer of high rank and one of his most intimate friends), that poor Burnes had long foreseen the crisis which had arrived; for, in the letter alluded to, he states his conviction in the most solemn terms, adding moreover, that he knew that he was a marked man, and would inevitably be the first victim; but, nevertheless, he would never flinch from doing what he conceived to be his duty, although all his warnings had been disregarded. Noble fellow! He was indeed—as his own words and prognostications implied—the first victim, and died at his post.

There is much more interesting and suggestive matter in the notes, culled from the author's "MS. Journal." We wish, indeed, that he had given us more prose and less poetry. Nothing, but the very highest genius, can sustain a man throughout eight thousand lines of verses: cleverness will not do. The poetical temperament must be in the fullest state of perfection to preserve the writer of such a work from failure. It is no discredit to a man to fail in that, in which few have ever succeeded: but it is a pity that such a writer as Mr. Mackenzie, who has obviously very considerable talents, should not have achieved more by attempting less.

ART. III.—*Report on the Bengal Military Fund, by F. G. P. Neison, Actuary of the Medical, Invalid, and General Life Assurance Society. London.* 1849.

IT is necessary to explain in a few words the circumstances, under which Mr. Neison has been called on to make the enquiry, of which this report states the satisfactory result. In the year 1843, doubts having arisen among the officers of the Bengal Army, as to the correctness of the calculations forming the basis of their magnificent Fund, it was determined to submit the accounts and rules to an eminent actuary, Mr. Griffith Davies of the Guardian Life Assurance Company, in London. That gentleman devoted much time and attention to the consideration of the subject, and at last pronounced the alarming verdict, that the Fund was insolvent to the extent of upwards of £400,000! On the appearance of this startling piece of intelligence, several authorities pointed out that Mr. Davies had over-estimated some of the liabilities of the Fund; and a few minor inaccuracies in his data and results were subsequently brought to notice. Still, as it was ascertained that he had compiled his law of mortality affecting officers in India from the records at the India House, and other presumed good authorities, on the accuracy of which the whole question hinged, there remained considerable alarm in the minds of all connected with the institution; and it was resolved in 1847, that the whole of the documents, with additional information collected since 1843, should be placed in the hands of another eminent London actuary; and hence the Report, the substance of which we are about to lay before our readers, from Mr. Neison.

It will soon be understood that, besides the mere question of the insolvency, or otherwise, of the Military Fund, so important to its subscribers, there is much information, which will be of value to our general readers. It is from the light now thrown upon the vital statistics of Europeans in the East, that the facts, brought to notice by Mr. Neison, become also so peculiarly of interest to all connected with our Indian possessions.

An institution, like those of the Military Funds in India, where the living subscribe for the benefit of their widows or families, must demand that the Fund shall receive, on a general average, a sufficient sum from the existing contributor, before his death, to meet the claims on its resources, which he leaves behind

at his demise. The simple question then resolves itself, in viewing the opinions of Mr. Davies and Mr. Neison, into this one position. Mr. Davies asserts, that such is the law of mortality for British India, that an officer cannot, as a living member, contribute sufficient, ere he die, to make up the sum necessary to pay the pension of his widow, as prescribed by the rules. Mr. Neison, on the other hand, comes forward, with seemingly unanswerable assertions and figures, to the effect, that the danger to life in India has been over-stated by Mr. Davies, and by every actuary or authority, who has hitherto investigated the subject; —in a word, that Europeans live longer in India, than has been hitherto imagined. To our mind he makes his assertion good; and, having done so, he shews plainly that a subscriber to the Fund lives to contribute to its means far longer than was assumed; that the capital is proportionally improved by the more enduring subscription of the survivor; and in fact that the affairs of the Fund are not in the state of alarming insolvency, predicated by the learned actuary of the Guardian.

The following table will shew the difference in the ratio of percentage of mortality of the officers of the Bengal Army, as exhibited by the two gentlemen we have named:—

Age.	Mortality per cent. per annum.	
	Mr. G. Davies.	Mr. Neison.
16 to 20	2.614	1.447
21 ... 25	2.682	2.323
26 ... 30	2.799	2.500
31 ... 35	3.029	2.779
36 ... 40	3.287	2.863
41 ... 45	3.639	2.970
46 ... 50	4.061	3.792

In the preparation of the above, Mr. Neison has come upon a few rather interesting facts. He states that, from 1800 to 1847, the total number of cadets arriving in Bengal has been 5,199. Of these, 1,874 have died. The total number, who have disappeared from the ranks of the army, including the deaths in forty-seven years, are 2,665, or more than half; and, as the majority of the cadets, who entered the service, belong to the more recent portion of the forty-seven years, a rather startling picture

is given of the perpetual mutability of the component members of the Fund. Still, as regards actual casualties by death, the general yearly per centage of all ages is not so fearful—2.6 per cent. being the average ratio of mortality.

Mr. Neison next proceeds to examine into the law of mortality, affecting ladies in India, the wives of the Bengal officers. Mr. Davies, from the small number of data afforded him, had over-stated their chances of living; and had, in fact, assumed, that the widows had exhibited a more enduring tenaciousness of life, than falls to the lot of ladies even, who had never been fated to leave their native home in Europe. This was evidently erroneous; and had been pointed out by the Registrar General's department in England at the time. There is no doubt, as has been shewn in the work under notice, that residence in India is much more congenial to female European constitutions than to those of males; and this, as Mr. Neison remarks, may be accounted for by the less varied and more simple habits of female residents in India. But the difference is remarkable, and is not sufficiently explained by the influence of military duties peculiar to the males, and their greater exposure to the climate; for the vicissitudes connected with these circumstances, the residence at unfavourable stations, the movements from place to place, and other inconveniences, are often shared in full measure by the females.

Mr. Neison however finally states that the widows of the Military Fund shew no very marked difference from the rate of mortality of the female population of England; and our readers of the gentler sex, if we may fortunately be favoured with any, may congratulate themselves with the consoling reflection, that, although in our land of heat and musquitoes they may not have the robust health or roseate hue of their fair sisterhood in Europe, they are still comparatively spared by the climate, as regards life itself, and may live eventually to return, and compete with the fairest and healthiest of their cotemporaries in the land of their birth.

Having established thus two grand points in his examination of Mr. Griffith Davies's Report; viz., the greater duration of life in the male contributors to the Military Fund, and that their widows, when brought upon the Fund, do not live *longer* than other widows in England, and consequently are not so long in the receipt of annuities as determined by Mr. Davies—Mr. Neison proves that the receipts of the Fund from living contributors are more, and its payments to their annuitants less, than

had been alarmingly put forth in the former Report. And farther, by some additional results in his investigation, he clearly arrives at the satisfactory conclusion, that, instead of the Fund being forty-three lakhs in debt, it is only about ten lakhs deficient, with ample elasticity in its own resources to meet the deficit, without either increasing the subscriptions of its members, or, what was far more important, reducing the pensions of its widows.

On the arrival of the Report in India, it was submitted to Captain Hannyngton, who had devoted much time to research into questions affecting the law of mortality for British officers in India. Captain Hannyngton, we are happy to find, at once pronounced it an able and elaborate Report; though his own investigations of the state of the Military Fund led him to believe, that one or two important elements of calculation had not been sufficiently allowed for by Mr. Neison. In consequence of the change of currency in use for the payment of troops, there had been considerable variation in the value of the rupee from time to time. When the Military Widows' Fund, on which the present Military Fund was based, was first instituted, the rupee was valued at 2*s*. 6*d*.; and the scale of contributions and of the pensions to widows was framed accordingly. But when the various coins in circulation in British India became consolidated in the Company's rupee—which contains only 165 grains of standard silver, and is actually equivalent only to two shillings of English money, and when the subscriptions to the Fund in India became payable only in the Company's rupee—it was found that the payments to widows in Europe of the original pensions, at the former exchange of 2*s*. 6*d*., entailed a heavy loss, or increase of expense to the institution. This was attempted to be met by the Honourable Court of Directors agreeing to pay the English pensions and other benefits of the Fund at a fixed rate of exchange, at a better rate than 2*s*. per rupee. Still, as Captain Hannyngton has clearly shewn, the Fund nevertheless loses largely under the present arrangement. He affirms that the total value of the loss to the institution cannot be estimated at less than ten lakhs of rupees, from the total value of its assets and capital.

Mr. Neison, on being furnished with Captain Hannyngton's observations, admits the loss to the Fund, but is not prepared, on the present information, to fix it at any definite sum. Captain Hannyngton farther had some apprehensions, that, in framing the law of mortality from the records at the India House, Mr. Neison had not been sufficiently furnished with correct informa-

tion in regard to a large class of retiring officers, and others, whose names had been discontinued from the lists in India, and that, many of these names being inaccurately continued in Mr. Neison's tables, the results must have been in some degree vitiated. Mr. Neison has since satisfactorily proved, that he had only availed himself of such names, as he could accurately trace during their entire career on the books at the India House; and that the final tables, which he has prepared, are free from the objections, which Captain Hannyngton had, with some apparent reason, suggested. We are glad of this subsequent little discussion, as it has tended in our minds to raise the value of Mr. Neison's Report, and establishes that his declared opinions, in regard to the solvency of the Military Fund, are the more worthy of full confidence.

Mr. Neison, we hear, in a paper recently prepared on this subject, has shewn, moreover, that the Fund possess many important sources of increasing capital. In the valuation, which he has given, of the donations and contributions of the married members, he had only determined the value of their contributions during the joint lives of the member and his wife; but he had not taken into calculation the reversionary subscription payable to the Fund by the member, should he survive the wife, and which, by the rules of the Fund, he must then continue as an unmarried member. Mr. Neison has exhibited the importance of this hitherto overlooked element in the assets of the Fund, and states that the present value of the future donations and monthly subscriptions of the widowers, who may thus have to continue their support, exhibits an increase in favour of the Fund of no less a sum than Rs. 6,79,846. He also adduces some other sources of hitherto unexhibited profit to the institution, and proves that, in addition to the sum of Rs. 1,03,92,918, which he gave as the total assets of the Fund, on the 1st January, 1848, it may take credit altogether for Rs. 8,70,763-6 more, thus leaving the total assets at the date mentioned at Rs. 1,12,63,681, or within the sum of two lakhs only of the then stated entire liabilities.

Having thus detailed a few of the leading features of Mr. Neison's Report, it may not be uninteresting to many of our general readers to describe the Military Fund itself—the noblest, and probably the best extant, of all known charitable and mutual insurance institutions. It is, however, one only of several, of nearly equal importance, supported by the Indian Army. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay have their separate

Military Funds, conducted on the same principles, for the benefit of widows—and, in these Presidencies, embracing also provision for the orphans of their brother officers. In Bengal, the Orphan branch is managed by a separate institution, under a distinct set of laws and regulations, and provides for nearly 700* children of the deceased officers of the Honourable Company's Army.

The following exhibits a comparative statement of the pensions to widows of the three Presidencies, as granted by their respective Military Funds :—

Widow of	Bengal Military Fund.			Madras Military Fund.			Bombay Military Fund.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Colonel, and (Bengal) 18 Surgeons, 1st class	342	3	9	235	18	9	250	0	0
Lt.-Col. and (Bengal) 18 Surgs., 2nd class, and (Bombay) Members of Medical Board	273	15	0	208	15	0	210	0	0
Majors, & (Bengal) Chaplains, and 18 Surgeons, 3rd class, and (Madras) Chaplains of 10 years' standing, and Asst. Chaplains of 15 years' standing, and (Bombay) Superintending Surgeons, and Chaplains of 10 years standing...	205	6	3	181	11	3	170	0	0
Captains, & (Bengal) Surgeons, and Assist. Chaplains (Madras), Assist Chaplains under 5 years, (Bombay) Surgeons, Chaplains of 10 years, and Assist. Chaplains under 15 years	136	17	6	136	17	6	135	0	0
Lieutenants, (Bengal & Bombay), Assist. Surgeons, and Veterinary Surgeons.....	102	3	9	102	3	9	102	3	9
Cornet, 2nd Lieut. and Ensign	81	5	0	81	15	0	81	15	0

We also give below a comparative statement of the benefits granted by the three Presidencies to orphan children. In Bengal, the benefits are granted, as before stated, by the separate orphan institution, the head quarters of which are at

* In June last the numbers were, in England, 455 ; in India, 206. Total 661.

Kidderpore, near Calcutta; but, at the other two Presidencies,* the orphan branches are component parts of the Military Funds of each:—

* We subjoin statements of the present affairs of the Bombay Military Fund. We have not before us a similar detail of the affairs of the Madras Fund; but have reason to believe that both Funds are admirably attended to.

State of the Bombay Military Fund, 1st May, 1848.

Subscribing Members.	
34	Colonels.
*57	Lt. Colonels.
15	Members of Medical Board.
82	Majors.
14	Chaplains above 10 years.
9	Superintending Surgeons.
289	Captains.
2	Chaplains under 10 years.
21	Asst. Chaplains.
59	Surgeons.
448	Lieutenants.
125	Asst. Surgeons.
8	Veterinary Surgeons.
239	2d Lieuts. Cornets and Ensigns.
1,402	Members.
533	Married.
32	Widowers with offspring.
837	Unmarried.
1,402	

	Rupees.	£
1847 1st May	36,73,489	413,267
1848 1st May	38,51,216	433,261
Increase.	1,77,727	19,994
	Surplus of year 1847—8.	

Receipts.	*Rupees.*	*A.*	*P.*		*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
Amount Funded, 1st May, 1847	36,73,489	15	8		413,267	12	5
Received in 1847-8 to 30th April	6,65,970	2	11		74,921	12	11
Total, Rs...	43,39,460	2	7		£488,189	5	4
Expenditure.							
Income Allowance....	12,812	2	11	=	1,441	7	5
Home Passages.....	57,817	12	5	=	6,504	10	0
Outward Passages....	1,474	8	10	=	165	17	7
*Passage Money Loan	11,013	5	4	=	1,239	0	0
Equipment Allowance	18,925	0	5	=	2,129	1	3
Annuities to Widows and Children	2,96,122	3	9	=	33,313	15	4
†On Loan	59,469	0	0	=	6,689	5	0
Miscellaneous Charges	24,879	13	5	=	2,798	19	7
Secretary's Establishment	5,739	0	0	=	645	12	8
Expended 1st May 1847, to 30th April 1848.....	4,88,243	15	1	=	54,927	8	10
Funded 1st May 1848.	38,51,216	2	7	=	433,261	16	6
Grand Total, Rs...	43,39,460	1	8	=	488,189	5	4
Funded.....	38,51,216	2	7	=	433,261	16	6
	*11,013	5	4	=	1,239	0	0
	†59,460	0	0	=	6,689	5	0
Grand Total of Fund..	39,21,689	7	11	=	441,180	1	6

* Including the Bishop of Bombay who subscribed as a chaplain.

Bengal.	*Madras.*	*Bombay.*	
Children who have lost their father:	Children, who have lost one parent:	*Single donation.*	*Increased donation.*
Under 6..... £30	Under 6 years.....£20	Lost father only.	
6 to 17 (boys) .. 40	From 6 to 12 years.. 30	Under 7 years..£20	£27 10
6 to 18 (girls) .. 45	„ 12 to 15 do. .. 40	7 to 10 do. .. 27 10	35
Orphans in England, when struck off, receive £63	Children who have lost both parents:	10 to 18 do. .. 35	42 10
Girls, who are in India, at 18, receive pensions till death or marriage, and marriage portions of Rs. 1,500.	Under 6 years £30	Lost both parents.	
	„ 6 to 12 do. 45	Under 7 years..£32 10	£40
	And 12 to 21 do. .. 60	7 to 10 do. .. 43 15	55
		10 to 18 do. .. 55	70
		Boys receive £225 from the Fund at 18, and are then off its books. Girls may either receive this, or continue on the Fund until marriage or death, on giving up their claim to the portion.	

In Bengal, after the success, which attended the admirable institution of the Orphan Society, which was organised about 1784,

The Bombay Military Fund was established, on 1st May, 1816; and the following statement has reference to 1st May 1848, after 32 years.

Original Subscribers, 1st May, 1816.		Living 18th May 1848.	Dead.	On 1st May, 1848, the subscribing members were as follows.	
8	Colonels.....	1	7	34	Colonels.
24	Lieutenant-Colonels	4	20	57	Lieut. Colonels.
				15	Members of Medical Board.
23	Majors.....	10	13	82	Majors.
1	Senior Chaplain	....	1	14	Chaplains above 10 years.
				9	Superintg. Surgeons.
101	Captains.....	34	67	289	Captains.
7	Chaplains	4	3	2	Chaplains under 10 years.
				21	Assistant Chaplains.
9	Surgeons.....	3	6	59	Surgeons.
234	Lieutenants.....	86	148	448	Lieutenants.
28	Assistant Surgeons.....	13	15	125	Assistant Surgeons.
				8	Veterinary Surgeons.
35	Ensigns, &c.	14	21	239	Ensigns, &c.
470	Total.....	169	301	1,402	Total.

A married officer pays donation as follows: } In Europe.

	Per Month.			Per Year.			Widow's Pension.			Equal in each year to what is paid in		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Yrs.	Mns.	Days.
A Colonel	1	17	6	22	10	0	250	0	0	11	1	10
Lieut.-Colonel .	1	10	0	18	0	0	210	0	0	11	8	0
Major	1	4	0	14	8	0	170	0	0	11	9	20
Captain	0	15	9	9	9	0	135	0	0	14	4	0
Lieutenant....	0	9	9	5	17	0	102	3	9	17	6	0
Ensign, &c ..	0	7	10½	4	14	6	81	15	0	17	4	0

it was determined to set on foot a similar fund for the benefit of widows; and, in the commencement of the present century, some benevolent and active officers obtained the support of a considerable number of contributors, both married and unmarried, whose object was to provide annuities on a liberal scale for the bereaved wives of their brethren in arms.

In August 1805, the Government in India had already authorised the Pay-Masters of the Bengal Army to receive the amount of donations and subscriptions, at the Up-Country stations, and to remit the amount monthly to the Treasury at Fort William—thus giving a valuable public aid and official sanction to the undertaking.

The Military Widows' Fund worked well for about twenty years. It admitted officers of the Royal Army to a participation of the benefits, and was a popular, and, to all appearance, a respectably-conducted Society. We shall shortly have to advert to a gross fraud, that was practised on its resources for a long series of years, by Mr. Martindell, its Secretary; but, in the year 1824, when it was merged in the more generally useful institution, called the Military Fund, it had a list of married members, amounting to 251 in number, of all ranks, and no less than 166 unmarried subscribers, who either supported it from charitable and benevolent motives, or from a hope at some future day of themselves attaining the honours of matrimony. At that period, there were eighty-seven widows in receipt of pensionary stipends from the Fund; and it possessed about nine and a half lakhs of reserve capital.

At this period, or rather in 1823, the Court of Directors—finding that more efficient funds had been established at Madras and Bombay for some years, embracing the grant of benefits to sick subalterns, children and others, besides the mere pensions to widows, and their affording more general advantages to their respective armies than that in Bengal—forwarded instructions to the Government at Fort William to call on the army to frame a new fund similar to those of the other Presidencies; and intimated that, unless this were carried out, the Government would withhold the usual annual donation of 22,000 rupees, and the high rate of interest of eight per cent. per annum, which had been granted to the accumulating capital of the Widows' Fund. The members of the last-mentioned Society had therefore no choice, but to submit to the army a proposition to authorise the old Widows' Fund, with its incumbents, subscribers, and capital, to merge into a new Bengal Military Fund, framed on the basis and rules, pointed out for their guidance, as established at Madras and Bombay:—and thus, in 1824, rose into being the noble institution we are describing.

An idea may be formed of the progress and powerful in-

crease of the operations and resources of the Military Fund since 1824, by contrasting a few of the details at the two periods. The first year exhibited is that of 1825-26, after one year's operations; the year 1850 gives the accounts for 1849, as closed 31st December, 1849:—

	1824-25.		1850.	
Total Receipts from Subscribers, Interest, and Government Donation	Sa. Rs.	1,81,081	Co.'s Rs.	17,88,629
Total disbursements, including Pensions, Income Allowance, and all expenses	„	1,29,551	„	17,48,371
Capital in hand	„	13,29,514	„	52,28,785
Number of Widows in receipt of Pensions of all ranks	„	109	„	462
Number of Subscribers of all ranks	„	1,331	„	3,151
Number of Subalterns, drawing Income Allowance in Europe.	„	9	„	102

In the year 1849, no less than forty-two widows were admitted to the benefit of the pensions, and forty-seven subalterns to that of income allowance in Europe—forty-six having the grant of outfit allowance, and fifteen that of passage money.

The value and extensive advantages of the Fund may be gathered from the fact, that, at the present moment in Europe, there are

56 Ladies, the widows of Colonels, receiving each a yearly pension of	£342	3	9
57 Ladies, widows of Lieut.-Colonels, Ditto	273	15	0
62 Ditto, ditto of Majors, Ditto	205	6	3
128 Ditto, ditto of Captains	136	17	6
54 Ditto, ditto of Lieutenants	102	3	9

Besides, there are fifty-five widows remaining as chargeable to the Military Fund, from the eighty-seven pensions and the other claimants handed over from the Widows' Fund in 1824—these widows receiving pensions, varying from £100 to £300.

We have adverted, in a former paragraph, to heavy losses, which the former Widows' Fund, and the succeeding Military Fund, incurred from frauds practised by a former Secretary, named Mr. Henry Martindell, who was employed by the Fund in that capacity for a period of nearly forty years. Mr. Martindell died in the beginning of 1840; and, on his death, some inaccuracies in his cash-book, and certain suspicious-looking entries, led the Directors to look narrowly into his books. It was then discovered that, for upwards of thirty years, he had contrived to suppress all record, in his otherwise most regularly balanced ledgers and

general accounts, of certain chance arrears of subscriptions and of payments to him, which reached the Fund irregularly, from the constant moving of officers from pay-division to pay-division, their frequent furloughs, fines, marriage donations, &c. &c., which, from the fluctuating and uncertain nature of the circumstances, could not be entered monthly and uninterruptedly on the different public pay office accounts. These sums, it appeared, he managed always to receive himself, or through the agency of some confederate sircars: and, as he never entered them in the daily cash-books, or let them appear in his public accounts, while the said public accounts were ever beautifully prepared, as to book-keeping appearance, posted and accurately balanced, and abstracted in the minutest particulars, he fairly blinded, for thirty years, some of the best accountants, auditors, and others, who were successively appointed Directors, during that long period of his delinquencies. To deceive individual officers, who must have known the date of their separate respective payments to the Fund, he had artfully prepared, in a peculiar form, a description of *separate* ledger in his own handwriting, for the purpose of shewing distinct accounts to each officer, who might refer to him for the present state of his subscriptions: and, as this record only professed to balance each individual's account from time to time, and most accurately exhibited even the purloined sums, while it afforded, from the deceptive manner of its construction, no means of clashing with, or comparison with, the public yearly accounts, it continued to deceive hundreds and hundreds of officers, who applied to him. Since Fauntleroy's celebrated forgeries, and falsification of books and accounts in Europe, so continued and successful a series of frauds has not occurred in the history of swindling: and, as during the number of years they were in operation, Mr. Martindell frequently abstracted more than 10,000 Rs. per annum, the loss to the Funds must have proved immense. Upwards of two and a half lakhs of defalcations were traced: and, if we add the loss of eight per cent., which the Funds were deprived of for years, the actual injury to the present accumulated capital of the institution cannot be estimated at a less sum probably than six or seven lakhs of rupees.

We have entered so fully into the history of this astonishing fraud, mainly with a view to shew that the resources of the Military Fund must be indeed great, and its capabilities beyond doubt (as indicated by Mr. Neison in his Report), when the present solvent and flourishing condition of its assets can be thus exhibited by an eminent actuary, like Mr. Neison, in

spite of so perilous a loss, as that inflicted on them by the disgraceful robbery, which we have described.

But to revert to Mr. Neison's Report itself. If the accuracy of his results is to be held as unimpugned and unassailable, the facts stated by him are of more importance to the Indian community, than may strike many at first sight. All former authorities have stated the rates of mortality in India among the better class of Europeans (that is, excluding the seamen and private soldiers), to average about three per cent. per annum. Mr. Neison asserts, that the mortality is not above 2.6 per cent. In other words, as we have before stated, Mr. Neison asserts that in every thousand of the gentlemen, composing the Military Service, who are exposed to the climate for one year, there survive at the end of the year in India 974 persons, while twenty-six have been carried off by death. Former authorities would leave only 970 alive, and affirm that thirty must have died.

One of the great points, affected by these facts, is that of the calculating of promotion in the army. The Indian army is a seniority service, like the Marine corps, and other Ordnance branches, in Her Majesty's army. Nothing can be worse for efficiency in the higher ranks than such a system. Were the mortality twice as great, the *fortunate* survivors would nevertheless be old men, before they could reach the command of a regiment: but, as it is, with the few retirements or resignations that take place *in the first twenty-five years* of service to quicken promotion among the juniors, the case is hopeless. Mr. Neison has shewn that, in twenty-five years after joining the army, out of 5,199 officers, only 230 have retired, 53 have been invalided, 75 have been dismissed by Court Martial, 54 have been pensioned, and 186 have resigned; the whole giving a total only of 598 withdrawn during the first twenty-five years of service, from the entire 5,199 Cadets, who have joined the army since 1800. Out of the remaining number, while clinging to the service, 1,662 have died in the first twenty-five years of their Indian career; there must remain therefore a large residue of men, who, in their forty-fourth or forty-fifth year of age, have to be provided for in the higher ranks of the service. But there are only about 300 field officers in the Bengal army. How many therefore of inferior rank must hopelessly toil on as captains, long after the first energies of life have expended themselves, and who must be worn out and effete for years, before they can hope to reach the command of a regiment. The conclusion is evident. If the officers of the Indian army wish to reach the higher ranks in a reasonable time, it must be by their own exertions, and

by some extraneous aids to promotion alone, that they can attain the object of their ambition. They must purchase out largely from among all, who come within the periods of possible retirement. As for new regiments, or any increased expenditure on the part of Government for the benefit of the army, such assistance to promotion need hardly be anticipated in these days of public economy, and parliamentary animosity to army estimates at home or abroad. Officers must carve out their own means of early retirement to the land of their birth: and encouragement ought to be unanimously given to every well-digested plan, which facilitates this most essential of all objects. Let the ambitious, the healthy, the untiring soldier of fortune cling on to the service. It is a glorious field for his ambition: but the prizes are too few for all to aspire to them; and it is for the benefit of each and all, to foster and facilitate every means of retirement to Europe, to a large portion of their community.

The health may fail; the climate will not agree with all; and, where is the advantage of lingering on in exile and exposure to a tropical sun, with all its evils of wasting strength and debilitated constitution, when the means of escape may be secured by a few years of patient economy and common prudence? Since the failure of all attempts to establish a general Retiring Fund, either by the aid of a Curnin, or the more reasonable efforts of a Hannyngton, there is, now, we find, an opening to secure the blessing of deferred annuities and endowments by a chartered public insurance office, the Family Endowment Society, under the patronage of a well-known former Governor-General, and supported by some long tried public officers of the Government, and others in England. A moderate monthly, or periodical subscription, for a continued number of years, will ensure a competent retiring endowment, or annuity: and we would strongly recommend the plan to the earnest consideration and approval of our military readers. The possession of such an endowment would enable officers at any time to retire to Europe: and, without some such aid or means of escape, it is utterly impossible for the army itself to hope to diminish the obstacles to promotion, or to remedy the wretched stagnation of all advancement to rank in an army, which, when speaking of its physical efficiency, and the prospect of early retirement to Europe, with the benefits of advanced rank, may truly be said to be *cursed* with a system of seniority promotion.

The next essential point, which is affected by Mr. Neison's results, is that of Life Assurance in India. If Europeans die there at the rate only of 2.6 per cent. per annum, it is suscep-

tible of easy demonstration, that the present offices for life assurance in India, with very few exceptions, are most cruelly fleecing the insured classes, by the high rates of premium, which they are extorting.

By Mr. Neison's figures, and from what we have already stated, it is plain that if 1,000 men insure, each 1,000 rupees, there will be twenty-six deaths; and the office will have to pay 26,000 rupees for that number of policy-holders, who have died during a year. If the offices receive 26 rupees yearly from each individual of the 1,000 policy-holders, they will suffer no loss, except it be for their expenses and establishment. But as all premiums are paid in advance, and the office has the benefit of interest on the pre-paid premiums; and, as all policies, discontinued or thrown up at any time before death or completion of the term, are clear profit to the office, it may safely be inferred that all premium, in excess of the mathematical risk, which is demanded by an insurance company, is a profit to itself, and so much overpaid by the party holding a policy.

But it may be right and proper for all insurance offices, protected by a body of responsible shareholders, who have to pay up an amount of capital in the first instance, to have a certain margin of profit, in excess of the mathematical risk. In Europe, about twenty to twenty-five per cent. is added therefore to the scale of premiums, for the purpose of giving, from this source of advantage to the office, the usual interest allowed for the capital of shareholders; and the residue profits are then disposed of, either among the policy-holders, or the office at large, as may be laid down in the printed rules of each Society.

But in India, how stands the case? We have shown, that to insure 1,000 rupees, 2-6 per cent., or 26 rupees, is the mathematical amount required to meet the risk, even if money have no interest at all. Now the Indian Laudable Society demands on an *average*, between the ages of twenty to fifty, no less a sum than fifty-eight rupees per thousand; the Oriental demands the same; and the Universal asks for fifty-nine rupees to insure the same amount. Had these offices exacted an additional fifty per cent. even, instead of the twenty-five per cent. recognised in Europe, as sufficient advance on the real risk, the rate of premium would still have been but thirty-nine rupees per thousand; but, as it is, they have overcharged the policy-holder more than cent. per cent. for their own profit and expenses!

If the Indian community choose to submit to pay such extortionate rates of premium, after this plain exposition of

the state of the case, it is their own fault. The whole system, as at present managed, is most lamentable and faulty. It is idle to talk of division of profits, and returned premiums. No division can take place, till a policy-holder has run the gauntlet for several years; and he must survive five or six years, before he can have a chance of his over-payment being accounted for to him. Why should he be subjected to over payment at all? It defeats the legitimate object of life insurance, so advantageous in European communities to the mass of the middling classes, where cautious provision for families and children, and accumulation for old age, are economically attained; and in India it follows that none resort to life assurance, except the debtor, the adventurer, or those driven into it by speculations in heavy indigo advances, or other necessitous and calamitous circumstances.*

We do not mean to assert that it would be safe either for the assured, or for an assurance office, at once to adopt Mr. Neison's law of mortality as the basis of their operations. His tables shew that, for the last septennial period of the present century, there has been a far greater average of deaths, than in any other preceding seven years since 1800. Any new office, therefore, established within the last few years, and framing their tables of premium only on Mr. Neison's general average of data, would have suffered immense losses. But we defy the Indian offices to prove that—if, at the age of twenty, an insurance office had demanded for that term, three per cent. as premium, at the age of thirty, three and one-third per cent.; at the age of forty, four per cent; and at the age of fifty, five per cent.—any principle of perfect safety would have been compromised, or that the shareholders would not have been fully protected, and remunerated for their risk.

But another important feature must arise from Mr. Neison's calculations. All deferred annuities and reversionary benefits, and all post obit expectancies, must be materially altered. In the question of deferred annuities, or pensions, the difference is immense. The expectation of life is so much increased by the result of Mr. Neison's researches, and the chances of living longer in India, and of retirement to Europe, are so largely augmented, that it would require nearly one-fifth more money, by Mr. Neison's figures, to secure a given yearly sum to an annuitant, than by any former calculation known in India. Let us

* This statement is strikingly confirmed by the fact of the very short average duration of policies in the Calcutta offices, as stated by Mr. Francis, and adverted to in our notice of his pamphlet in our last No.

select Mr. Griffith Davies's value of annuity at the following ages, and contrast the same with Mr. Neison's.

Value of an Annuity of £1——

Age.	Davies.	Neison.
42	9.9753	11.6349
43	9.8634	11.5499
44	9.7478	11.4597
45	9.6324	11.3638
46	9.5153	11.2623

All offices, public funds, or annuity societies, which grant prospective benefits, will do well to attend to this most serious consideration; else, at the end of ten or twenty years, they may find themselves in a ruinous dilemma.

It is not an usual operation for Europeans in India to raise money on reversionary expectations: still the facts, which are elicited by Mr. Neison, will be found practically to touch upon many and various interests of the community at large, besides the stagnation of military promotion. Mr. Neison's tables are valuable to the official statist, to the aspirant for advancement in the civil and uncovenanted appointments of the State, and to the tenure of public employment generally; and all concerned will do well to give some little attention to the able and valuable report before us.

It is somewhat sad to close this notice by an intimation, that the labour of the indefatigable actuary, which has produced these results, has been a very unprofitable occupation to himself. He undertook, we have heard, the enquiry into the affairs of the Bengal Military Fund for a fee of 200 guineas, and the expenses of printing his report. It has come to our knowledge, that, at the India House alone, his researches there have cost Mr. Neison far more than the amount of his honorarium, for bonâ fide payments to the assistants, whom he employed under him in the investigation. We cannot conceive that the army, or the Indian Government, will permit Mr. Neison to be thus positively a loser by his exertions in their behalf. The Directors of the Bengal Military Fund, we hear, have submitted the case for the favourable consideration of the Home Authorities.

Since this article was written, the affairs of the Fund, to which it relates, have been much before the public, in consequence of the detection of a fresh instance of abstraction of its Funds, and falsification of its accounts. The offender, this time, is a native

sircar, who has made himself scarce, and who has not as yet, so far as we have learned, been apprehended. The amount of plunder, though far short of that on the former occasion, is very considerable. The Secretary, and the Auditor, of the Fund have both been dismissed—not because of any the slightest suspicion, that either of them had any thing to do with the delinquency, but because neither of them was either acute enough or attentive enough to detect it. Considerable discussion has taken place, as to the propriety of the dismissal of the Auditor, who had strongly remonstrated against the system of book-keeping pursued in the office, and who avers, we believe truly, that, if the system, which he attempted to introduce, had been adopted, the fraud, which has actually escaped detection through several audits, must of necessity have been detected at once. While this considerably diminishes the blame, that seemed at the first blush of the matter to attach to the Auditor, we cannot regard it as sufficient to warrant his retention in office. The whole matter seems to lie in a very small compass. The accounts were badly kept: that is not disputed. Mr. Cooke did all that he could do, in order to get them better kept: and, had his method been adopted, the fraud could not have taken place, or must have been detected at once. This also is granted. But still the fact remains. The accounts, as kept, were either auditable, or they were not. If they were not, Mr. Cooke should not have accepted a salary for professing to do that, which could not be done. If the accounts were capable of audit, the alternative charge of incompetence, or inattention, must lie against Mr. Cooke.

Various means have been suggested for the avoidance, in future, of such frauds as these. The two, that seem to find most favour, are a paid Directory, or the transference of the entire management of the Fund to the Government. As to the latter mode, we question whether the Government would accept the charge. As to the former, we question whether officers of standing could be found willing to undertake the enhanced responsibility, that is understood to attach to a paid official. To us it seems, that the only thing, within the power of the Army, is the appointment of a well-paid Secretary of business habits, a competent and active Accountant, and an Auditor, who should be so remunerated, as to enable him to bestow a fair amount of attention to the duties of his office. With this, and with a greater amount of publicity given to the statements of the Fund's affairs, we doubt not that an effectual check would be put to the evil practices, that are so much to be lamented.

ART. IV.—1. *Malcolm's (Sir J.) Memoir of Central India, 3rd Edition. 2 vols. 8vo.—London.* 1823.

2. *The Bengal Hurkaru, The Englishman, The Friend of India, &c.*

THREE and thirty years ago, the few British statesmen, who in those days paid any attention to the affairs of India, or were interested in its welfare, knew that the time had arrived, when a great effort on the part of the British power was inevitable. They were aware that that power—from its character and constitution, the friend of order and of security of person and property—was necessarily in permanent antagonism to the chaotic misrule and licence, which were devastating not only Central India, but also all the adjacent territories. Our statesmen felt, therefore, that the decisive struggle between the Anglo-Indian armies and their numerous, but ill-organized, opponents could not be longer deferred. The conflict was for the ascendancy of good or evil. Never, in the course of our rapid rise to supremacy in India, has the sword been drawn more justly, or with more humane motives, than by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817; and seldom did God grant a good cause more entire success.

In these times, it is not easy to realize in idea the state, into which the ceaseless strife and turmoil (internal and external) of the Mahratta Governments, and of the Rajput principalities, abetted by the common foe of all, the Pindarris, had plunged the wretched people of Central India. One and thirty years of comparative calm have not yet effaced from the minds of chiefs and people those days of affliction: and, well as Malcolm and others of our Indian historians have sketched the miserable condition of society during the "times of trouble," as they are still emphatically designated, they have barely succeeded in giving more than a faint outline of the reality. Talk to the elders, whether of chiefs or people—to those whose years admit of their instituting a comparison between the scenes in which youth was passed, and the repose in which old age is closing—and the vividness of human speech and feeling brings home to the heart the misery, in which the largest and worthiest classes of the population were, to all appearance, irretrievably immersed. An Englishman can with difficulty pourtray to himself so woful a state of society. The scenes, with which revolutionary war has made them acquainted, might enable a Croat or Hungarian to do so: but, on the continent of Europe, licence and oppression, under the mask of

liberty, are of a less chronic character, and civil war, with Christian lands for its theatre, falls short of the horrors of a Pindarri incursion; even Red Republicans are scarce so basely and systematically cruel.

Our purpose is not here to follow the events, by which Providence gave peace to these long distracted countries. We shall not trace the assembly of the British Armies; their simultaneous advance from the Nerbuddah and the Jumna; the ancillary political negociations; the conduct of doubtful allies; the treachery of compulsory ones; the sweep over Malwa by Malcolm, Adams, Marshall, scattering before them the Pindarri hordes; the battle of Mahedpur; the entire dispersion of the Pindarris; and the capture, surrender, or destruction of their leaders. Our business is rather to avoid achievements so well known and so well told, and to content ourselves with the endeavour, to lay before the reader a general view of the system, which took the place of the anarchy, to which we have alluded.

From the period that the Mahrattas gained the ascendant in Central India, and the Mogul Empire ceased to be otherwise than nominally supreme, the once controlling power of the latter was succeeded by no correspondent authority. True it is, that the influence of the Mogul Emperors over the more distant portions of their dominions was uncertain, and oscillated with the personal character and renown of the individual on the throne—being shadowy, or real, in proportion to his wisdom and strength; but, even in the weakest hands, the Emperor's authority had a form and substance, which were wanting to that of the Paishwa. The controul of the latter over the Mahratta states, which had loosely aggregated, rather than formed themselves, from the debrîs of the empire, was, when compared with the influence of the Mogul Emperors over their territorial subordinates, a mere mockery of supremacy. The Mahratta rule and institutions, with their peculiar basis of Hindu thought and feeling, lacked the principle of concentration. Even in the event of the Mahratta powers not having been so circumstanced, as to be early brought into conflict on various points with growing and vigorous Anglo-Indian Governments, it may be doubted, whether the Paishwa, or any other Mahratta Prince, such as Holkar, or Scindia, would ever have succeeded in establishing a virtual supremacy over the countries under the sway of the various Mahratta Rulers. The battle of Paniput tested the pith and quality of a Mahratta confederation.

Satisfactorily to assign a reason for these centrifugal tendencies is difficult. Enlisting, as they necessarily must have done, the sympathies of the Rajput Princes and of the great mass of

the Hindu population, both of whom they freed from a yoke galling and obnoxious, the Mahrattas had much to favour the consolidation of their acquisitions and conquests into an empire of some solidity of fabric. A very loose confederacy was, however, the utmost to which it attained. The fact is a remarkable one. We may observe, however, that among the very numerous sects classed under the generic name, Hindu, though there exist points of strong sympathy, these are not sufficient to counteract the isolating and repellent properties of Hinduism, as a system; for its whole tendency is to split its votaries into a multiplicity of petty communities, having with each other nothing but distant and constrained social intercourse and relations. The bars to intimacy are insuperable; and encroachments on the petty demarcations, not only of caste, but of sects of castes, are jealously watched. Minds, trained from infancy in such a school, are imbued with the contractile spirit of pertinacious sectarianism; and, though they may be greedy of power and wealth, and extremely patient and subtile in their pursuit, yet they enter upon such a career, incapacitated for the entertainment of those comprehensive views, which enable ambition to establish empire. The case is different with the Mussulman. His creed, in these respects, is in marked contrast to that of the Hindu, and has a direct tendency to mould the mind to the idea of concentration of power. The Deism of the one is not more opposed to the Polytheism of the other, than are the several tendencies of these two great classes of India to monocracy and polycracy.

Though no ocean divided them from their mother-country, the Mahratta colonies, for such they may be styled, owed but a nominal allegiance to the Paishwa. His supremacy was a phantom, if not a nullity. After the battle of Mahedpur, not only the Paishwa's, but the real influence of the Mahratta States of Holkar and Scindia, were dissolved, and replaced by British supremacy. The latter came to a chaotic inheritance; and, in order to judge how the restorers of order performed their high duty, it must be shown, however faultily and inadequately, what the establishment of our authority involved. Within the limits at our disposal, we cannot attempt to review in detail the conduct and labours of the various subordinate agents of the Anglo-Indian Government. Nor is this necessary in order to obtain a general idea of that, which had to be accomplished. If we confine ourselves to a general summary of the duties entrusted to the ministerial representatives of British power, and to the circumstances under which they have been placed and

acted, the patience of the reader will be spared—at the same time that he obtains a sufficient insight into the system, which succeeded to that of the Mahratta ascendancy.

Most men in India have read Sir J. Malcolm's instructions to the assistants and officers acting under his orders: and, whilst from these the spirit, in which the British agents entered upon the exercise of power, may be gleaned, a reference to Malcolm's appendix to his valuable work on Central India will make the reader acquainted with the number of States, petty Chiefs, Grassiahs, Bhìls, and Pindarris, whose affairs had to be adjusted by the intervention of functionaries, who earnestly and ably applied themselves to the work, in the spirit of conciliation, which pervaded their Chief's orders.

None of these States, or Chiefships, were otherwise than dependent on the paramount authority; and it must be borne in mind, that this dependence was, notwithstanding that some had entered into treaties with the British Government, often most indefinite; that their relations with each other were frequently peculiar, and, in cases of tribute, often delicate and complicated; that, however small the state or principality, extreme jealousy of encroachment on their territory, or of neglect of their dignity, was a common characteristic; that, in consequence of the distracted condition of the country and the repeated changes and revolutions, which every State, small or great, had undergone, the boundaries of all were unsettled; that, as a general rule, the power to assert and keep had been the definer of each State's boundary; that the latter had therefore expanded or contracted, according as accidental circumstances favoured, or were adverse to a Chief's pretensions; that, besides the *number* of different petty States and Chiefs with ill-defined possessions, both Holkar's and Scindia's territories were strangely intermixed with them; that Scindia had outlying districts, isolated from his main possessions, and cast, as provocatives of discord and misrule, in the midst of the domains of other States; and finally, that none of these States, or Principalities, had anything deserving the name of a systematic internal administration. The necessities of the Rulers drove them to extort as much as possible from the people; the Revenue Department, therefore, was an object of much and constant solicitude; but justice, civil or criminal, was rather regarded, as a subordinate branch of their fiscal system, than as an important department of good government. Coin was struck everywhere. Transit duties were levied in each State, small or great, and with no fixed rule but that of the will of the Chief, and the moderation of his unchecked

tax-gatherers, usually the farmers of the revenue. The people, exposed to violence from their neighbours and to frequent robbery, and unable to secure redress, had recourse to retaliation; and thus habits of plunder, particularly of cattle-stealing, became very general amongst the village communities. The custom of reprisals soon passes into confirmed predatory habits, and rapidly demoralizes a people. To crown the whole, many Chiefs and Thakurs did not scruple to share in the proceeds of the plundering expeditions of their subjects—thus encouraging their adventures as profitable sources of income.

Little reflection is necessary in order to imagine that, when, under such circumstances, a paramount power of overwhelming strength suddenly appeared upon the scene, and scattered its agents—men of undoubted integrity—over the face of the country to watch events and maintain tranquillity, these representatives of a power (resolved to have, and able to enforce, order) became the foci of reference on a host of subjects from a multiplicity of different quarters and people. They found themselves forced to take up questions of every class and character: and it would be hard to say, whether the military, political, financial, or judicial prevailed. The importance of the matters, which came before them, of course varied; but it would be a misnomer to apply the term "international cases" to the greater part of the requests for the intervention of the British officers. Private international cases, though circumlocutory, would be a more appropriate designation: they seldom have risen to the dignity of national negociations or controversies, but have turned in general upon private interests and common business. If, in the United States, where municipal administration is well understood, and the common law of England forms the basis of the Lex Loci, it has been found that very complicated private relations and rights arise between the citizens of some six or seven and twenty independent States, and that there is a necessity for the constant administration of extra municipal principles (as one of their juris-consults terms them), how much more ought this to prove the case in a country like Central India? Any common law is unknown: the country is studded with petty but independent States and principalities, acknowledging as their heads, here a Mahratta, there a Rajput, further on a Mussulman; each has its own local laws and customs, and often its distinct religion; and there is not even a common basis, such as affords some bond to the United States of America. Should it be asked, What was the code furnished to the British agents for their guidance under these circumstances of incontrovertible difficulty? the reply is simple—None whatever. But as men

in their positions must, it will be rejoined, be guided by some rules or other, what was it that regulated their proceedings, and the exercise of their authority, amid this conflict of laws and customs? We cannot claim for them, as a body, any great knowledge of jurisprudence. By far the greater number had wielded the sword, before they became administrators: and they pretended to no acquaintance with Huberus, Boullenois, or Vattel. At present there is not perhaps a man among them, who has heard of Burgi or Story. Nevertheless, acting upon an axiom, which is the fundamental one of all justice—"Do unto others, as you would that they should do unto you"—they proved good practical administrators, and were kept pretty right in the discharge of their mixed political, judicial, and administrative, functions, by the golden rule, which they owed to their Christian education. They were led by it to a practical sense of what public interest and utility required, and of the inconveniences, which cannot fail to arise from any neglect of this moral foundation of justice. They felt, and felt rightly, that the paramount power had neither the right nor the wish, in maintaining the public peace, to enforce laws, customs, or institutions, subversive of the social polity and morals of the different races under its sway. Very few fixed and certain principles were ever enunciated by the Government to its agents; and it was not till late, that the Court of Directors hazarded a few brief rules for the guidance of their political officers. It may be said that the vast mass of private international cases, disposed of before the tribunals of our Residents and Agents, have been decided by their sense of what was just and equitable, rather than by any fixed principles. Both the Home and the Indian Governments shrunk from the delicate duty of legislating on such matters. For the former there was an excuse; "*Trois degrés d'elevation du pôle renversent toute la jurisprudence; un meridien decide de la vérité.*" The Supreme Government, however, seemed not a whit more ready to face the difficulty, and preferred building on the good sense, right feeling, and sound integrity of its servants, rather than on its own wisdom and the sufficiency of legislative enactments. Responsibility was thus kept with its full weight on the shoulders of the agents of the paramount authority. They could appeal to no code, to no rules, and must always be prepared to show that their acts and decisions were in conformity to the most comprehensive views of equity.

Nothing is further from our intention than to give an exaggerated notion of the ability and judgment of the various principals and subordinates, who have taken part in the administration of the affairs of Central India. Men of every shade

of opinion, acquirements, and character, have figured on that (of late but little observed) scene. Of these, few have proved deficient either in ability or in character; whilst some have been much distinguished, both for their attainments, and by their zealous exertions and exemplary discharge of duty. The attempt to compare or analyse the labours of so many valuable officers would be invidious; but we may safely assert that, as a body, their conduct has been such as to create confidence in the ability and impartiality of our countrymen; while, as to themselves, the result has been, that they have found themselves forced to discountenance reference to their tribunals, rather than to grasp at authority; and, in spite of this, they have often found themselves with more work on their hands than could well be done by them. Instead, therefore, of seeking to extend their jurisdiction, and to arrogate to themselves undue power and interference, their endeavours, with few exceptions, have systematically been turned to strengthening the hands of the petty rulers, with whom they were brought into connection.

Under this system, person and property have attained a considerable degree of security, and the predatory habits of the people have undergone a marked improvement during the thirty years of its continuance. "We are now in the English times," has become a proverbial mode of concisely signifying that the spokesman has no intention of submitting as helplessly and hopelessly to oppression, as he might have done in the "times of trouble."

Let us not, however, be mistaken. We have no wish to give the English times a particle more of credit than may be their due, or to ascribe to the system and its agents a degree of success, to which they themselves have never pretended to attain. Our readers must not suppose halcyon days for Central India. They must not imagine that person and property are as secure, and the countries, which it comprises, as free from marauders, as is the case in England. They will misunderstand us completely, if they arrive at any such conclusion. Neither the spirit, nor the practice, of marauding are forgotten, or out of vogue. Whenever favourable opportunities present themselves, events still occur, which teach how difficult it is permanently to subdue the predatory habits of a people, or of tribes. The seeds of evil may lie buried a while; but they spring into life and organized activity with wonderful alacrity, when circumstances suit. The causes of this are various; and it will be well to note a few of the chief.

Our power, when it has to cope with an object of sufficient magnitude, is capable of great efforts, and treads down opposi-

tion, or crushes evil, as in the case of the Pindarris, with irresistible force. But—the effort over, and the strength of first impressions gone—the knowledge gained of the cost and difficulty of putting our masses into motion soon restores confidence to the free-booter, who seldom has any apprehension from the march of a single detachment,—escape from such being a matter of extreme facility. Intermixed territories, under the rule of weak, and, sometimes distant Chiefs, as in the cases of Holkar and Scindia; a very imperfect Police; a pervading fear of the resentment of the marauders; a consequent anxiety among the people to secure, to themselves and their property, impunity from vindictive violence, by silence and secrecy as to the movements of predatory bands, and by compliance with their requisitions for food and shelter; the apathy, fear, and (worse still) the corruption of the amils and subordinate servants of petty States; the difficult nature of the jungles and wild country, which are usually the haunts and power of the marauders; want of information, as to their times and places of assembly, plans, and movements; if by accident any should be caught and delivered into the hands of a Chief for punishment, the misjudged leniency exhibited; the fact that occasionally a respectable man is driven to revolt and plunder by the oppression and spoliation of men in authority; the pretext, which such instances afford, for those who choose, by plunder and violence, to seek to enforce compliance with unreasonable demands and pretensions; the favour, with which such men are invariably regarded by village landholders and authorities, who are always prone to think that the case may, any day, be their own; the eagerness, with which systematic plunderers range themselves under such leaders, in order to indulge marauding habits under the sanction of a cause, which unfortunately bears with it the sympathies of the people; the number of adventurers, either seeking for, or discharged from, the service of petty Rulers—a class of men hanging loose on society, and possessed of no means of livelihood except their weapons; intermixture of jurisdictions and territories, each jealous of trespass, even in pursuit of the greatest of criminals;—all these, and a variety of minor circumstances, which reflection cannot fail to derive from those specified, have favoured, and still do favour, the unextinguished spirit of marauding, which has few better fields than Central India.

In 1837, the Supreme Government was fully alive to the real state of affairs in Malwa and the neighbouring countries: and much consideration was bestowed upon various plans for more effectually subduing these evils. Lord W. Bentinck had seen

the futility of the principle of holding petty and weak Chiefs responsible for the acts committed in their territories. Theoretically the principle could not be departed from: but much combined to render its practical application often impossible, and often inequitable. He had shrewdly enough seen the inefficiency of reclamations by Political Agents, through durbars and their vakils—that nerve, energy and action were paralyzed by such a system—and that, with the view of our influence being efficacious, it must not be diluted by passage through such a chain of references, but that controul must be brought more directly and immediately to bear.

The first project, entertained and discussed, was to entrust the general charge and direction of measures against marauding bands to one military officer, the Political Agent at Mahedpur; placing under his command all the military means of the country, whether contingents trained and commanded by European officers, or undisciplined troops, Horse and Foot, in the service of the various States. This proposition, however, met no support from the Residents and Political Agents consulted, and was rejected—mainly on the ground, that the country was too extensive to be effectually controlled by being placed under the supervision of one military officer.

The second project was concentration of authority in the hands of a Resident, or Agent for the Governor-General, who was to reside at some central point between Indore and Gwalior, and who was to have the general political superintendance of Malwa, and of all the States and Dependencies then under the separate Residents of Indore and Gwalior. The plan was analogous to the one originally recommended by Malcolm, excep, that the latter wished to create a Government out of this charget whereas with Lord W. Bentinck it found favour, because it would have enabled him to abolish a Residency. He accordingly consulted Speirs, Sutherland, and Wilkinson respecting its merits: but the plan was less agreeable to these officers than to the Governor-General. They had differing views and opinions: and finally the idea was relinquished from the opposition of Scindia's Durbar—the Maharaja being averse to a measure, calculated, in his opinion, to lower the dignity, and weaken the authority of his Government. Under these circumstances, recourse was had to a circumscribed and modified form of the first proposition. A detachment of Scindia's Contingent was moved to the Sathmahilla; one, from the Mahedpur Contingent, to the Rampura district of Holkar; and the charge of operations was entrusted to the Political Agent at Mahedpur, Lieutenant Colonel Borthwick, who effected temporarily as

much as could be expected, from the means at his command, and the limited nature of his authority.

Nothing however of a more permanent or comprehensive character was done: and, with the exception of raising Bhil Corps —one for the Vindhya Range, and one for the Southern Frontier of Oodeypur—and entering upon a discussion of the proposal for establishing, in Malwa and Rajputana, Courts similarly constituted to those in Kattywar and Myhi Caunta, the measures adopted were of little importance or effect; and the predatory spirit met with but a partial check, whilst minor kinds of marauding, and particularly cattle-stealing, flourished with as much vigour as ever. Discussion regarding the establishment of principal Courts, similar to those instituted in the Myhi Caunta, for the adjudication of international offences in Malwa, did not indeed drop; but it was continued to small purpose. Mere forms of procedure were not wanted, but modes of rapid organized action. These deliberations on the applicability of Kattywar Courts to Malwa served the object however of a Government, too deeply interested in the current of events on the North West Frontiers of India, to have leisure for such minor considerations, as those of the real improvement of the internal administration of Central India. Absorbed by the contemplation of the terrible turn of affairs in that distant scene of disaster, the Governor-General could only have regarded the discussions, above adverted to, as the least costly mode, whether in time, means, or thought, of evincing solicitude for the heart of an empire shaking in his grasp. He was, besides, apparently unaware that the elements of disorder were fast re-kindling. Beyond a few long despatches on the subject of these Courts, matters remained exactly as they had always been; and, as the attention of Residents and Political Agents was soon concentrated upon threatened disturbances of a more serious aspect than mere plundering adventures, they were not in the humour to pay much further heed to disquisitions never very apposite, never based on any clear apprehension or enunciation of principles, and the importance of which, if ever imbued with any, was vanishing before more pressing considerations. As our misfortunes thickened, the activity of latent enemies gained confidence; and emissaries were everywhere busy, disturbing the minds of the people, and exciting the turbulent to take advantage of our humiliation. It was no longer a question of a few predatory bands, but of watching over and maintaining the supremacy of the British name and power. From the Kistna to the Jumna matters were ripe for confusion. A spark might have kindled a serious conflagration. Indeed, at

one time it had nearly done so; but a bold deed or two of timely stroke checked the growing spirit of disaffection, and kept things quiet in Central India, until our armies and authority had recovered their wonted ascendancy.

From that time up to the present moment, war, or the consequences of war—embarrassed finances, have so occupied our Rulers, that, provided the agents of Government (employed elsewhere than on the actual scene of operations) could manage to rub on, keeping matters as they found them, and could avoid drawing too largely on the time and attention of the Government, the policy of successive Governors-General was satisfied. Under the pressure of such a state of affairs, Central India was not likely to be the subject of excessive care or cost: and the Residents and Political Agents have remained, except as to emoluments, much what they have always been, since the time of Malcolm and Wellesley (of Indore), and quite as unshackled in influence and authority.

Some modifications have taken place within the last few years; but they are not such as have been productive of improvement. Whatever the necessity of humiliating the Court of Scindia after the battle of Maharajpur, it may be doubted whether the substitution of an assistant, in charge of the affairs of Scindia's Government, in lieu of a Resident, was the most judicious method of marking the displeasure of the paramount power. The measure weakened our direct controul over the Durbar, at the very moment that every thing should have been done to strengthen our influence. It was not that the change in the official designation of the Resident Agent mattered in the smallest degree: provided that officer had been kept in direct communication with the Supreme Government, the latter might have styled him what they pleased, and his real influence would have been as great as was desirable; but reference to a distant superior, laden with the charge of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, placed the officer at Gwalior in a secondary, an ill-defined, and a most anomalous position. We advert to this fact, in order that our remarks upon the detrimental effects of the measure in question may not be supposed to imply any animadversion upon the distinguished officer, to whom this delicate, but unsatisfactory, charge was entrusted. No one could probably, in that position, have effected more; and when we state, that little has been done towards the introduction of an improved system of internal administration throughout Scindia's long straggling country, and that little has been accomplished towards the eradication of predatory habits and the security of person and property throughout that extensive line of territory, we reflect on the

measure, and not on the man. The resulting evils would have been greater, had it not been for the minority of the Maharajah; the party of the Bhai, who had adopted the young prince, was always in conflict with the Regency and its President. As the Regency was by treaty under the controul of the British agent, the President naturally leaned for advice and strength, where both were to be had; and thus the resident officer, though only a subordinate, enjoyed greater influence than would otherwise have been the case. But, though the peculiar circumstances and constitution of Scindia's Government thus happened to be favourable to the weight of the local subordinate, they, by no means, counter-balanced the disadvantages inherent in, and inseparable from, his position.

One of the best men and best writers of the age, speaking of the spheres of action of Gospel ministers, says—"Where influence is diffused beyond a certain limit, it becomes attenuated in proposition to its diffusion: it operates with an energy less intense:"—the remark is as applicable to political, as to clerical charges, and the Anglo-Indian Government would do well to bear it in mind. There is a tendency to confound two very distinct things—concentration of authority, and efficacy of beneficent sagacious influence. Government seems apt to consider these as exchangeable terms. This is a mistake. There is a certain sphere, within which personal agency can operate with advantage, and occupy the space with a suitable pervading energy; beyond this sphere, it ceases to act with regularity, and only makes itself felt by occasional impulses—and these, not always either well-timed, or free from detrimental accompaniments. Concentration of authority is then synonymous with dilution of influence. Accordingly, during a minority, when every circumstance was favourable for the fullest impression and effect of our influence upon the councils and administration of Scindia's Government, what are the fruits? what has been accomplished? Is the youthful prince well educated, and fitted, by habits of attention to business and acquaintance with the actual condition and policy of his State, for the exercise of authority? Is the system, so much reprobated by Sleeman and others, of farming districts on very short leases to revenue contractors, reformed? Is the Sathmahilla free from bands of predatory Soandís, and are districts, much nearer to the capital than the one named, unaccustomed to witness scenes of plunder and violence? Do neighbouring States enjoy paradisaical repose from the incursions of such marauders? Are the grinding vexatious transit and other taxes, in which Mahratta intellect has shown so much pernicious ingenuity, annulled or modified? Are the municipal cesses and dues

levied in their larger towns improved, and have the latter, such as Burhanpur for instance, increased in size or population? Has the trade, the wealth, the prosperity of Scindia's country advanced, and are the agricultural classes more numerous, intelligent, and contented, than they were thirty years ago? If, with a few exceptions, a negative must be given to these queries, what does our Government anticipate, when the Minority and the Regency terminate?

Whilst the state of affairs at Scindia's Court has been most favourable for the exercise of British influence, the existence, contemporaneously, of a Minority and Regency at Holkar's Court offered to the Indian Government precisely similar advantages, and a combination of circumstances, under which much ought to have been done for Central India. Who can say how much might have been effected, could an able Governor-General—impressing upon those regencies, through the agency of the Residents, unity of action and congruity of purpose—have given his attention to comprehensive measures for the welfare of the two countries, and moulded the two Durbars into a practical co-operation for the common improvement of the territories under Mahratta rule? Virtually wielding the power of Holkar's and Scindia's Governments, such an organized system might, by this time, have been in full operation, that when the minors severally came of age, they could not well have broken loose from the established order and relations, which it would have continued to be the duty of the Residents to watch, and, by their advice and influence, to perfect and secure. As the Muhammadan State of Bhopal (Muhammadan only in its rulers) was similarly circumstanced with Holkar's and Scindia's, having a minor at its head, there is no exaggeration in saying that the whole of Central India was under the direct controul of the paramount power. We must deplore the want of thought, or the too absorbing interest of events on the North West Frontier, which rendered our rulers negligent of such propitious contingencies.

Young Holkar has had justice done him. The Resident at Indore speaks and acts with no reflex authority: and, as the adoptive mother of the young Chief was sensible, and exercised such influence as she possessed discreetly, the training and education of the youth have been in conformity to the plans and wishes of the Resident, and the late Bhai Sahiba. Young persons, of his own age, and destined to be members of his Durbar, were associated with the Chief: and thus, in the course of his education, his abilities were afforded the benefit of a wholesome, though probably subdued, competition. The result

has been excellent. His own language—Mahratta—he is master of; he can read and understand English; is ready at arithmetic; and has more than an average knowledge of geography, besides much general information, and a desire for its acquisition. So far therefore as the welfare of Holkar's country may be considered to depend on the general intelligence of its ruler, its prospects are fair; and both young Holkar and the British Government are indebted for this pleasing circumstance to the exertions of Mr. Hamilton, the Resident.

The charge of the Resident at Indore is considerable; under his own superintendence are the States of Holkar, Dhar, and Dewass. A Political Agent at Mahedpur has Rutlam, Jelana, Sitamow, Jhabua, and Jhowra under his supervision. Another at Sehore has Bhopal, Kurwai, Nursinghur, Rajghur, and Kilchipur. A third officer has Amjhera, Burwai, and Ali Mohun. Besides these functionaries, who are under the general controul of the Resident, must be added much miscellaneous business connected with the administration of the southern districts and the out-lying fragments of Scindia's territory, so inconveniently interspersed with the possessions of other principalities. He has charge also of the Opium Agency: and, though this, and the Thuggi Department, are, in a great measure, devolved upon his assistants, the amount both of work and responsibility is heavy. During a minority, the weight of these is necessarily much increased: for on such an occasion, whatever the form of administration—whether the functions of Government be carried on by a Council of Regency, or by a Regent—the representative of the Supreme Government is held responsible for the welfare of the State, which, during the minority, is regarded as being specially under the protection and guardianship of the British power. This trust, involving as it does the good faith and character of his Government, invests the Resident with the entire controul of the Regent, or Regency. Accordingly, at Indore, every thing done or contemplated must have his approval; and thus, virtually, the administration is in his hands. The Bhai Sahiba, when alive, though cognizant of all that took place, was not authorized to interfere in the conduct of affairs; and the frequent changes of ministers, if they deserve the name, ending in the appointment of the Munshi, against whom, through the press, constant attacks are now made, prove that the Resident in fact exercises the power of appointing what minister or ministers he pleases. Under these circumstances, he is, undoubtedly, responsible for the administration of Holkar's Government and country: and we might proceed to ask similar questions to those we have put

with respect to the progress of improvement in Scindia's territories. With the exception however of young Holkar's comparative proficiency, and a revenue administration not quite so faulty, we fear that the replies would, on the whole, prove unsatisfactory.

Central India is, it must be confessed, very much where Sir J. Malcolm left it. Thirty years have gone over it, with but few and partial improvements, and very moderate advance in general prosperity, if any. The Bombay and Agra road can, it is true, be noted; but in doing so, attention is called to a long line of marked out, unmetalled, and unbridged road, in many parts unpassable during the rainy season. No practicable roads unite the military Stations along the Nerbudda, and the lines of communication throughout the country generally remain as execrable as ever. Education owes such progress as it has made, chiefly to the exertions of one individual, Mr. Wilkinson. His Sehore School bears a name, which the Indore and Gwalior establishments have not as yet attained. These are the main public educational establishments which have arisen under our influence; as exponents of the sense entertained by the native Chiefs and community of the value of learning, they are, except perhaps Wilkinson's, but sorry institutions. An English reader will probably ask whether European science, languages, and history have been the subject of attention. At these institutions it would not, perhaps, be natural to expect or look for much infusion of the spirit of European knowledge or ethics. A few works may be seen, purporting to be on objects of history or science, and to be either translations or compilations from European works. But watch the course of tuition, and you will soon observe, that these treatises are not in vogue, and that the inanities of Hinduism are the staple—the only pabulum, which the scholars are taught to relish. Of course this remark does not apply to the Mussulman youths, who however stick with equal pertinacity to the ordinary course of Persian classics. As for Hindu Patshalas and Moslem Madrissas, they remain what they were in the days of Akbar—and this whether they owe their origin to our influence, or not.

In Malcolm's time great hopes were entertained of the rapid development of the resources of the countries comprised under his charge. It was believed that one and all of the territorial Chiefs would, in the course of a quarter of a century, find their revenues largely augmented, in consequence of the increase of cultivation, commerce and population. The result has not borne out these sanguine expectations. After the dispersion and settlement of

the Pindarris, and the establishment of comparative security of person and property, the various states regained speedily an average state of prosperity, at which they have ever since remained, far more permanently and with much less progress, than might reasonably have been anticipated. Were we to institute a comparison between the gross revenues of the states of Central India in 1825 and in 1850, it would be surprising how small the improvement demonstrable. The production of opium has been fostered by the demand for the drug—the high profits realized, and the portability of the article, encouraging the Malwa cultivators; but, highly favourable as is their soil and clime to the culture of some of the most valuable of agricultural products, none has met with the like attention and energy as the poppy. Considering that the price of the necessaries of life is very moderate, labour cheap, failures of crops and famines almost unknown, land (uncultivated, but culturable) abundant—the causes, which have operated inimically to the increase of population and the extension of agriculture, must be forcible and constant. Some of these are patent and easily stated; others lie deeper, have moral sources, and are not so easily laid bare. Want of internal communications, and distance from the sea-board; heavy, vexatious transit duties; a general rule to take from the cultivator as much as can be taken without driving him from the soil; the system of farming whole districts on short leases to revenue contractors; the great positive poverty of the people; and the fact, that the balance of emigration and immigration is *against* the countries, which border provinces under the management and administration of the Indian Government and its officers, have all tended to retard the population and general improvement of Central India. The moral causes are likewise numerous, and to the full as operative. Since Lord William Bentinck's time, female infanticide cannot be reckoned as one of these; nor do the checks on marriage, numerous as the considerations of caste and family and expense of ceremony render these, operate very seriously in giving men a Malthusian spirit of anti-connubial caution. But any one, who has mixed with the different classes, forming the population of Malwa and the neighbouring countries, cannot fail to have observed that large families are rare; and that those, considered such, would scarcely be so regarded elsewhere. Reasons for this may be found in the dissipated habits of the larger towns, the general use of opium, and of various other deleterious drugs, besides no small consumption of spirits. But if the men can with justice be taxed with

indulgence in these and similar practices, there is such a general knowledge and practice of methods of procuring abortion, that it would be hard to say which of the two sexes frustrates nature most, or suffers most by the destruction of health and constitution. Whatever the combination of moral and physical causes, certain it is, that there cannot be a greater contrast, than the rapid increase of population during a period of 25 years in the United States, and its lagging pace in the countries of which we are writing.

If it be asked, What then has been the result of our two and thirty years supremacy in Central India? we must, we fear, return a very moderate and probably disappointing reply. There are now comparative security of person and property, a curb on the violence and oppression of princes and chiefs, a curb too on the marauding habits of large classes of the people, and a general impression of the impartiality of the tribunals over which British Officers preside. The character of the Agents of the British Government stands high, as unbiassed, incorruptible judicial functionaries, though viewed with suspicion as political ones, from the apprehension that the tendency of our system is gradually to undermine the influence and authority of the chiefs, and, upon any plausible pretext, to absorb all petty states. This feeling is by no means incompatible with their acknowledging, that many of them owe to the Government of India all they possess, and that, but for our intervention, they must have been swallowed up by their potent neighbours and rivals. But they regard this to have been the policy of our rise, and are not at all sure that it may continue the policy of our empire, when freed from all external foes, but embarrassed by the financial difficulties, which have accompanied conquest.

Our mission cannot, therefore, be said to have altogether failed; though, if weighed in the balance of our opportunities and circumstances, it must be acknowledged to have very partially fulfilled its high duties.

That our agents have maintained the character and authority of the Government, which they represent, and have manfully laboured, though little heeded or encouraged, to do the good which was in their power, reflects credit on themselves, and on the Government, which they have served. It is something to have established confidence in our rule, and confidence in the general conduct and integrity of those, to whom the exercise of great and undefined powers are entrusted, and who, sensible of the weight and importance of the trust, have there, as elsewhere,

done their duty to their nation, and to their Government. The latter has no less a duty to perform to them. Their character and conduct are its own. The least, it owes them, is, that neither should be hastily called into question; and that, when this clearly appears to be an imperative duty, no matter whether the Officer be a Civilian or a Military man, publicity of investigation should mark the course pursued, in order that the guilt, or the innocence, of the functionary be as clear to the public, Native and European, as to the Government; and that the latter may escape suspicion of bias or partiality.

We are inclined to the opinion that in the late inquiry, which has formed the subject of much press discussion, the Government rather lost sight of these truisms, and acted neither warily nor wisely. As this has drawn, more than usually, public attention towards Central India, we shall for the satisfaction of our readers offer a few remarks upon the events, which gave rise to it; premising, that we find ourselves in the curious predicament of not being perfectly satisfied with any party—Government, accused, or accuser. The facts appear to be as follows.

Captain Harris, during the absence on duty of another officer, received temporary charge of the Indore Treasury; and, whilst performing the duties thus entrusted to him, he became cognizant of entries in the accounts, which appeared to him of very doubtful propriety. As the books bearing these entries, whether very lucidly kept or not, had the sanction of his superior, who was responsible for their correctness, we think that Captain Harris's first step should have been to communicate with the Resident upon the subject of the items, which excited doubts, in order to ascertain whether or not a satisfactory explanation could be given. Captain Harris would not have been compromised by such a step: and it was due, and, in our opinion, imperatively due, to the rank and position of the Resident. Instead of adopting this course, Captain Harris seems to have drawn up a statement, founded entirely on the entries copied from the account books, and exhibiting an expenditure of upwards of Rs. 60,000 under a variety of headings, some of which, such as "pay of a band Rs. 3,000, ice pits Rs. 9,000," besides sundry others, wore a curious aspect. As the money was chiefly derived from the proceeds of fines of a judicial character, its application to purposes, apparently so immediately connected with the Resident's state and convenience, made the matter look the worse. The statement in question does not seem to have been in the form of regular charges: but, Captain Harris, suspecting misappli-

cation of public money, brought to the notice of the Governor-General the existence of these dubitable entries, leaving it to that high authority to act upon the intelligence, as might seem proper. Here again Captain Harris omitted to furnish the Resident with a copy of the communications, which he had made direct to the Governor-General. The latter however, apparently entertaining no scruples as to the propriety of Captain Harris's mode of procedure, after receiving and perusing his communications, wrote to him the letter, which has already appeared in print, and which assured Captain Harris that, even if the cases, which he had adduced, should eventually receive a satisfactory explanation from the Resident, they did appear to the Governor-General, as they then stood, to be so objectionable and so liable to question, that the Governor-General considered Captain Harris called upon absolutely by his duty, as an Officer of the Hon'ble Company, to bring the subject at once under His Lordship's notice. As if this were not sufficient, the letter proceeded to state that the Governor-General entirely approved of the manly and honest manner, in which Captain Harris had performed a painful and invidious duty, and was quite satisfied of the purity of the motives, on which he had acted. We think that the noble Marquis was somewhat precipitate in thus writing—and that, before expressing such strong opinions, he should have waited for fuller information, and a word or two from the opposite party. The letter however proves, that the statement of suspicious entries could not have been a series of charges; that the matter was left open for the Governor-General to adopt such a line, as he might deem fitting; and that it was so understood. Though wanting in caution, the candid avowal of opinion and the assurances made were the emanations of an honest mind, and did credit to the spirit, which dictated them. We are not inclined to cavil at a little warmth and readiness, in support of (what the Governor General deemed) manly honesty and uprightness.

The explanations of the Resident do not seem to have satisfied the Governor-General, who ordered a commission composed of Lieutenant Colonel Low and Mr. M. Smith to assemble at Indore, and to investigate the questionable entries. The Commissioners had, we are given to understand, extensive powers: and it was optional with them to extend their sphere of inquiry, and to enter upon a wider and more comprehensive investigation, if they saw reason.

We are not disposed to impugn the nomination of the Commissioners. Lieutenant-Colonel Low is a Political Officer of character and experience, and Mr. M. Smith, a Civil Officer,

whose course of service has been entirely in the Judicial Department. Both were competent by position and experience for the delicate duty entrusted to them: but the general opinion was that there should have been a third Commissioner—one wholly disconnected either with the Political or the Civil Service.

No inquiry could have been more carefully conducted, with respect to secrecy, than the investigation at Indore: and, as nothing has hitherto been made public by the Government, except the removal of Captain Harris, the details of the investigation are unnecessarily a mystery. It was however generally known, that the Commissioners, being furnished with Captain Harris's statement, the Resident's explanations, and the remarks and orders of the Governor-General, found, that, in the first place, they had to decide whether certain funds were, or were not, entirely at the discretion of the Resident, to spend as he pleased, without any *obligation* on his part to render any account at all to his own Government. This, we understand, was the Resident's assertion, coupled of course with entire willingness on his part to submit, for examination and report, the accounts of receipts and expenditure of such funds. The objection amounted to stating, "This is not Government money, nor under its controul; nor is it entitled to call for an account of its disposal, though of course I am ready to give one." To ascertain how far this plea was valid, the Residents and Political Agents, both within and beyond the limits of Central India, were addressed, and requested to furnish information upon the nature of the Local Funds at their disposal, the manner in which these were expended, and the accounts rendered of such expenditure—and also, as to what had been the custom with respect to Judicial Fines.

The origin and character of the various Local Funds in existence were of course found to vary. Around most Residencies and Agencies, particularly where troops or Contingents have customarily been near them, there has usually been assigned, by the Territorial Chief, a circle, within which the Jurisdiction, Civil and Military, was to be undisturbed by the local authorities, and to remain under the administration of the Residents, Agents, or Commanding Officers, as the case might be. The object of such allotment was to avoid the continual conflict on matters of police and discipline, which would otherwise inevitably be of frequent occurrence. Experience has proved the necessity of such an arrangement; and it is very rare that such an infraction, as that which has lately taken place at Hyderabad, would pass without severe punishment. *Within* the precincts of the Residency and

cantonments, British Rule and discipline take their course; *beyond* those limits, the *lex loci*, whatever that may be, good, bad, or indifferent, holds on its own way. For the police, and conservancy of bazars, grounds, roads, bridges, and the like, it has generally happened, that whatever cesses would, according to the custom of the country, have been levied by the Territorial Ruler, have, within such Residency or Agency precincts, been collected by the Presidency or Agency Kotwal, the native officer charged with the care of the bazars. Fines levied for misdemeanours, infractions of bazar rules, and the like, have usually been carried to the same account, as the proceeds of the bazar petty taxes. The Fund, thus formed, was expended at the discretion of the Resident or Agent, but for such purposes as were above set forth; sometimes with, and sometimes without, the form of rendering an account to the Territorial Chief of the gross receipts and expenditure. Sometimes mixed with, and sometimes separate from, the Bazar Fund, were the accidental receipts from incomplete establishments, analogous to the Towfír Funds, once prevalent amongst our Magistrates, but long since abolished by order of the Court of Directors.

We have before noted the higher species of jurisdiction, exercised in Central India, both by Residents and Political Agents. This is not limited to the private international cases before alluded to, but extends to the cognizance of the crime of murder, or of acts of gross cruelty and oppression on the part of Chiefs. The fines levied in such cases have been often heavy, and were then imposed with the sanction of the paramount authority, which occasionally directed their application. But even in this class of fines, the practice varied—some Political officers carrying them to the account of Government, whilst others, as would seem to have been the case at Indore, brought them to account in the Local Funds, disclaiming the right of the British Government to such sums, and acting on that opinion.

Finding the practice in the Political Department to vary, the Commissioners admitted to a certain extent, it would appear, the plea of the Resident. That some of the charges on the Fine Fund were of most doubtful propriety, such as that for the Ice pits and for the Band, was palpable. But, admitting the above mentioned plea, and the uncertainty of practice as to Judicial fines, there was no peculation, no misuse of Government money; and, though the love of state and show had drawn the Resident into these and other indiscreet modes of expenditure, the Commissioners, who probably confined themselves to the points specified by the Governor-General, came to

a conclusion, as evidenced by the second letter to Captain Harris, favourable to the integrity of the Resident, though not flattering either to his discretion, or to the clearness of his accounts. Their report, therefore, we must presume, exculpated him from the suspicion of dishonourable conduct, or of misapplication of Government money; but it could not have approved of the irregularity of procedure, fairly attachable to several of these pecuniary acts, and still less could it have countenanced the latitude of discretion, which he had assumed, in the management of funds which, if not strictly belonging to the British Government, as he argued, were nevertheless a public trust.

We think their general views correct, and their opinion, based on the uncertainty of practice, sound; nay, we go further and doubt, whether a freer and more full inquiry, and a permission to Captain Harris to bring forward all that he wished, would, in the end, have modified their decision. But it must be borne in mind, that Captain Harris was not present during the proceedings; was not furnished with the refutation, which the Resident laid before the Commissioners; was not called upon to substantiate his allegations: in fact, was not at all treated like an accuser, any more than the Resident like an accused person. The Commissioners proceeded in their quasi-judicial investigation, as if they were simply inquiring, whether there were, or were not, grounds upon which Government ought to frame charges against a public servant. Viewed in this light, their proceedings would seem to have been unexceptionable. The Government however did not act, as if it regarded them in this light. Their report was treated as a Judicial decision; and the letter, which was addressed to Captain Harris, and which was given the run of the public Press, is penned exactly, as if there had been a fair open trial, and as if the accuser had framed charges, and, having had the opportunity, had failed to substantiate them.

Now we venture to doubt whether Captain Harris himself, after the assurances he had received, could have been more surprised, than the Commissioners must have been, at such an application, with respect to himself, of their opinions. And until their report is published, we shall, with the example of the Governor-General's first letter before us, persist in doubting, whether any honourable man would have pronounced Captain Harris' conduct, as not coming within the limits of excusable error.

There is so remarkable a difference, such absolute contradiction between the Governor-General's views and opinions, as first communicated to Captain Harris, and those ascribed to the Governor-General in Council, in the final letter to the address of

this officer, that, although in the latter communication advantage is taken of the expression "defrauded the Government" to aggravate the conduct of Captain Harris, yet these two letters must be pronounced utterly irreconcileable. The Governor-General in Council is put on his defence against the honest warmth and candour of the Governor-General. How is this to be accounted for? Can we suppose a nobleman of the Governor-General's ability, tact and experience, so light in his opinions, that a weathercock turn of this kind is congenial to his mind? We give him credit for higher and nobler qualities, and for greater consistency of thought and action. We, in Calcutta, know the import of the words "in Council,"—have an inkling of the constitution of that body, of its tendencies, and how its powers are actually wielded. We are inclined, therefore, without any disparagement intended, to look upon these significant words "in Council," as the tail of the weathercock on this occasion. No such change was possible without its instrumentality.

Our readers will have seen that, excepting perhaps the Commissioners, we consider all parties more or less wrong. Even the Commissioners would have acted more wisely, and would have had more credit with the public for impartiality, had there been less secrecy and a more reserved bearing towards the Resident. The Governor-General might, with advantage and propriety, have suspended his judgment, and not pledged himself so early to opinions and assurances, highly favourable to the motives and conduct of Captain Harris. This officer would have lost no credit for the purity of his intentions, had he been more fair and above-board with his superior—animated by a more courteous, and a less bitter spirit,—and more discreet of tongue. But the decision of the Governor-General in Council with respect to Captain Harris appears to us—unless borne out by a very strong opinion on the part of the Commissioners, as to the inexcusability of his error in doing that for which the Governor-General applauded him—neither consonant with the assurances given to him, nor with the reproof and censure, which, it is whispered, was conveyed to the Resident, for the unwarrantable latitude of discretion he had assumed in the discharge of a public trust, and the confusion of accounts, which characterised the system he pursued, and which appears to have puzzled the Commissioners, as much as it must have done the unlucky Captain Harris, when he took charge of them. How was the latter to clear these of their obscurity? Could he unauthorizedly assume the functions of the Commissioners, and collect information from various

quarters, by which to test the accuracy of the plea put forth by the Resident for his full discretion in the expenditure of local funds? How was he to know the plea, before it had been made? and what would the Residents and Political Agents have said and done, on receiving inquisitory mandates from the second or third assistant of the Indore Residency? The remarks upon the previous investigation, which Captain Harris might have made, appear to us devoid of justice and expediency. The doctrine is a new one, that subordinates are at liberty to make such comprehensive inquiries, as the Commissioners were forced to make, before they could offer an opinion, whether the questionable entries involved serious culpability, or not. The matter could not have been so very clear, since the Governor-General, with the Resident's explanation before him, saw reason to appoint a commission of inquiry.

We cannot omit to notice, that, from the remarks of the Press, it appears that the letter to Captain Harris, after the investigation, was circulated (lithographed) from the Indore Residency, and thus found its way into the Local Newspapers—but unaccompanied by the letter to the Resident—a strange omission, and one, which the Government ought, in our humble and unofficial opinion, to rectify, as it might serve to place their own conduct in a less objectionable point of view.

We have stated our opinions the more frankly, because we feel that Central India, unless very unlike other parts of our Empire, is not likely to be benefited by these proceedings. Too much, or too little, has been done: and the native community, princes, and people, must be in doubt, less of the conduct of the officers of the British Government, than of the principles which guide the latter in its measures toward its agents.

In our opinion, then, (to return from this digression), we have allowed to pass by us, unimproved, the finest opportunity for the introduction of wholesome comprehensive measures in behalf of Central India, which providence could have afforded us. Such another is not likely to recur. We have failed in thirty years to impress a forward movement, either morally or physically, amongst the people of large tracts of fertile country in the heart of our empire. They are the same poverty-stricken race we found them: and, except in the one article, opium, we have done nothing to develope the resources of the land. If we extend our view to the tracts south of the Nerbudda, matters are rather worse. The Nizam's country, its financial bankruptcy, and its abundant elements of confusion and disorder, cannot be conveyed to the mind of the reader by

a sentence at the close of an article. Much trouble may boil over from that cauldron. Any remedy to these and other evils would be only preliminary; for we should then be still far from having made India the great rich cotton field of England—although by no means its best sugar manufactory. In a year like the present, when the home market apprehends a failure in the supply of American cotton, we read of some talk about India, and of projects in contemplation by men (of more energy and confidence, than knowledge) desirous of occupying this unworked field. But will these crude projects of men, who are ignorant of the difficulties against which they would have to contend, prove any thing more than talk? English Capital has been slow to embark on this great theatre of action: for capital looks for security, and our system has hitherto offered it none. Our local mercantile character, thanks to ourselves, stands very low. The financial condition and prospects of the Government are any thing but smiling; and war has, ever since June 1838, so occupied the attention of our rulers, and consumed the resources of the State, that all great and statesman-like measures for the real improvement of India have long been in abeyance. We have been, and are, draining India of its wealth. English Capital might do much, under God's blessing, towards giving life to the dormant energies and productiveness of our Empire, could means be devised to afford it reasonable security: and we scarcely look for any great forward movement, until the wealth of England turns some of its streams to the fructification of "poor" India.

ART. V.—*The Anglo-Hindustani Hand-Book; or Stranger's Self-Interpreter and Guide to Colloquial and General Intercourse with the natives of India. With a map and five Illustrations. Calcutta.* 1850.

THIS work is near akin to Mr. Grant's delightful book, the "Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch," which we had the pleasure of reviewing at considerable length some months ago. The aim of each is to "put its readers up to a few things" respecting the daily life of Anglo-Indian people, in so far as that life takes its colour from the environments amidst which it is passed. But the two books are designed for quite different classes of readers, whose purposes, in seeking to be made acquainted with Anglo-Indian matters, are widely different. The "Sketch" is mainly designed for the use of those who wish to know about us and our on-goings, by reason of the pure affection they entertain towards us, and the kindly interest they take in all that is of interest to us. The "Hand-book," on the other hand, is designed for ourselves, and for those who are on the eve of becoming members of our community; that they and we may be enabled to comport ourselves with the more propriety and credit in our daily and hourly intercourse with the people of the land, in which it is appointed unto us to sojourn. Hence it is evident, that the sentiment, that was all in its right place in the artist's "Sketch," would be quite unappropriate here. Like the sisterly conductors of some very respectable Seminaries, the brother-books exemplify the principle of the division of labour—the one undertaking the plain-work, while the other *does* the ornamental. Not that we would be understood to sanction a division, that would imply that there is a necessary separation between the useful and the ornamental. Is there nothing ornamental in the husband's well stitched shirt-collar? Is there nothing useful in those accomplishments, by which home is rendered more attractive?

In the course of our review of the "Sketch," we went a little out of our way to address a somewhat grave lecture to our Anglo-Indian readers, as to the propriety of their making a steady effort towards the acquirement of Hindustani at least, and (if possible) one other of the languages spoken by the natives of India, as Bengali, Ooriya, Tamul, or Marathi, according to the places of their residence. The lecture we then read to them, was not, we trust, out of place there; but it would have been still more appropriate, had it been reserved till the present occasion, and delivered in connexion with our present

text. It is surprising, indeed, with how small a stock of language a person may actually "get on" in India. There is a legend of a lady, who once on a time travelled from Calcutta to Ferozepore, on the strength of one word—*Jaldi (quick)*. Perhaps, after all, she acquitted herself fully as creditably as many with a more extensive vocabulary;—for, to say the truth, there are many amongst us, whose knowledge of the language is more extensive than either elegant or correct. Mr. Coleridge's neighbour sank sadly in his estimation, from the mode in which he expressed his delectation at the appearance of his favourite viands. If our present lucubrations should by accident fall into the hands of any new comer, whose ambition aspires no higher than to the attainment of the minimum amount of knowledge of the ways and language of the people, which is absolutely necessary for the mere purpose of vegetating amongst them,—or into those of any old resident, who has vegetated for many years, and who feels no want of any thing more than he already possesses—it is vain to recommend to either of these individuals to procure the volume before us. To *them* it would be but so much useless lumber, tending rather to impede, than to aid, the vegetative process. It is not, however, of such mere vegetables that the readers of the *Calcutta Review* are composed, and therefore we need not address ourselves to them. Again, we may safely calculate, that a large number of our readers have got far beyond the rudiments of the language, and have already acquired, from personal observation and experience, an adequate amount of acquaintance with the more immediately practical subjects, of which the Hand-book treats. To these also we need not recommend it, although we doubt not, that many of them will take no little pleasure in perusing considerable portions of it. The girl, who could not understand why people should take pleasure in reading Burns's *Cotter's Saturday night*, since it was not poetry at all, but just a description of what was every Saturday enacted "at hame," probably did not relish the description the less, because it gave her no new information, but only presented vividly, before her mind's eye, what had been familiar to her from her earliest childhood. So it may be, that some old Indians will take no little pleasure in perusing the book, on the very account that it contains so much of what they know already; and such perusal will be amply beneficial, even to them; as there is much in its pages, that cannot fail to be instructive even to the best informed on Indian affairs.

But doubtless a large portion of our readers consists of the very class, for whose special benefit the Hand-book is com-

posed—the strangers (*Anglo-Indice*, Griffins), who have lately arrived in India, and those, who, are only looking to India yet, as the unknown and mysterious land in which they are likely to spend the greater portion of their days. These will find it for their interest to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the Hand-book. If a man were to study it for an hour each day throughout the outward passage—if he would take it up occasionally after his arrival—if he would mark down under appropriate heads in an interleaved copy of it, every thing that struck him as disagreeing with any statement contained in it—the exercise would be a singularly salutary one, and would enable him soon to shake off the prejudices and false notions that we all bring with us to the land of our sojourn. We are quite willing to give our vote, that, in the case of all such as shall be able to shew that they have used diligence in this study, the period of griffinage shall be held to have terminated at the close of six-months-and-a-day's residence in India: whereas, in the case of all who fail in establishing the fact of such diligence, the period of griffinage shall extend, as at present and throughout all the past, over the full length of a year and a day.

It were impossible, within moderate limits, to give any but a very general account of the multifarious matter contained in the thick and densely printed volume before us. First of all, we have got a grammar of the language, which seems to us to be simple and good; with the exception of one fault, as we esteem it, which indeed pervades the work, and which it may be as well to notice now, once for all. The Author has adopted the system of Romanizing, invented by Dr. Gilchrist, deliberately preferring it to that of Sir William Jones. To us it seems only strange, that such a preference should have been given to a system, which is both unsound in its principle, and difficult in its use. A good system of Romanizing should be such, that a person, knowing the original and the substituted character, should be able at once to convert the one into the other. Now the system of Sir William Jones, especially as modified and perfected by Dr. Duff, is such, that this can easily be effected. Even an ordinary compositor can print off in the Oriental character from Romanized "copy;" but this would be altogether impossible with a system which does not profess to give letter for letter in every case. We cannot but express our regret, that the very intelligent Author of the Hand-book should have given his suffrage in favour of the revival of a system, which we had regarded as deservedly exploded long ago.

After the grammar comes a vocabulary, arranged, according

to the old-fashioned system in Latin and French vocabularies, according to subjects. This we should reckon any thing but a good arrangement for a mere vocabulary; but it is very suitable to the character of that before us, which is not merely a catalogue of words with their meanings, but includes also various dissertations upon *things*, which could not have been introduced so suitably, had an alphabetical arrangement obtained. There is, for example, a description of the various kinds of serpents, occupying four pages; fishes (14 pp.); plants (14 pp.); domestic servants (10 pp.); Hindu Castes (6 pp.); native dresses and jewellery (5 pp.); boats (4 pp.); Indian Chronology (25 pp.); Indian moneys, weights and measures (23 pp.); Indian cookery (6 pp.); games, sports and pastimes (4 pp.); Musical Instruments (3 pp.); Hindu Mythology (48 pp.); Hindu and Muhammedan festivals (27 pp.). This list, which might be considerably extended by specifying more of the shorter articles, will shew that the vocabulary is rather an encyclopædia on a small scale. We should also state that a considerable number of cuts are introduced into this part of the work, which tend still further to enhance its value. We should like to give a specimen of this part of the work; but the parts that would suit us best, are those that are thus illustrated; and it would not be fair to give the text without the illustrations. Such are the notices on "games, sports and pastimes;" on "music and musical instruments;" and on "Hindu Mythology." We therefore select a portion of the notice of "native dresses," as an average specimen of the way in which subjects are treated in this portion of the Hand-book:—

NATIVE DRESSES—Hin*doost*anee Po,shak.

Boor,*ka* : a *Sheet Veil*, thrown over the head and concealing the whole person, having a net worked space for the sight, in that part which covers the eyes: worn, in Lucknow, Dehli, and other parts of Hindoostan, by modest Mo*o*hummu*d*un women, whom poverty compels to walk in public. This covering in Calcutta is confined to the Jewish women,—Mo*o*sulmanees there being seldom or never seen so attired.

But,*tee* : f. a *Turban*, compactly formed, having its outer folds so twisted as to resemble a coil of cloth cords: usually worn by Rajpoo*t*s, and Puthans, (as illustrated in the sketch of *Eusuph Khan*, in C. Grant's "*Oriental Heads*").

Cha,*d*ur : f.) literally *Sheet:* most usually worn by Mo*o*hummu*d*un

Cho*d*,*d*ur : f.) women, who use it as an outer covering, or Shawl for the upper part of the body, and as a partial veil for the head and face. At night, the Cha*d*ur is the bed sheet of all classes of natives, of both sexes.

Chup,kan : f. a close long skirted *gown*, resembling the Ungarkha, and the usual dress of respectable male domestic servants, both Hindoos and Mo*o*hummu*d*uns.

*D*ho,*tee* : f. the usual *home undress* of all classes of male Hindoos, and the common and only dress of the majority of the poor classes of Hin-

doos and Moohummudans; consisting of a sheet of cloth wrapped round the waist—in the lower provinces, one end being gathered in loose plaits in front, and the other end passed between the thighs, and tucked within the upper skirt at the back: in the upper provinces, however, both ends are passed under the thighs, and tucked in at the back.

Do-put,ta (literally *two breadths*): a sheet of cloth thrown loosely over the shoulders of male Hindoos; the common every day costume of many of the middling classes consisting of the Dhotee and Doputta only. The Doputta is also generally worn by Moohummudun women, and Hindoo women of the upper provinces, in lieu of the Chadur.

Doo-Sha,la (literally *two Shawls*): a *pair of shawls*, substituted by wealthy natives, and particularly in cold weather, for the Do-putta.

Gosh,wa,ra: a band of brocade tied round the "Khirkee,-dar-pugree;" forming part of the honorary dress, usually presented by native Princes, and the English Government, to native gentlemen on certain state occasions.

Ja,ma: a male full dress *Gown*, worn by the higher classes at native courts; having loose skirts gathered in close plaits at the waist, with double breasted body (as partially seen in the figures of *Baboo Chotalal* and *Raja Kalikrishna*, in Grant's "*Oriental Heads*").

Joob,ba: a Persian upper coat, or cloak.

Joo,re,dar-pug,ree: f. a *Turban*, differing from the Put,tee-dar in the addition of a knot on the crown: worn by respectable natives, Hindoo and Moohummudun.

Khir,kee,dar-pug,ree: f. the full dress *Turban* of Indian Courts, worn by Hindoos and Moohummuduns, though in the lower provinces worn only by Hindoos (as illustrated in the sketch of *Raja Kalikrishna*, in Grant's "*Oriental Heads*").

Koor,ta: a long, loose skirted under *gown*, or *shirt*, worn by men, both Hindoos and Moohummuduns. From the Arabic name of this dress the *shirt* of the English derives its Hindoostanee name—*Kumeez*.

Koor,tee: f. a short bodice, reaching to the hips, with very short (if any) sleeves; open at the chest under the throat; worn by Moohummudun women.

Kub,a: f. a close long *gown* worn by men, Moohummuduns and Hindoos; differing from the Ungurkha in being open-breasted, and worn over the Mirzaee, Koorta, and sometimes the Ungurkha.

Kuf,cha: an *open Jacket*, differing from the Mirzaee in having tight sleeves.

Kum,ur,bund: *Waist-band* or *Sash*, of various descriptions and sizes, invariably worn round the loins of respectable natives, Hindoos and Moohummuduns, when full dressed.

Luhnga: *skirt Petticoat*, tied round the loins, and extending to the feet, or ground: worn by Moohummudun women in European service, and by Hindoo women of the upper provinces.

Mir,za,ee: an *under Jacket*, with long loose sleeves and open cuffs, worn by respectable Moohummuduns, and by upper servants, in European employ, under the Kuba, &c.

Pa,e,ja,ma: *Trowsers*, variously made, loose or scant, in different parts of India: worn by Moohummuduns of both sexes, and occasionally by Hindoo gentlemen.

Pesh,waz: f. a female full dress *Gown*, like the "Jama," but reaching a little below the knee only: usually formed of colored muslin, and now worn only by Hindoostanee dancing girls.

Pug,ree: f. *Turban*, of which there are numerous varieties, taking their names from the forms they bear, or the materials of which they are made.

Put,tee,*d*ar-pug,*r*ee: f. a *Turban* of compact neat appearance, worn by numerous respectable Hindoos and Moohummu*d*uns, and very generally by the upper servants in European service.

Sa,ree: f. the common dress of Hindoo women of all classes, and Moohummu*d*un women of the lower class throughout Bengal: consisting of a sheet of cloth worn round the body, and passing over the head and shoulders like a hood.

Shum,la; a *Shawl Turban.*

To,pee: f. Cap of any kind; worn by men only: the women of India wearing neither Caps nor Turbans.

Ub,a: the *Arabian* and *Persian Cloak*, forming the outer garment over all others; worn open in front, and much resembling an English boatcloak.

Um,a,mu: a loose *Turban* peculiar to the Arabs and Persians (as illustrated in the portraits of *Hajee Mirza Muhummud Mehdy; Muhummud Salé;* and the *Villagers of Herat*, in Grant's "*Oriental Heads*").

Ung,i,ya: f. a female *Bodice*, worn beneath the "Koortee," and tied behind.

Ung,urk,ha: a close, long skirted *gown*, with long sleeves, and closed or covered breasts: worn by all classes of respectable natives, Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Such is a list of the articles of raiment which go to make up the costume of our fellow-subjects in the "gorgeous East." To make the matter complete we must extract also the account of the main articles of *bijouterie* in use amongst them.

Jewellery—Guhna.

The following list includes the most common native Jewels and ornaments, of which, however, there are innumerable varieties, known under numerous names in the different provinces throughout India:—

Ar,see: f. *Thumb-ring*, set with a mirror about the size of a rupee: worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Ba,la: large *Earrings*, worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un, and in some parts of India by the men.

Ba,lee: f. *Earrings*, plain or set: worn by women—both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Bool,a*k*: a nasal trinket appended to the centre cartilage of the nose, and resting on the upper lip: the lower part set with pendants: the surface flat, and set or plain: worn by Moohummu*d*un women.

Bu*t*,a,na: *Bracelets*, formed by a series of rings, of gold or silver, the number worn on each wrist varying from 4 to 6, worn by women—both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Ba,zoo-bun*d*: } *Upper Armlets* (from Bazoo or Bhooj—*upper-arm*; and
Bhooj-bun*d*: } bun*d*—*tie*): a general name for various trinkets worn, by ties, on the upper arms of women, both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Chhul,la: plain *Finger* or *Toe Ring*: worn by women and men of all classes.

Choo*r*: *Bracelets*, differing from the Bu*t*ana in the rings being united, formed of conch, and worn exclusively by Hindoo women.

Choo*r*,ee: f. *Bracelets*, like the Bu*t*ana in shape, but formed of coloured glass or lac: worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Chum,pa-kul,ee: f. *Necklace* of silk, on which are strung 30 to 40 pendants of crystals or precious stones, set in gold or silver, and formed in imitation of the unblown flowers of the Chumpa: worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummu*d*un.

Ghoong,roo : *Anklets* of silk, from which are suspended little hollow spheres charged with shot, which tinkle as the wearer walks * : worn by women and children—both Hindoo and Moohummudun.

Har : *Necklace*—of beads, flowers, or any thing strung.

Jhoom,ka : *Bell-shaped Earring.*

Jhoo,mur : a frontal or temple ornament, formed of three, or more gold chains, or strings of pearls, one end of which is hooked to the centre of the head, whilst to the other end are attached variously shaped pendants, hung, from the parting of the hair to the temple, between the eye brows : worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummudun.

Joog,noo : a small semi-lunar ornament, worn in the centre of a necklace of pearls, &c.

Kur,a : *Anklet* or *Bracelet* of solid gold or silver : in the shape of the letter **c** terminating with a nob at each end : worn by women, both Hindoo and Moohummudun, and as bracelets, in many parts of India by the men.

Mang-put,tee : f. a golden ornament, worn over the line on the top of the head where the hair is parted, and reaching to the back part of the head ; worn by women.

Moo,hur : f. *Seal*

Moor,kee : f. *Earrings*, worn by women in the tragus of the ears.

Muchh,lee : f. *Earring-drops*, made in the form of fish.

Nuth : f. *Nose-ring*, formed of gold wire, on which are strung two pearls and a ruby : diameter—2 to 2¼ inches, worn by women. The Hindoos add 2 thin plates of gold with serrated edges, between the ruby and each pearl. This ring is essential to the marriage of both Hindoos and Mooslims, and is never laid aside but on the death of the husband.

Nuth,nee : f. *Nose-ring*, smaller than the Nuth, and worn by children of both sexes.

Pa,e,zeb : f. *Chain Anklet*, consisting of heavy rings of silver resembling a curb chain, occasionally set with a fringe of small spherical bells, charged with shot, all of which tinkle at every motion of the legs :† worn by women.

Pouhn,chee : f. *Bracelet* of any shape.

Put,te : f. *Earring-drops*, in the form of leaves, plain or set.

Put,ree : f. *Bracelets*, like the Choor—but made of gold.

Ta,weez : *Amulet*, a gold or silver case enclosing quotations from the Kooran, some mystical writing, or vegetable or animal substance, as the teeth or nails of a tiger, &c. : worn by Moohummuduns, men, women, and children, on the neck, arm, and waist.

Tee,ka : a *frontal* or *temple ornament*, differing from the Jhoomur in having only one chain or string of pearls.

Touk : *Neck Collar* of gold or silver, varying in form, but usually in the shape of the letter **c**, terminating with nobs at the ends which nearly meet : worn by women and children of all classes.

Ung-oo,thee : f. *Finger-ring* (set.).

Zun,jeer : f. *Chain.*

* "With bells to her ancles, and rings on her toes,
She shall have music—wherever she goes !"+
Nursery Rhyme.

† We question the correctness of our Authors' reading of this Nursery Rhyme. Moreover it strikes us that he might have found much apter illustrations of the eastern practice of wearing metallic ornaments on the feet. The Scriptures abound with allusions to this practice. We may only refer, for example, to Isaiah, III. 16.—Ed. *C. R.*

After this cyclopædic vocabulary, comes a number of "short sentences in English and Hindustani," which remind us of those in Marryatt's signal code;—and, next, a collection of "Oriental Proverbs." Some of these seem to us to possess in a very high degree the characteristics that constitute excellence in a proverb; and our readers will be pleased by our selecting a few of them, omitting the Hindustani, and giving merely the author's literal translation and the short explanatory note that he appends to each.

"*A blind man loses his staff but once.*"
"A burnt child dreads the fire."
"*A buffalo does not feel the weight of his own horns.*"
"A man does not repine at the maintenance of his own family."

Without questioning the accuracy of this explanation, we may remark, that it does not seem to us to exhibit very clearly the point of the proverb, which is a beautiful one. The great matter intended to be expressed is the blessedness of having children, which is so closely interwoven with all Oriental notions. What the horns are to the buffalo, children are to a man. The same idea is expressed by the Psalmist, when he says, "as arrows are in the hand of a mighty man, so are children of the youth; happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them; they shall not be ashamed; but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate." Such then being the usefulness of children, the proverb points out the foolishness of murmuring at the expense attending their "up-bringing." As well might the buffalo complain of the weight of his horns, which are his great instruments of defence and offence. The same notion is also recognized in the law which required the Roman soldier to carry a certain weight of baggage "in addition to his arms, which were regarded as part of himself." We suspect the proverb is also used as expressive of the influence of habit, without any reference to children at all. As the buffalo's horns grow imperceptibly with his own growth, and as he is unconscious of their weight, in consequence of his having been habituated to it by imperceptible degrees, so do we form habits unconsciously for good or evil. We go on with our selections.

"*A mountain hid behind a straw.*"

"To express something of the greatest utility, which may be attained by an easy process, when once known."

This is the principle on which Lord Bacon expatiates constantly, recurring to it again and again in various parts of his works. Printing, gunpowder and the compass were all hidden behind straws; and when these straws were removed, people

could not but wonder that they had been so long concealed. We suspect also that the same, or a very similar, proverb is used to express the excessive caution of a man who sacrifices a prospective good to a present convenience.

"*Come, bull, gore me.*"
"*Come, misfortune, embrace me.*"

"Spoken by or of one, who, under an erroneous act, is resigned to the consequences."

Or rather, we suspect, designed to show the evil of inviting misfortune by passivity, instead of making strenuous efforts to avert it.

"*He puts the milk by itself, and water by itself.*"

"Figuratively—he who separates truth from falsehood: a phrase used to express just decision and accurate discrimination."

"In other words, a sharp analyser, or, as our trans-atlantic cousins have it, "a 'cute chap."

"*If the quince be ripe what advantage is that to the crow?*"

"Referring to the Bengal quince (the *bel,*) the rind of which is so hard, that the crows cannot pierce it with their bills—used by those who hear advantages described, of which they cannot partake."

"*If you go on every branch, I will go on every leaf.*"

"Whatever stratagems you practise, I will overmatch you;" that is—*Oi's Yorkshire too.*

"*In the city where you wish to sell flowers, do not kick up the dust.*"

"*That is, offend not those whom it is your interest to conciliate.*"

Or do not quarrel with your bread and butter.

"*One and one make eleven*"

"*Taken from the way of writing eleven in figures. Used to express the great advantage of acting in concert.*"

This seems to us to be a peculiarly neat and elegant proverb, expressive of the important truth "that union is strength." The converse of this truth is expressed by the maxim—"Divide and conquer;" and the truth itself is well illustrated by the fable (or history) of the old chieftain's sons, who strove in vain to break the sheaf of arrows, but snapped them without difficulty one by one.

"*Small rain fills a pond.*"

"*Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo.*"

Or "many littles make a muckle."

"*The neem-tree will not become sweet, though watered with syrup and ghee.*"

"What is bred in the bone, will not come out of the flesh."

These may suffice as specimens of the proverbs that are in frequent use among the people of this country, and which often give an air of quaintness to their conversation, that is very pleasing to those who can appreciate it. The only evil attached to the good is, that these proverbs, however they may be introduced, always stand for irrefragable arguments. The analogical principle is exceedingly strong in the minds of the people; and in every question that comes under discussion, an illustration or illustrative proverb is held to be unanswerable.

After the proverbs, comes a series of dialogues in English and Hindustani, precisely similar to those that occur in all French and Italian and German Hand-books. The compilers append an apologetic note, expressive of regret that the dialogues have been inserted at all, because, as they say, quoting from Dr. Gilchrist, "it must be wholly impossible to put such words in the mouths of the persons addressed, as they will actually adopt. To every question or remark, there may be at least twenty different modes of reply; and an author must be fortunate indeed, should his work contain the very answers that will be made to all his reader's queries of any kind, in a foreign tongue, unless his book be extended to a size far beyond the ordinary limits of these productions."—Very true, good doctor, and very far short of the whole truth. To contain all the conversations that may be held between man and man, would require not only an enlarged hand-book, or an arm-book, but a world-book. But, for all this, we do not agree with the compilers in the self-condemnatory apology that they offer for the insertion of these dialogues. Their object is not to furnish their readers with the *matter* of what they are to say, and what is to be said to them, but to assist them in forming a good conversational style. A man may be benefited by studying the historical style of Hume or Macaulay, although he has the intention of writing—not a history of England, but a history of Timbuctoo.

We are next presented with "brief descriptions of the months of Bengal; with lists of their respective edible produce procurable in the meat, fish, fruit and vegetable markets in Calcutta." This statement is taken from Mr. Speede's Hand-book of Gardening, and Messrs. S. Smith and Co.'s Almanac. It just strikes us, that it may tend to give our *outside* readers a notion of the climate and various other particulars which it may be interesting to them to know, if we attempt to embody the most important information contained in this portion of the work in a tabular form. So far as our recollection goes,

the statements respecting the weather are very correct, and we believe the produce of the markets is accurately stated.

Months.	*Temp.*	*Meat.*	*Game.*	*Fish.*	*Fruit.*	*Vegetables.*
January ...	52°—63°	Plentiful & excellent	Abundt...	5 good srts.	8 sorts.	33 sorts.
February...	58—75	Ditto	,,	6 ,,	7 ,,	34 ,,
March	68—82	Good	,,	7 ,,	8 ,,	29 ,,
April	80—92	Flabby & poor.	,,	10 ,,	9 ,,	21 ,,
May	85—98	Worse &worse	,,	9 ,,	17 ,,	17 ,,
June	80—100	Ditto	,,	9 ,,	13 ,,	18 ,,
July	80—89	Ditto	,,	9 ,,	13 ,,	16 ,,
August	80—90	Ditto	,,	9 ,,	8 ,,	14 ,,
September..	78—85	Ditto	,,	18 ,,	4 ,,	12 ,,
October.....	75—80	Improving.	3 sorts ...	18 ,,	2 ,,	13 ,,
November..	70—75	Ditto	Plentiful.	23 ,,	3 ,,	27 ,,
December...	58—65	Perfect.....	Abundt...	Perfect.....	5 ,,	29 ,,

It is also stated, that the following commodities last throughout the year, viz., beef, kid, lamb, mutton, pork, veal; ducks, fowls, geese, pigeons, turkeys; venison and rabbits; of fish, chingree (prawns) choona, kutla, kuwy, magoor, moonjee, rohee, sowle, tangra; and of the vegetable kingdom the banana or sweet plantain.

From this table it will be seen that there is no difficulty in procuring table supplies throughout the year; and, although, during the hot and rainy seasons, the meat, especially the beef, is not so good as in the cold weather, it is by no means to be despised. Of vegetables there is during the greater part of the year quite an *embarras des richesses*, and fruits are abundant during, at least, half the year.

The next subject brought to our notice is that of travelling by water and by land. This is treated in two extracts from Mr. Parbury's Hand-book, which was written at a much less advanced state of the river steam navigation than that which we have now reached. This portion therefore, of the work, is a little out of date, and ere long, the dâk palki will be found only in our Museums, as an interesting relic of the old slow times. On the subject of river-travelling, we may as well take occasion to allude to a very great improvement introduced, within these few years, into the boat-economy of the river, in the shape of paddle-boats, propelled by coolies working tread-mill fashion. These boats were first introduced by Messrs. Burn and Co. of this city, and

have now become pretty common, although, we believe, their possession hitherto is confined to private gentlemen; at least, we are not aware that any are kept for hire. It is stated in the books on animal mechanics, that the most telling way of applying a man's muscular energy is, by setting him to pull at an oar; but he must pull as English man-of-war's men pull, and not merely jabble up a lave of water against the sides of the boat, according to the invariable and incorrigible mode of the Bengali boatmen. In working the paddle-boats, of which we have spoken, all is done by the dead weight of the coolies, or at least very little is left to be accomplished by their muscular energy. The result is, that these boats go at nearly double the rate at which they would be propelled by an equal number of oarsmen. Hence, the thanks of our community are well due to their inventor. So far as we have learned, the Archimedean screw has only been tried in a single instance, and without success; but we should think the experiment well worthy of repetition.

In the matter of dâk travelling also, an improvement was introduced a few years ago by Colonel Powney—in the shape of a palki that could be used as a carriage to be drawn by one or two ponies, or pushed by men, or carried like an ordinary palki. Wheresoever there are roads and horses, it is a comfortable carriage; where there are roads, but no horses, it is a carriage still; where roads are not, the wheels are unshipped and stowed away on the roof, and the carriage becomes a palki. If a keel could be put upon it, so that it might cross an occasional ferry, it might be regarded as a universal travelling apparatus. The great trunk road, and the Inland Transit Company afford the Anglo-Indian the means of travelling in a sort of stage-coach; but we fancy it will require him to "make-believe very hard," before he can persuade himself that it is the genuine thing. Our Post Master General has also recently laid on a mail-coach to carry passengers between Calcutta and Burdwan, with the promise, that if the experiment succeed, it shall be extended. But we scarcely expect that it will. While we write, however, the times are big with the greatest of all improvements in the locomotory art. After long and tantalizing delays, it seems now not improbable, that we shall soon have a RAILWAY. While we write, we learn that the Governor General's final sanction has been received for the immediate commencement of a line from Howrah to Hoogly; and we doubt not that this wedge-point introduced, this inch given, is the beginning of great things. It is but a few years ago that the *Quarterly Review*, in a paper

on Steam Navigation to India, gave a decided preference to the Red Sea over the Euphrates and Persian Gulf route; but, after calculating that the expense of running a steamer once in two months between Falmouth and Bombay would be £33,912, threw cold water on the whole scheme by asking whether this "terrific expenditure" "is to be incurred for conveying a few letters and despatches, and now and then three or four passengers." The result has been the twice-a-month communication between England and India, with an overflow of passengers. So much for the sagacity of the most sagacious, when they attempt to deal with matters untried. May we not hope then that in the same way all the most vivid expectations of the projectors of our railway will ere long be far more than realized, and all the fears of the croakers converted into matter of amusement? Ethnologists talk of the venatory, the pastoral, and the agricultural states, as the several stages in the career of human progress. Perhaps the kutcha-road state, the pukha-road state, and the rail-road state would not be a less appropriate division. Now it certainly is strange, in this view of the matter, that the most thoroughly stand-still people on the face of the earth should be destined to pass, as they appear to be, *per saltum* from the lowest of these states, to the highest, from the mere foot-path or dak-road to the rail-road, from the palki to the steam-train. This may be anomalous, and probably it is so; but there seems no small likelihood of its being realized—for at present, it cannot be doubted, notwithstanding the existence of the great trunk road, and a few other roads of very small length and generally of very indifferent quality, that the great mass of the goings and comings of the people of India is perpetrated either by water carriage or by foot-path travelling. This being the present state of things, and there being every prospect of a railway being immediately set agoing, it will follow that the transition from the worst to the best will be effected by a single stride. We do not imagine, however, that the pukha-road stage will be passed over altogether, but rather that it will come after the rail-road stage. Indeed we cannot doubt that the effect of the rail-way will be to cause the multiplication of good common roads. These will be necessary in order that much good may be derived from the rail-way, and we have no doubt that the demand will create the supply.

The next subject that meets our eyes in turning over the pages of the book under review is that of "gentlemen's clothing for India." Here again our authors are a little behind date. A few years ago every man wore a white jacket on all ordinary occasions; now nothing is worn but black alpaca coats. To

our humble thinking this is not at all an improvement. We have no objection to the substitution of the coat, or shooting jacket, for the short jacket; inasmuch as it can scarcely be disputed that on some figures, the latter is not a very becoming vestment; but the substitution of black for white, we regard as a positive evil. The material also, though certainly very light,* is not, to our taste, by any means so pleasant in very hot weather when there is no breeze, as is the usual calico, or whatever be the technical name of the stuff of which jackets are made. Then the expense must be at least three times as great as that of jackets;—as thus.

Two dozen jackets will cost rupees 30, and last three years.

Two alpaca coats will cost also rupees 30, and will not last one year without great seediness.

That is on the supposition of the mere wear, without any allowance for casualties. But it must be considered that a single tear will put either coat or jacket *hors de combat*, and the coat as easily at least as the jacket. Now when the alpaca-wearer has submitted to two tears, he is finished, done up entirely; whereas the man of calico has twenty-two out of his twenty-four suits as good as ever. It is therefore, from all these considerations, our confident expectation that the alpaca race will not long enjoy its usurped prerogative; but that the calico dynasty will soon be restored to its rightful ascendancy. For ourselves, we have resolved to retain our loyalty to the exiled family, and to live in patient hopeful expectation of the time when "the king shall have his ain again;"—and why not? Have we not lived to see the restoration of the Bourbon race in its two branches, and again the virtual restoration of the Corsican race—and why should we despair of the fortunes of calico? But, at all events, our resolution is taken.

We ought to state that the advices given to those making provision for the outward voyage seem to us to be very judicious. They are practical and to the point. By following them, a good and useful outfit may be got for very considerably less money than is usually expended on a comparatively useless one. For ourselves, if we had to come to India again, we should not spend much more than a third of the money on outfit that we expended in the days of our griffinhood. Expe-

* Messrs. Harman and Co. state that their zephyr coats weigh 7 oz. We have just had the curiosity to weigh a jacket of ordinary thickness, and have found that its weight is 12½ tolas, = 5 oz. 2⅔ dr. Now it is true that the difference, or 1 oz. 13⅓ dr. is not a great weight, still it is more than one-third (13-36ths) of the whole weight of the jacket.

rience teaches—even fools, and, *a fortiori*, sage and sapient reviewers.

We must presume that the advice given to ladies on the subject of *their* wardrobe is equally judicious and to the point: and we have no doubt that it is all this and more, inasmuch as it is taken from Miss Emma Roberts. We therefore refer our fair readers either to that lady's "East Indian Voyage," or to the volume before us, for all needful information respecting dress and knick knackeries.

Passing on then from this delicate subject, we come to "Hygeian notes on dress in India." For ourselves, one rule embodies all that a pretty lengthened experience has taught us as to the influence of dress on health—and that is, in the hot weather and the rains to keep ourselves as cool as possible, and in the cold weather to keep ourselves sufficiently warm. The only exception to this rule is in the case of the occurrence of a North-Wester. In the season when these occur, it were well to have a flannel coat or jacket ready to put on the moment that the hurly-burly begins; for although the coolness is very pleasant, yet it is very apt to be hurtful. With this exception, for eight months in the year the coolest dress is the best for strong people, and we believe for weak ones too. But from the middle of October to the middle of February the case is altered. Then woollen stuffs must be worn, every morning and evening, and they are not generally found to be unpleasant during the day.

We pass over a great deal of matter respecting the preservation of health by diet and exercise, respecting smoking, sleep, prickly heat, and cholera, and come to a subject on which we shall offer one or two observations, that of snake-bites. There are probably few subjects on which the notions of new-comers more need rectification than this. Many seem to imagine that the bite of a venomous serpent is so common an occurrence, that escape from it for any lengthened period is not to be expected by any one. We need scarcely say that this is an erroneous notion altogether. There are very few places whither Europeans resort where serpents are at all numerous. Then, of all the snakes in any given place, a very large proportion are either perfectly harmless, or their poison is of so mild a nature as to produce no evil effect beyond a little pain. Moreover, of all the snakes in India, we never saw any one that will attack a man, or any except the cobra that, when attacked, will stand at bay if he can in any possible way effect an escape. In fact our idea of the valour of snakes

has been very much lowered by our acquaintance with them. And then, last of all, it is scarcely possible for any snake, that we have ever seen, to bite a person in a European garb. All these circumstances combine to render a venomous snake-bite an exceedingly rare occurrence amongst Europeans. We believe many medical men have been in extensive practice for very many years, without having had an opportunity of treating a single case. In so far therefore as any personal danger is concerned, the likelihood of being bitten is so small, that even the strictest prudence scarcely requires us to adopt any precaution, or to provide ourselves in anticipation with any remedy. But those who reside in the Mofussil may sometimes be called on to afford aid to natives, whose costume renders them so much more liable to be bitten; and at all events the subject is one of great interest. From all that we have read of the subject, we have come to the conclusion that the wisest course, when any one has been certainly bitten by a cobra or other deadly serpent, is immediately to apply the actual cautery, after binding the limb with a cord above the bite as tight as possible, so as to stop the circulation as nearly as possible, and prevent the poison-impregnated blood from reaching the vital organs. As soon as a red-hot iron can be got ready, it should be unshrinkingly applied to the wound, nor removed until the flesh is completely scorched. After this the patient should be kept awake by stimulants, and by being compelled to keep moving about. Our authors bring to notice the virtues of what is called the "Tanjore pill," the ingredients of which are white arsenic and quicksilver and four vegetable substances. The efficacy of this pill is vouched for by the venerable Swartz; and it is very much to be regretted that the vegetable ingredients are not ascertained with perfect certainty. We confess however that we have always considerable doubts as to the efficacy of any such remedies, however attested. In so many cases are wounds supposed to be caused by the bites of cobras and other deadly snakes, which are either caused by the bites of comparatively harmless snakes, or even by the mere pricking of thorny shrubs; and, so proper is it in case of doubt to err on the side of safety—that we are persuaded that many specifics acquire reputation by curing imaginary cases, where no cure at all was required, or slight causes which yield to remedies that would not reach the real evil. It was thus, we doubt not, that the root of the Aristolochia Indica acquired a temporary reputation a few years ago; which was blasted, so far as we recollect, by a series of experiments conducted

by Mr. Meade at Madras. A *priori* we should scarcely expect, that a medicine taken into the stomach is the best antidote to a poison of such speedy action imbibed through the absorbents. We should rather expect that the best way to grapple with the evil was either to send a neutralizing substance after it, or else, by the vigorous method we have alluded to, to destroy the absorbent organs altogether, or thoroughly incapacitate them for conveying the poison into the system.

The next section of the work bears the somewhat curious heading, "DOMESTIC PESTS." We shall not tell our readers what these are. If ignorance be possible, it will certainly be bliss.

We next come to a dissertation on the "Natives of India, their character, customs and prejudices." On such a subject nothing has produced more confusion and contradiction than undue generalization; and this, it is due to our authors to say, that they strive to avoid. In fact it were almost as possible to describe in a chapter the natives of Europe as the natives of India. What is true of one class is utterly inapplicable to a dozen of others; and what is the most distinguishing characteristic of many individuals in any one great class, may be wanting altogether, or existing in very limited degree, in many other individuals of the same class. It is therefore manifest that all general descriptions must be very vague, like those which occur in books of geography "for the use of schools," which seem to suppose that they have told us all that can be told about the characteristics of the several nations, when they have stated that the Englishman is hospitable, the Scotsman industrious, and the Irishman light-hearted. It is not by such generalities, however, that we can learn aught that is worth learning respecting a people. The only things that are of any use in this respect are facts, numerous facts, from which we may derive our own conclusions. But however much the various nations that inhabit this great continent, rather than country, may differ from each other, we cannot go any where amongst them without seeing that they are all largely tainted with evil practices which nothing but the diffusion of Christianity amongst them can root out, and sadly defective in certain qualities, that nothing but Christianity will ever impart. This is a serious subject—some may think too serious to be introduced alongside of the *melange* that we have gathered together into this article; but we must express our decided conviction that the character of the people of this country, however it may be

modified as it is developed in different classes and different individuals, is a character radically and essentially evil; that no influence that can be brought to bear upon it is adequate to the production of a radical and essential improvement, excepting those influences that are exhibited in the Bible, and that are exerted, in greater or less measure, wheresoever Christianity is diffused amongst a people in any considerable degree of purity. This is our deliberate conviction, which all that we see going on around us in this age of progress tends amply to confirm. Without the influences that we have spoken of, all the other means that naturally tend to elevate the condition and improve the character of a people, are deprived of nine-tenths of their legitimate influence. Take as an example the mightiest and most powerful of all human agencies—the press. What is the effect of the indigenous literature that issues from the native press in Bengal? Let our readers turn again to the account of it contained in our last issue,* and let them take into consideration that not a tithe of the evil of the staple literature of the country is exhibited there, or can ever be exhibited in our pages; and we are persuaded that they will come, as we have long ago come, to the conclusion, that all external improvements must fall infinitely short of the end of elevating the people of India to that point in the scale of character, which their well-wishers desire that they should attain. It is the same with commerce, improved modes of communication and transit, mental culture, and every thing else. All these are good and valuable in their own place, as subordinate to Christianity; but, apart from it, the benefit they can confer is very doubtful, and at the best extremely partial.

> The ties of nature do but feebly bind,
> And commerce partially reclaims mankind;
> Philosophy, without his heavenly guide,
> May blow up self-conceit, and nourish pride;
> But, while his province is the reasoning part,
> Has still a veil of midnight on his heart.
> 'Tis truth divine, exhibited on earth,
> Gives charity her being and her birth.

It is this charity, and nothing short of it, that will really elevate our native fellow-subjects; will introduce among them a new set of ideas; will so modify their social and domestic habits, without unduly interfering with their nationality, as greatly to alter the detail of the intercourse between them and Europeans; will introduce amongst them the hitherto unknown idea

* *Cal. Rev.* No. XXVI. Art. 2.

of *home*, break down the system of caste, and "humanize" tens of thousands of those who may not be actually converted.

The second part, occupying about half the volume, consists of what is styled a vocabularic index. This is simply an English and Hindustani dictionary, with references throughout to such places of the former part of the work as treat of the subject to which any word refers. This strikes us as likely to prove very useful to the student, providing him as it does at once with a dictionary, and an index to the very varied contents of the former part of the hand-book. It is also interspersed with occasional dissertations, as they may almost be called, on many subjects of interest, which contain a truly surprising amount of information in a very small compass. Take, as a specimen, the following account of the Hookah :—

Hookah cor. of H*ook'k*u ; the better description of which consists of the following named distinct portions, viz. 1. H*ook'k*u, the glass, metal, or earthen-ware *water-vessel*. 2. Kur'ee'na or Ni'ga'lee, f. the *double-pipe* which fixes into the water vessel. 3. Gut'ta, the *socket of the kur'ee'na*. 4. Ny'chu, the *Snake*, or *Pipe* which unites with the shorter pipe of the kureena. 5. M*oo*nh'nal, the metal or mineral *Mouth-piece*. 6. Ur'u*k-d*an or Chil'-um-chee, f. the metal *Saucer* which connects the longer pipe of the kureena with the chilum. 7. Chil'um, the metal or earthen-ware *Cup* or *Bowl* in which the tobacco, *t*u'wa, and fireballs are contained. 8. Git'a or Git'ikh, the small earthen-ware *tripod plate* fixed between the concavity of the chilum and the tobacco. 9. *T*u'wa, the metal or earthen-ware *circular plate* interposed between the tobacco below and the fire-balls above. (*T*um'a'koo, the *Tobacco*.—v. note, p. 442.—G*oo*l, the *charcoal fire-balls.)* 10. Sur'posh or Chum'bur, the metal *Chil'um-cover*. 11. *Gh*il' af, the *Ny'chu slip* or *cover*. 12. Zer'un'*d*az, the *hookku Carpet*.

Hook'ku, varieties of the.—Dum'ee, f. Fur'shee, f. *Koo*l'*koo*'la,—(a small kind), G*oo*r'g*oo*'ree, f.—(used by a class of Fukeers), My'*d*an'ee,—(made of *cocoanut*), Nar'i'yul or Nar'i'yul'ee,(—of earthen-ware), Thur'i'ya.

Hookku attendant, H*ook'k*ubur'*d*ar, 63.

Hookku pipe, straight—Chou'ga'nee, f.—*bent* (as of the goorgooree), *Do-kh*um'mu.

Hookku-snake, Ny'chu.

Hookku-snake maker, Ny'chubun*d*.

Hookku-snake making, Ny'chu-bun*d*ee.

We have often thought that a great deal of correct deduction might be derived from the contemplation of the cumbrous paraphernalia of the hooka in reference to the character of the people. Compare it with the Irishman's "dooden," or even John Bull's "yard of clay," and you will see the difference between the race that makes a business of pleasure, or makes the chief enjoyment of life consist in the *dolce far niente*, and the race that habitually prefers duty to enjoyment.

The notices of plants and trees are valuable, although we see several indications that the author is neither a botanist nor a practical cultivator. The notices of the coinage, under the articles *mohur, pagoda, pice, pie,* and *rupee,* strike us as particularly good, containing a vast deal of really useful information in a wonderfully concentrated form. It would be of no use to extract one of these notices apart from the others, as they are all closely connected with each other ; and to extract them all would encroach to far too great an extent on our space. We shall therefore select another extract, almost at random, and with this we shall bring our somewhat desultory article to a close :—

Thug, (hin.) generally—*a robber, assassin, cut-throat ; cheat, impostor :* especially *one of a gang of hereditary, professional assassins, Hindoos and Moosulmans, who range the high roads and rivers of various parts of India, and, under the guise of friendship, win the confidence of unsuspecting travellers, and, after accompanying them for a stage or two, on reaching the first selected retired spot* (in Thug slang, Bel or Beyl—*the place chosen for burying their victims) or, if on the river, the first safe locality, murder them by strangulation, and plunder their property.* In different parts of India these ruffians assume, and are designated by various names, derived either from the mode by which they despatch their victims, from the purpose for which they destroy life, or from the arts by which they inveigle their prey to destruction. In the more northern parts of India they are called Thug, the name by which they are most generally known among Europeans. In some provinces to the southward, they have obtained the name of Phan'see'gars or *Stranglers,* from the Sanscrit Phan'see, f. *a noose, loop, halter, strangulation ;* and in the Tamul language, (according to Dr. Sherwood,) "they are called Ari tulucar, or *Mussulman noosers;* in Canarese, Tanti Calleru, implying *thieves, who use a wire or cat-gut noose ;* and in Telugu, Warln wahndlu, or Warlu vayshay wahndloo, meaning *People who use the noose.*"—Thus for the common interpretation of the word THUG : but after the crime of murder by Thugs had, for some time, engaged the attention of the E. I. Government, and stringent laws been enacted for its punishment, doubts and difficulties arose, as to the meaning of the words "Thug" and "Thuggee," and the expression "Murder by Thuggee," when used in the Acts of the Council of India : for the removal of such doubts, therefore, the legislative branch of the Government provided a legal remedy by the Act No. III. of 1848—passed by the G. G. in Council on the 26th Feb. 1848, which declares and enacts—"that the word 'Thug,' when used in any Act heretofore passed by the Council of India, shall be taken to have meant and to mean a person who is, or has at any time been, habitually associated with any other or others for the purpose of committing, by means intended by such person, or known by such person to be likely, to cause the death of any person, the offence of Child-stealing, or the offence of Robbery not amounting to Dacoity. And that the word 'Thuggee,' when used in such Acts, shall be taken to have meant and to mean the offence of committing or attempting any such Child-stealing or Robbery by a Thug. And that the expression 'Murder by Thuggee,' when used in such Acts, shall be taken to have

meant and to mean Murder, when employed as the means of committing such Child-stealing or such Robbery by a Thug."—A legal difference existing between the crimes of Thuggee, Dacoity, and Robbery by any other "wandering gang of persons associated for the purposes of theft or robbery, not being a gang of Thugs or Dacoits," the Act No. XI. of 1848—passed by the G. G. in Council on the 20th of May 1848, entitled "An Act for the punishment of wandering gangs of Thieves and Robbers"—extends some of the Provisions of the Law for the conviction of Thugs and Dacoits to offenders of the other class referred to; 1st. in subjecting them, on conviction, to "imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding seven years." 2nd. in enacting that any person accused "of belonging to any such gang," or "of knowingly receiving or buying property stolen or plundered by any such gang, may be committed by any Magistrate within the Territories of the E. I. C." and be tried by any Court which would be competent to try him, if his offence were committed within the Zillah where that Court sits. 3rd. in enacting that "No Court shall on the trial of any offence under this Act, require any Futwa from any Law Officer."—There are fair reasons to justify the belief "that the system of Thuggee (more correctly Thug'a'ee, f.) or Phanseegaree, originated with some parties of vagrant Mahommuduns, who infested the roads about the ancient capital of India," where it "found a congenial soil, and flourished with rank luxuriance for more than two Centuries, till its roots had penetrated and spread over almost every district within the limits of the E. I. Co.'s dominions:" that the British Government knew little or nothing of the Thugs "until shortly after the conquest of Seringapatam, in 1799, when about a hundred were apprehended in the vicinity of Bangalore;" and that it was not until 1807, when several Thugs were apprehended between Chittoor and Arcot, that information was obtained, which ultimately led to the development of the habits, artifices, and combinations of these atrocious delinquents." The development referred to was the labour of years, and "up to 1829 these assassins traversed every great and much frequented road from the Himaleh Mountains to the Nerbudda River, and from the Ganges to the Indus, without the fear of punishment from divine or human laws." But in 1830, Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General, with that judgment and decision which characterized his rule, adopted the plan of operations which has been so ably and successfully carried out for the suppression of the Thug associations by Major Sleeman and others, whose services have been dedicated to that object. In 1840, the only parts of India in which there were any Thugs at large, and not entered in the proscription lists of those gentlemen, were believed to be the Eastern Districts of Bengal, and between Midnapore and Nagpore, along the road leading from Calcutta to Bombay; and as measures were then in operation for the detection and apprehension of the supposed offenders, it is *now (March*, 1849*)* more than probable that in the Co.'s Territories, the crime has ceased—and that the only Thugs remaining are those who have deserted the evil practices of their *caste*, or are otherwise expiating their past wickedness by hard labour, as felons, on the Coast of Martaban.

Like most other crimes indigenous to India—Thuggism has the sanction of Religion, so called, for all its diabolical practices:—Thugs, Hindoos and Moossulmans *(Par nobile fratrum!)* alike professing in all their deeds and practices, to act under the direct sanction and patronage of *De*v'ee or Bhu'wa'nee, the wife of Siva (or Doorga in her pacific form!)

to whose divine will they attribute its origin, and whose favour they conjointly propitiate by rites, sacrifices, and offerings!—For full details of this iniquitous system, the reader is referred to Major W. H. Sleeman's "Ramaseena, or a Vocabulary of the peculiar Language used by the Thugs, with an Introduction and Appendix, descriptive of the system pursued by that fraternity, and of the measures which have been adopted by the Supreme Government of India for its suppression." Calcutta, 1836.—The same author's "Report of the depredations committed by the Thug gangs of Upper and Central India, from the cold season of 1836-37, down to their gradual suppression, under the operation of the measures adopted against them by the Supreme Government in 1839." Calcutta, 1840.—And "Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs, and notices of some of the Proceedings of the Government of India, for the suppression of the crime of Thuggee." London, 1837; from which works (the 3rd a compilation chiefly from the 1st) this article has largely quoted.—See also the article Ka'lee, p. 261, of this work.

Thuggee, robbery, theft, cheating, (hin.) Thug'a'ee, f.—See the foregoing article.

Thug'nee, f
Thug'in, f. } (hin.) *a female Thug.*

Altogether we regard the *Anglo-Hindustani Hand-Book* as a valuable work. Perhaps it would have been all the better, had it been somewhat shorter; but it would be difficult to say what portion of the matter could have been omitted without detriment, and still more difficult to say how so much matter could have been compressed into a smaller space. Our best wish for the author,* to whom we feel ourselves in no small degree indebted, (and he will admit that his *best* friend could not form for him a *better* wish) is, that he may speedily see "the long-promised conclusion of an Equity Suit, in which, unhappily, he is an interested party." In our ignorance of the merits of the case, we will not so far prejudge it, according to the newspaper phrase, as to express a wish that it may be decided in his favour; but we may well hope that the "glorious uncertainty of law" may not add so worthy and so talented a man to the list of its martyrs.

* We have sometimes, in the course of this article, spoken of the *Author*, and sometimes of the *Authors*, of this work. The reason is that the first part of the work was, as explained in the Preface, prepared by two gentlemen, and the second part by one, who expresses very cordial acknowledgment of the aid received from his co-adjutor.

ART. VI.—1. *Resolution by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, N. W. P., General Department, dated 9th February,* 1850. *Published in the Agra Government Gazette of* 19*th February,* 1850.

2. *General Reports on Public Instruction in the N. W. P. of the Bengal Presidency, from the year* 1843-44 *to the year* 1848-49 *(inclusive).*

3. *Report on Native Schools of the Futtehpore District, by Wm. Muir, Esq., B. C. S.,* 1846. *Published by order of Government, N. W. P. Extract from Third Report on the state of Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar, by William Adam. Published originally in* 1838, *and re-published by order of Government, N. W. P.,* 1845.

4. *An Educational course for Village Accountants (Putwaris), in four parts, by Ram Surrun Doss, Deputy Collector at Delhi, in Urdu and Hindi. Agra.* 1844.

5. *The Social Condition and Education of the people, by J. Kay, M. A. 2 Vols. Longman and Co. London.* 1850.

WE purpose in the present article to give some account of the new scheme of village schools and of vernacular education, in connection with the Land Revenue system as it prevails in the North Western Provinces. The Resolution, in which this educational scheme is embodied, forms our first heading. The Reports, enumerated in the second, contain the history of past efforts for the attainment of the end, which, it is hoped, will be accomplished by the present scheme. The third heading comprises one detailed, though isolated, report, which greatly tends to elucidate the internal working of indigenous native schools. It also includes one of Mr. Adam's famous reports. This report, though it treats of the Lower Provinces, yet stands in a peculiar relation to our present subject. Mr. A.'s statements are patterns for educational enquirers in this country. The present extract was republished by the Governor of the North Western Provinces, seven years after its first publication, in order that it might form a model for the investigations into indigenous education in these provinces, which were then commencing; and its arrangement and method have been generally followed in the preparations of the reports, from which the bulk of our information regarding village schools is drawn. The treatises, which are embraced in the fourth heading, form a course of professional instruction intended for a class of village accountants, whose functions will be described hereafter. In

the volumes, mentioned under the last heading, are to be found the latest and fullest accounts of the results, which have attended educational efforts on the continent of Europe.

We believe that Peasant Proprietorship existed originally throughout a great part of India; that a succession of conquering dynasties, and some of the earlier fiscal arrangements enforced by the British Government, have tended to submerge and even obliterate this class of tenures; but that all the settlements of the North Western Provinces of this Presidency, and especially the last, have uniformly raised peasant proprietors wherever they existed, have consolidated their position, and protected their rights. So far then the course pursued by the Government of these provinces is analogous to that adopted with such success by the continental Governments of Europe. And now, that there is announced a plan, having for its object the intellectual advancement of the agricultural community, it is to be devoutly hoped that this scheme may be the first step in a progressing and ascending course, by which the members of this class (who form the thews and sinews of the body-politic in this country) may be led on to intelligence and prosperity.

The precise scope and intention of this educational scheme are set forth in the opening paragraphs of the Resolution:— "The present scheme contemplates the employment of an agency, which shall rouse the people to a sense of the evils resulting from ignorance, and which shall stimulate them to exertions on their own part to remove this ignorance." (Par. 2). "The means of effecting this object will be sought in that feature of the existing revenue system, which provides for the annual registration of all landed property throughout the country." (Par. 4). It is well known that the *land is minutely divided amongst the people; and that there are few of the agricultural classes, who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil.* It is then stated that for the protection of these rights a system of registration has been devised; that it is necessary that the parties, whose rights are recorded, should be able to consult the register; and that this involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement. Then (in Par. 5) we find—"The means are thus afforded for setting before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of the rights in land which they most highly prize; and it is hoped that, when the powers of the mind have been once excited into action, the pupils may be often induced to advance farther, and to persevere, till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation."

We solicit special attention to these extracts. They contain the very germ and essence of the plan. It is clear from them that a two-fold object is proposed—first, that plain practical every-day knowledge should be imparted to a class, which forms by far the larger and more important portion of the whole population—and, secondly, that the popular mind having been roused by the keen sense of personal interest, a higher system of intellectual culture may be universally introduced. The primary end is, as it were, within sight, and to be immediately pursued by direct means. The secondary end is essentially prospective: it is far off, and but dimly discernible in the vista of futurity. It must be followed by indirect and varied means. Its attainment is not possible for years and years to come. By that time Missionary exertions may, by Divine blessing, have made vast progress: and it is hardly chimerical to hope that the efforts of Government to civilize and elevate the people may, in some measure, pave the way for the reception of Christian truth. But we have now to deal with the *primary* object of the scheme, which is simply this, that every member of the landed and agricultural community, whether proprietor or cultivator, should be able to keep his own accounts, to measure his own lands, and to read the register of his own rights. It will be a great day for the North Western Provinces when this, which is at present a desideratum, shall have become "un fait accompli." A vast diminution of fraud and oppression, a greater security of property, intelligence in the internal management of estates, and improvements in cultivation, will all follow in its train. To lay before our readers this primary object in all its bearings, let us look first to the class to be educated in its condition, its necessities, and its capabilities; and secondly, to the nature of the education to be given.

To render the position and prospects of this class in any way intelligible, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly the judicial results of the last settlement. Recent publications have thrown so much light on its system and principles, that it will be sufficient to remind the general reader that this is the settlement, which has maintained the village communities in their full integrity. The term "village communities" is fraught with historical and political associations of the highest interest. In the whole range of Indian affairs, there is no term which has been the theme of more descriptive eloquence than this. Suffice it here to say, that this wonderful institution has successfully resisted the different and opposite dangers, which have threatened its existence under the native and British rule. Its most immi-

nent perils under native Governments were violence from plundering marauders, and usurpation from foreign intruders. Under the British Government, its besetting dangers are the fraud and mal-practices of unprincipled speculators. The spirit and patriotism, with which the first were encountered, is a matter of history. The combination and firmness, with which the latter are warded off, is a matter of every-day experience. We have heard of its having been remarked by natives, that in former days the stronger used to devour the weaker like a lion; but that now the strong man must do his work by subtle and regular means, and must nibble at the weaker like a rat. The meaning of the metaphor is, that what was formerly done by open violence, must now be done by the chicanery and skill, which can manage to convert just laws into engines of mischief. Both these destructive influences have been at work upon the village communities; but their dismemberment has never been effected; and they still remain in their pristine integrity. Now, these communities may be kept up completely, or incompletely. They were kept up incompletely from the year 1803 to 1822, during which period the Government merely recognised the principal men of the village, entirely omitting to respect or record the rights of the subordinate shareholders. They have been kept up completely since the late settlement (commenced in 1833), when the various sub-divisions of the community have been clearly defined, the relative positions of the members accurately determined, and the rights, holdings, and responsibilities of each sharer minutely registered. It will be borne in mind that these communities have been, from the beginning, resident and cultivating; and that now each man is absolute owner of his small freehold, his paternal acres, which he cultivates himself, and for which he pays his fixed quota of revenue to Government. The ties, which bind him to the guild in which he was born, by the general laws of village clanship, will be adverted to hereafter. There are of course many exceptions to the general rule here laid down. Many states are held under different tenures from this, in which the proprietor and the cultivator are distinct persons. But in this latter class of villages or states, one beneficent result of the late settlement is observable. The rights of the cultivator have been ascertained and secured. A ryot loves the soil which he tills. The son loves to hold the ground, which his father cultivated before him. This occupancy becomes hereditary, and a prescriptive right of cultivating is created. This state of things is also conducive to the landlord's interest. He is glad to fix and even abate the rates of rent for such cultivators, in consideration of the

increased certainty and regularity of collection. At the last settlement, all the rights of these tenants were made the subject of investigation, and a distinction was drawn between hereditary and non-hereditary cultivators. And now the hereditary cultivator feels, that he is no tenant-at-will; that, as long as he continues to pay his fixed rent, he has a right to hold his land; and that no eviction can be executed on him for any reason, except default.

All this seems, when simply stated, to be a very moderate achievement for a civilized and enlightened Government of the nineteenth century. At first sight it might not appear any very great thing, that the actual condition of landed property should be discovered; that the rights of individual proprietors should be ascertained and secured; that the relations between landlord and cultivator should be understood and defined; and that one of the most useful, notorious, and time-honored institutions of the country should be preserved. But the magnitude and value of an achievement must generally be estimated by the number of failures which have been made, and the amount of difficulty which has been experienced, in previously attempting it. Property in land, as now established in these Provinces, is described in the institutes of one of the earliest legislators,* and was acknowledged by the greatest of the foreign emperors.† Proprietors, such as those now recognised by our revenue system, are represented in the Shastras‡ by the proprietary bodies, of which the Gràm Adikàrs are the head. The class, of which these Gràm Adikàrs are the type, may be found in every kingdom, which professed the religion of Brahm, and which derived its language from the great Sanskrit root. We recognise them in the Bhumias of Rajputana;§ the Jèth Ryot and Muhto of the Bengal Presidency; the Padhàn of Orissa; the Potèl of Mèwar, Malwa, and Guzerat; the Junna Kirshàn of Malwa; the Talkarry of the Mahratta country; the Reddy of the Northern Sircars;‖ the Namburies of Malabar; the Nayrs and Hullers of Canara; the Vellalers of the Southern Peninsula; the Vidan of the kindred institutions of Ceylon;¶ and latterly in the

* Vide Menù's Code, Chapters VII., VIII., and X. Sir Wm. Jones's Translation.

† Gladwin's Ayin Akbary, Vol. I., pp. 303 and 312; and Briggs's "Land-tax of the Mahomedans," passim.

‡ Vide Briggs's abstract of those portions of the Vigmanèshwara Shastra and others, which bear upon this subject.

§ Tod's Rajasthàn, Vol. I.

‖ Malcolm's Malwa.

¶ Copious illustrations of all the tenures here alluded are to be found in Briggs's excellent work on the land-tax of India.

Muquddum of Akbar's time, the Mirassidars of the Carnatic, and the Mirassidars and the Wutturis of the Deccan.*

Yet with all these examples already existing in the country, and with the best intentions, it is well known that the British Government has introduced systems, which have subverted the principles of real property current among the natives, without substituting any new institutions more beneficial than the old. Political revolutions and state necessities had raised up various classes of influential middlemen between the sovereign and the landlord. The existence of such a class seems to have been contemplated in the ancient books of Hindu legislation under the names of Dès Adikàr and Dès Lèkuk.† The rise and progress of feudal institutions in many parts of the Peninsula, especially in Rajputana, added much to the importance of this class. The Grassia Thàkurs and other feudal chiefs of Rajasthan,‡ the Mangloe and Pandia of Malwa, the Khand Adipatis of Orissa, the Naidus, Poligars and Mòtàhdars of Madras,§ the Dèsaye and Mozumdar of Guzerat, the Dès Mukhs of the Mahratta country, the feudal Nayrs of Canara, and the famous Zemindars and Talukdars of the Mussulman Governments—all appear to have occupied an intermediate position between the landholder and the state.‖ The interposition of this class, which had acquired certain rights and interests in the soil, in many cases misled the judgment and obstructed the vision of British statesmen. Exaggerated notions prevailed also during the early times of our rule regarding the rights of the crown. And further, many years elapsed before adequate local information was collected. Be the causes what they may, there can be little doubt that several of our most extensive financial measures have crushed the original proprietors of land in this country. Having made one or two disastrous experiments—having made settlements with the officers of former Governments, with usurpers, with ryots, with all manner of people—the British Government, twenty-eight years ago, determined to make a settlement in these provinces with the real owners of the land; and thus, for the first time, on a large scale, was realized, under our Government, the ancient Hindu idea of village townships cultivated by a body of proprietors. This system has now attained its mature development; and to the class,

* Elphinstone's Report, cited by Briggs.

† Vide Briggs's abstract of the Shastras, above quoted.

‡ Tod's Rajasthàn, passim.

§ Sir T. Munro's Life and Letters, passim.

‖ Full accounts of these secondary tenures also are given in Briggs's work.

which it has created, or rather upheld in the possession of their ancestral rights, may be applied the term (so well known in Europe) of Peasant Proprietors.

It is almost superfluous to state that, since the French Revolution, a minute sub-division of the old feudal estates, the creation of the peasant-proprietor class, the facilitation of transfer and conveyance, the prevention of intricate and prospective devises of real property, and the public registration of titles to land, have been effected in France, Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Northern Italy, Norway, and Denmark. It is equally notorious that throughout all, or most of these countries (and in one or two countries besides, where despotic feudalism still prevails, such as Austria), the state has put forth all its energies in the cause of popular education; that enormous sums of money have been disbursed by the Governments; that a no less vast local taxation has been imposed; that the most active supervision has been exercised by the officers of Government over the schools; and that exertion on the part of the parents has been rendered compulsory by law—all in fulfilment of what is there considered the first duty of the state, namely, the mental and social elevation of its people. Here then we have models on a grand scale of the sub-division of the land among small proprietors, and of the education of the people—one of which objects has been accomplished in the North Western Provinces, and the other is on the eve of commencement. Mr. Kay has treated very humorously the present condition of the peasant proprietors of Europe, their characteristics, habits, and feelings, and their aptitude for education.

In order that we may apprehend with greater intelligence the development of this class in North Western India, and foresee more clearly what standard of social culture they may eventually reach, it may not be amiss to consider the points noted in Mr. Kay's volumes regarding them. Several striking comparisons are drawn of the condition of the peasantry, before and after the sub-division of the land. The authority of Arthur Young is quoted to show what the condition of the French and German peasantry was prior to the Revolution; what was the indigence of their condition, the lowness of their habits, the coarsness of their food, the discomfort of their dwellings—in fact their truly *Irish* misery. Then, as to Ireland, that living embodiment of wretchedness—take the Irishman from his own country, where he is rack-rented, oppressed, and evicted by sub-lessees and under-agents, and set him down as an emigrant in some free English colony, where he may cultivate a piece of land, which he

can call his own, and the nature of the man is changed : recklessness is changed to frugality, listlessness to industry, rebelliousness to conservatism, discontent to cheerfulness, viciousness to morality. Only get the Irishman away from the influence of the cottier rents, put him into the army, work him on a railroad, but above all give him a Lancashire freehold—and see what he becomes. Mr. Kay has made some elaborate references to the best authorities for the purpose of proving that the Irishman always makes an excellent colonist, and distinguishes himself in the capacity of a peasant proprietor. We believe it may be considered an established fact, that such is the case.

Switzerland furnishes some remarkable instances to the same effect. Mr. Kay himself bears witness to the social difference between the peasantry of the Romanist and Protestant cantons. Both peasantries are of the same race, speak the same language, and are in constant communication with each other. The one is poor and debased; the other is prosperous and elevated. The one possesses the instructions adverted to above; the other does not. Herein lies the cause of the difference.

On the other hand, beautiful as they are, these large properties of the nobility, which sometimes entirely exclude the small proprietors, produce a melancholy impression. "When I have been walking in one of those beautiful English parks," says D'Aubigné, "I occasionally felt an indescribable sadness : —' Oh, who can restore me,' thought I, ' those smiling habitations, the delightful hamlets, the lively villages of my own Switzerland.' This is still more striking in Scotland. You may travel for miles through the Highlands without meeting other inhabitants, than thousands of sheep feeding in solitude. ' Were I in Switzerland,' said I to myself, ' these hill sides would be divided among small owners; here would be a farm; there a chalet; and every-where the animation of a free people.' "—*D'Aubigné's Travelling Recollections, page* 76.

Thus much it seems sub-division of land and education can do; but it appears that Swizerland can yet offer one proof of a still more cogent and conclusive nature. The old tenant-at-will-and-no-education system has engrafted such radically bad habits upon those who came within the sphere of its operation, that, when they become subject to a more liberal and enlightened policy, the *vis inertiæ* still weighs them down—the old Adam still clings to them with fatal tenacity. "As might have been anticipated," says Mr. Kay, "the difference between the peasants, who are more than fifty years of age, and those peasants, who have not yet attained the age of thirty-five years, is still more singularly apparent."—"Those, who have attained the

age of fifty, began their lives under the old system, never received in their youth any education, were never taught by free institutions to feel that their fate was in their own hands, but were demoralised by contact with demoralized peasants, such as those whom Arthur Young describes."—"They (*i. e.* those of fifty years of age and those of thirty-five) belong to distinct æras of civilization; and each bear the mark of the system, under which they have grown up." Mr. Kay testifies that this same rule holds good in Germany and Holland also.

A comparative description is given of Bohemia and Saxony. The two countries lie side by side. The people in both kingdoms are of the same race, speak the same language, profess the same religion. But what is their relative social condition? In Saxony, there is no pauperism, the houses are well built, the people intelligent, the children clean, the land beautifully cultivated. In Bohemia, pauperism is abundant, the houses wretched, the peasants ill-clothed, cultivation inferior, vast tracts of land lying waste. What causes this difference? Mr. Kay answers—peasant proprietorship and education. In Saxony, the entail laws have been repealed, and the power of acquiring landed property has been placed within the reach of every peasant. To this is superadded a first-rate system of education. In Bohemia, the Austrian ideas regarding real property prevail. The land is parcelled out amongst great nobles, who leave their estates to lessees and agents, and spend the proceeds in Vienna. There seems to be no doubt that the cause is not difference of soil; and certainly it is not difference of race.

In Prussia again, Mr. Kay refers to some statistics published in the *National Zeitung* of 1849, with the view of shewing, by a comparison of the statistics of the different provinces, that the larger and fewer the estates, by so much the less prosperous invariably is the condition of the peasantry. Where the land is cultivated by the proprietors, the peasantry are intelligent, industrious, and thriving. Where it is cultivated by day-labourers and tenants-at-will, the peasantry are ignorant, debased, and pauperized.

We believe that these may be considered as authenticated instances. If their correctness in point of fact be allowed, the conclusions, which may be legitimately drawn from them, are worthy of attention. It is shown that a race, which is a degraded one in its own country, where no sub-division of land exists, but where rather the very opposite distribution of real property prevails, becomes intelligent and industrious when transferred to other climes, where each may obtain, in absolute proprietorship, as much land as he can cultivate. It hardly

admits of question that, in their own country, the same race is disinclined for education or any intellectual exertion whatever; and that, in other countries, the habits of industry and prudence, acquired under a system of peasant proprietorship, endow them with great aptitude for learning, and make them fitting recipients of knowledge. It is further shown that, in conterminous countries, the respective populations are widely different in social elevation and in intelligence. In both are the race and language the same; in both are the soils alike:—but the institutions differ. In the one country, real property rests with feudal absentees; in the other, with peasant proprietors. Education is extended in both, though with some difference in quality. In four great instances it is proved, that prior to the introduction of these two institutions, viz., sub-division of land and systematic popular education, the peasantry were debased and poverty-stricken; and that subsequently they have become intelligent, socially elevated, and physically prosperous. Further, it is made apparent that a disparity, similar in kind, though different in degree, is perceptible between two generations in the same country, one of which has lived entirely, the other partially, under the above-mentioned institutions. Lastly, it is demonstrated that in a country, where an educational course is alike compulsory on *all* of every class, whether cultivator or proprietor; that the small proprietor is more intelligent than the small cultivator, learns more, thinks more, profits more by the education he receives, and is in every way a more exalted being. From these instances it is not unfair to conclude, that peasant proprietorship may be generally expected to go hand in hand with popular intelligence and morality; and that an educational system will work more successfully in a country peopled with small proprietors, than in a country swarming with the tenants and cultivators of great landlords.

For an examination into the moral and intellectual condition of an agricultural population, the consideration of their dwelling-houses is a point of the first importance. We would refer any reader, who wishes thoroughly to satisfy himself of the immorality and debasement, which result from want of room and comfort in the cottages of the agricultural poor in England, to the heart-rending details which Mr. Kay has drawn from public reports of the highest authority. Now it will be found that wherever peasant proprietorship exists, there are to be found good houses; wherever it does not exist, there are to be found indifferent houses: and, generally, where the dwellings are respectable, the poor will be found to be comparatively moral and well-conducted. It may there-

fore be deduced that peasant proprietorship is, in this respect, conducive to public morality.

We would next draw attention to the facts and figures presented by Mr. Kay, which would seem to show that peasant proprietorship induces habits of prudence, forethought, and economy. It is shown by statistical tables, and enforced by the observation of experienced investigators, both English and continental, that marriages are fewer and later among the poor, and that without any increase in immorality, in countries where the land has been completely sub-divided among the peasants, than in countries where it is monopolized by a privileged class. In Switzerland and Prussia, which are living types of the small proprietor system, the age of marriage is much later than in England, and, as might be expected, the rate of the increase of population is less in the former than in the latter countries. Now, if these two points can be established with reference to any particular peasantry, it is an unquestionable 'sequitur' in economical science, that prudence and foresight must be prominent features in the character of that peasantry. We believe it can be proved that, in several countries where the sub-division of land has been carried out to the greatest extent, the increase of population is the slowest in Europe. The minimum rate is to be found in France, where the law forces the sub-division of landed-property. Hear the opinion of Mr. Mill* (cited by Mr. Kay) ;—"It is not to the intelligent alone, that the situation of a peasant proprietor is full of improving influences. It is no less propitious to the moral virtues of prudence, temperance, and self-controul. The labourer, who possesses property, whether he can read and write or not, has, as Mr. Laing remarks, *an educated mind:* he has forethought, caution and reflection, guiding every action ; he knows the value of restraint, and is in the habitual exercise of it."—"If there is a moral inconvenience attached to a state of society in which the peasantry have land, it is the danger of their being too thrifty, too careful of their pecuniary concerns, and of their becoming crafty and calculating in the objectionable sense." The opinion expressed in the last sentence is supported by some instances of French peasants (and the French are often reputed to be a pleasure-loving race), hoarding up five franc-pieces in leather bags, and keeping them for whole generations, in the hope of eventually purchasing land.

The tests, now brought forward as proofs of prudence and forethought in an European peasantry, are not of course applicable

* Author of an Enquiry into the condition of the poor in Holland and Belgium.

to an Indian peasantry. With natives of India the rules of marriage are intimately connected with those of caste. These rules are universally imperative, and enforce marriage at the earliest possible age. The contract is often made during the childhood of the contracting parties. There is no reason to suppose that any social change for the worse or better, short of absolute misery and want, would affect the number or period of marriages, or that any moral consideration would check the increase of population. But, although the religious system and the constitution of Hindu society may render such tests as these inapplicable to an Indian community, yet these tests possess all the value and force of analogous inductions. If it can be shown that a certain system engenders in Europe that kind of prudence and forethought, which an European nation is capable of exercising, and which are ascertainable by the tests that apply to the structure of European society, it is not unreasonable to infer, that the same system, when introduced into an Asiatic nation, may create habits of prudence suitable to that frame of society, and discoverable by proofs deducible therefrom.

Further, Mr. Kay demonstrates from the tables given by the Prussian minister of statistics, that the consumption of the people has improved both in quantity and quality, since the subdivision of the land. In the same way, witnesses of the highest authority are brought forward to show that similar results have been attained in France, Germany, and Switzerland. It is also proved that a corresponding improvement has been effected in the clothing of the poor throughout these countries; that the character of the amusements common amongst the lower orders has been raised; and that constant occupation for leisure hours is afforded by the gardens attached to the house of every small proprietor throughout Western Europe.

We have thus endeavored to give an idea of the picture, which Mr. Kay's volumes present, of the present condition of peasant proprietors in continental Europe. His work also contains some valuable disquisitions on the economical results of sub-division of the land. This part of the question we have not noticed, as being foreign to the subject in hand. We wished to discuss peasant proprietorship, not as an economical measure, but as a machinery for moral and intellectual advancement, and to treat of any physical result, only so far forth as it might afford an index to the mental condition of a people. Without therefore in any way trenching on the controversial question, as to whether the large-estate or the small-estate system is most likely to found and support national greatness, and most conduces to agricultural prosperity, and to the judicious distribution of wealth, we de-

signedly confine ourselves to a single point—namely, Is peasant proprietorship likely to further the progress of intelligence, and to promote the cause of education among an agricultural population?

But, by peasant proprietorship we must not be understood to mean that excessive "morcellement" of the land, which might produce pauperism, such as the progress of sub-division in France seemed to threaten, and such as the enemies of the system always predicted would make the country a "warren of paupers." For ourselves we believe that these prophets of ill were deceived, and that sub-division checks itself. However this may be, we must return to our definition of peasant proprietorship, by which we mean a system, which gives to each cultivating proprietor an amount of land sufficient for the support of himself and his family. Now, it is natural to suppose that the feeling of property must supply the strongest incentives to industry—must stimulate acquisitiveness. Let these two habits be engendered, namely, the wish to acquire and the power of bending all the energies to the furtherance of that object—then how rapidly follow many of the secondary virtues, such as the habit of calculation, of watching the present, of considering the future, of acting by judgment, and not by impulse, and of self-restraint. Even these *a priori* considerations (supposing them not to have been verified as yet by experience) would seem to justify Mr. Laing's opinion, that "*a peasant proprietor must have an educated mind, whether he can read and write, or not.*" But a number of witnesses, some friendly, some hostile to the system, attest in a remarkable manner the industry, perseverance, skill and intelligence of the peasant proprietors throughout Europe. Must there not, indeed, be a spirit of independence, self-reliance, and resolution fostered in a man, who is constantly working, thinking, and economizing, because he knows that he owns the land, and may become the architect of his own fortune, who acknowledges no allegiance to any landlord or superior, and at the same time understands that he can expect support from nothing but his own exertions? And, if it can be shown from experience in Europe, where the system has had a trial of half a century, has been fully developed, and has produced its maturest results, that the moral, intellectual and physical condition of the agricultural populations has been improved thereby; that these populations are the best educated populations in the world, and almost the only well-educated agricultural communities; and, that among those communities, who live under a different system, the state of education is disgracefully low;—then there

is reason to hope that the system of peasant proprietorship, which has been established in the North Western Provinces, though it has hardly yet had time to spread its blessings among the people, may eventually be fraught with consequences similar to those visible in Western Europe, and that the scheme of education now promulgated may be proportionally as successful, as those carried out by the continental Governments.

Let us now proceed to consider the position and necessities of this class in the North Western Provinces. For this purpose it will be necessary to recapitulate the several existing tenures, by which land is held. Their origin, formation and details embrace many tempting topics of description and discussion. We have only space to sketch an outline of their present features. Much of the technical phraseology adopted may not be current in other parts of the country; but no phrase will be used without a distinct explanation being attached to it; and it will be understood that no other meaning, drawn from the acceptation of the term elsewhere, should be held applicable in the present instance.

The three main headings, under which all tenures may be classed, are the Zemindari, the Puttidari, and the Talukdari.* The primary kind of Zemindari tenure is the simplest of all. It represents a single landlord (resident or non-resident), managing his estate himself, that is, collecting the rents from the cultivators through his own agents, or leasing the land out to farmers. This is the right down English idea of a landlord, "the fine old country gentleman of the olden time." Sometimes estates are found to be held in this way by two or three, instead of one, as for instance by seven brothers without any specification of shares—it being implied by the rules of inheritance that each has an equal portion. Often too the number of sharers is greater: in such cases the land is held in common, and one or two of the principal partners are elected by the rest to the office of rent-gatherers, and are usually called Lumbardars. These collect rents from all the cultivators. It will be remembered, that if a sharer himself chooses to cultivate, he does so as cultivator, and is the tenant of the body of sharers. Having collected the rents, the Lumbardars first pay the Government revenue. The surplus, that is, the profits, is divided among the sharers; and a dividend is declared according to some fixed law, such as the following. The whole profits are represented by a rupee. Each man's share is represented by so many

* Vide directions to Settlement Officers.

annas out of this. Thus, an eight-anna sharer is entitled to half the profits; a twelve-anna sharer to two-thirds; a one-anna sharer to one sixteenth, and so on. Sometimes a hundred bigahs is assumed as the representative of the whole profits. Then a fifty-bigah sharer is entitled to one-half the profits, a twenty-five bigah sharer to one quarter, and so on.

We hasten to the Puttidari tenure. This famous tenure is the life and soul of the village communities. Its vast antiquity, and its almost universal prevalency in some shape or other, under the original constitution of Hindu society, from the Himalayas to Ceylon, we have noticed before. The lands of the whole *mouzah*, or township, are held in severalty by a body of proprietors. The constituency at large elect representatives, called Lumbardars, from among themselves. The Lumbardar signs, on behalf of himself and his constituents, the settlement contract with the Government; he collects the half-yearly revenue due from each individual; he is "primus inter pares;" beyond that he has no authority over them or their property. Each man has his own portion of the land (which he cultivates himself,) and pays his fixed share of the Government revenue. This system is strictly upheld, as long as each sharer continues to pay up regularly. As long as every thing goes straight, no man has any concern with his neighbour's share. But if one or more sharers fail to pay their fixed portion of the revenue, the others must pay for them. If one or more sharers abscond, and leave their shares uncultivated, the others must take up the cultivation, or, at all events, whether they choose to cultivate or not, they will have to pay up the revenue, which is due from the absentees. This rule is described by the well-known term of "joint responsibility." Such is the Puttidari tenure. It is often called the "perfect Puttidari," in contra-distinction to some variations, termed "imperfect Puttidari," which we proceed to notice. Imperfect Puttidari tenures are those in which part of the lands are held in common, and part in severalty. The rents, or profits, of the common land are first devoted to the payment of the Government revenue. If there should be an overplus (which is not often the case), it is distributed over the different holdings, according to the size and importance of each. If (as is generally the case) there should be a deficit, that is, if there should be a round sum of revenue to be made up, after the rents of the common land have been paid away, then this sum is levied by subscription. Each subscriber or sharer pays according to his holding. This subscription is known by a variety of names, such as *Bach,h, Dhar Bach,h,* or *Bigah-dan.* Joint responsibility exists under this tenure, just as under the perfect

Puttidari tenure. Both tenures are called in many parts of the country "*Bhyacharah,*" or brotherhood. Under both tenures there are many perquisites, or manorial rights, which are generally the common property of the whole fraternity. Such are the waste lands, from which wild grass may be mown, and timber cut; natural and artificial water, such as tanks, marshes, from which irrigation may be drawn; the proceeds of ancestral groves and gardens, containing fruit trees and timber trees; ground rent of land situated in the village, and useful for building purposes;* tributary offerings from strangers, artizans and operative classes, permitted to dwell in the village and carry on their trade there; tithes collected at the village fairs held periodically; rent of uncultivated land used by certain castes for manufacturing purposes, such as the manufacture of saltpetre, earthen-ware, &c. This is not meant to be a complete enumeration of the multifarious manorial rights, which exist in these estates; but it may suffice to communicate some idea of their nature. Their proceeds are generally distributed according to shares and holdings; but of course local rules for such divisions prevail. In the same manner there are incidental costs, which must be borne by the community at large. Such are the village police, alms-giving, law expences, deputation allowance to those members who conduct the public business of the fraternity, and so on. Further it must not be forgotten that large Puttidari estates of both kinds often have sub-divisions.

The first-class sub-divisions are generally called *Thoks;* sub-divisions of the second class *Behris;* of the third class *Puttis.* These sub-divisions do not in any way affect the integrity of constitution, or the unity of interest, which subsists among the members of the whole fraternity. They are brought into existence, as the family spreads, and as the founders of separate stocks arise.

* A more perfect instance of these cesses (which are however to be met with everywhere) could not be adduced than the "Kumíní Baach" of Paniput. (See Settlement Report, Para. 41, for Pergunnah Paniput, published among selected Reports of Revision of Settlement in the Delhi Territory).

Para. 41. "The Kumíní Baach calls for some remark. Every non-agricultural resident, with the exception of fuqirs, chumars, and one or two other classes, is now liable to this impost, which is a species of ground-rent for the land that his tenement occupies." It much resembles the Mohturfah of the Doab.—In this district, where the cultivation of the land is a matter of the utmost importance, all non-agricultural residents, with the exception of artificers and others, who contribute to the wants and comforts of the proprietors, are, in a strictly agricultural view, unprofitable members of the community, and for this reason that the space for habitations is limited, and they prevent the accession of agriculturists. Their presence, by the land, which their houses occupy, by the cattle they keep, by the protection of their property, imposes upon the community the necessity of maintaining a large village police. A small tax therefore, of a rupee or two on each house, does not appear an exorbitant price to pay for the privileges and immunities, which this class of residents enjoy.—The proceeds of this Baach are applied generally to the payment of village expences."

They indicate in fact the various branches out of the genealogical tree. The constitution of the brotherhood is hereby rendered much more complex; and a quasi separation of interests and responsibility takes place, for the regulation of which conventional rules are framed by the society. If, for instance, insolvency occurs, and a share is left vacant in a particular *Putti*, the default would be primarily made good, or the vacancy be supplied, from that *Putti*. In event of failure the *Behri*, to which the *Putti* belongs, would become responsible. If the *Behri* fails, then the matter rests with the *Thok*, to which the *Behri* belongs; if the *Thok* fails, then the whole community must repair the loss. So with the right of pre-emption. No co-partner can alienate his share to a stranger, without first offering it to the members of the guild to which he belongs. If they (or any of them) are prepared to take it on the same terms as the stranger, they are at liberty to do so. It is evident that this feature in the Puttidari tenure has an important conservative influence. The principle is especially recognised in Act* I. of 1841. Now, as before, suppose a co-partner, belonging to a particular Putti, wishes to transfer his share, he must first offer it to the members of his Putti, then to the members of the Behri, of the Thok, and to the entire copartnery body in succession. If they all refuse, then, and not till then, may he dispose of his property to a stranger. It will be understood, however, that although Government possesses theoretically the right of enforcing the point of responsibility, yet practically the right is rarely exercised, and that only in special emergencies. Usually on the occurrence of default, Government transfers the insolvent's share for a term of years to one of the solvent sharers; and sometimes the share is sold separately, under the provisions of Act I. of 1841.† In all cases of transfer, the revenue authorities follow the local custom, and offers the share first to the Putti, then to the Behri, and so on. Moreover all that has been detailed above regarding common property and common expenses, may apply to the community, which inhabits any particular sub-division, just as much as to the whole brotherhood, or guild. Each sub-division may possess its own special commonalties, as well as its share in the general commonalties. In its internal constitution it may be a miniature portrait of the whole. It may have its own lands, its own Revenue (jumma) responsibilities, its own headmen

* Vide Section IV. Act I. of 1841.

† Act I. of 1841, Section IV.—"If the lot shall have been knocked down to a stranger, any Puttidar, or other member of the coparcenary, not being himself in arrear, may claim to take the said Putti (lot) at the sum last bid, provided that the said demand of pre-emption be made on the day of sale, &c.

(Lumbardars), copartners, and cultivators : its own accounts, its own group of homesteads and cottages : its own waste, gardens, reservoirs, and timber. Still the members will not sever the link, that binds them to the whole. They still cling to the parent stock, of which they are the off-shoots. They still maintain an interest in the chief central village, where, perhaps in rougher times, the whole community resided under the protection of their rustic Fort; but from which those portions of the clan, whose fields were situated at a distance, emigrated in more peaceful times to build them new homesteads, nearer to the scenes of their agricultural industry. They still perhaps claim their share in certain perquisites, such as the proceeds of the Fairs held in the central village; and they still bear their portion of the local and incidental expenses. We believe that some of the finest specimens of these monster communities were (and are still to be) found in Bundelkhund.*

One more feature in these coparcenary estates is worthy of notice. The shares are parcelled out at the time of settlement, and the quota of Revenue is assessed on each. The agreements, thus ratified by the sharers among themselves, are, unless some stringent necessity arise, supposed to hold good for the term of settlement, that is thirty years—for better, for worse. But seasons are capricious; the soil is changeable; the skill and energy of its holders are no less uncertain and variable. Some of the subdivisions, which were flourishing at the time of settlement, become after a few years unable to bear the assessment formerly imposed upon them. A more fortunate sub-division bears its burdens lightly, and has prospered just as much as the other has fallen. Jealousy, sharpened by the pangs of distress, ensues. The poor distressed

* Vide Settlement Report for Zillah Hummerpúr by Messrs. Allen and Muir. In Section V. of his Report, Mr. Muir animadverts on the "enormous extent of many of these estates;" and goes on to say "a correct conception of their extraordinary areas can scarcely be conveyed without a few examples. Mouzah Putara in Pergunnah Hummerpúr contains 9,394 square acres : it is divided into twelve Behris and fifty-seven Puttis, and the number of its Puttidars (copartners) is one hundred and fifty-seven. Goindee in Jelalpur is another famous Bhyacharal estate; its area is 12,033 acres, and it numbers three hundred and ninety-five puttidars. But the most remarkable of all the Bhyacharal villages is Khurela Khass : its area is 18,260 acres (being no less than 28½ square miles) of which only 1,090, are incapable of cultivation: and, though it is separated into six Thoks, containing each a subdivision of Puttis, it has always been regarded as one estate. The zemindars amount to three hundred and seventy-nine : to assemble whom, when the Revenue is to be collected, a drum is beat on the hill which overhangs the Town. But these are by no means singular instances. In Pergunnah Jelalpore Khurela alone, there are eleven villages, the average of whose area is 8,294 acres : and thirty-four whose average area is 5,111 acres. In the entire district of Cawnpore, there are but three villages, whose area comes up to 5,000 acres."

However some of the most unwieldy communities were broken up at the time of settlement; and some of their principal subdivisions, such as Thoks, &c., were formed into separate Mehals.

Thok clamours for a re-adjustment of the Revenue, and prays that some portion of the public burden may be taken off its overloaded back, and saddled on its stronger neighbour. In certain tracts of Bundelkhund, the Puttidari tenures possess this additional peculiarity, that they provide for the periodical re-allotment of the Revenue among the different sharers, in accordance with the altered condition of their shares. Thus, although the amount of Revenue fixed for the whole estate cannot change, the assessment on any particular subdivision can. In some places it is even customary to make an annual re-distribution.* We may best close our notice of this great Puttidari tenure by citing a passage from one of the settlement Reports for the Delhi territory, which lies in the very heart of the Jat village communities.

"When strong clans hold a number of contiguous villages, it must be admitted that communities, holding under the *Bhyachárah* (Brotherhood) tenure, are at times difficult to manage. The *Biswadars* (copartners), from their numbers and clannish feelings, and from the common interest which the whole body possesses in the soil, are induced to combine and prevent the alienation of their lands in cases of arrears of Revenue. Few people will have the resolution to purchase, or farm, such villages; and, when they do so, they usually suffer for their temerity. For these reasons such tenures are difficult to manage, especially to collectors unaccustomed to the system. On the other hand, they are admirably adapted to resist the evil effects of bad seasons, epidemics, and other misfortunes incidental to the country. Bound together by the ties of blood, connexion, and above all common interest, like the bundle of sticks they are difficult to break. Droughts may wither their crops; famine and disease may depopulate their houses: their fields may be deserted for a time; but, when the storm blows over, they are certain to return. If an accident happen to any individual, he is assisted and befriended by his "*bhybunds*" (relatives). But above all, the grand advantage of this tenure over the Zemindari is, that the entire profits are their own, and stranger's. In the hands of the Biswadar, the rent becomes capital, which directly or indirectly goes to improve his property, or is available on future occasions; while that of the Zemindari is too often a mere revenue saving to support a position in the adjoining town, and to keep up idle servants, elephants, horses, and *suwarri* (equipage). In a flourishing Pergunnah on this side the river (Jumna), we have no large Zemindar with his lac, or two lacs, of annual income; but,

* Vide Mr. Rose's Report on the Bhej Berar, or Baachh Berar, Tenures of Banda, published in Selections from Public Correspondence. Part VII.

on the other hand, we have thousands of small proprietors, each with his brood mare, his buffaloes, his oxen; in short, with everything that marks a comfortable position in life."*

We now come to the Talukadari tenures. It is impossible in our limited space to offer details, that shall leave no phase or peculiarity unnoticed. It will be sufficient for our purpose to point out the general nature and origin of Talukas, and the effects of the late settlement on the sub-proprietors. A Taluka is a collection of villages. A large one almost equals a province; a small one is nothing more than a fine estate. The native Governments, averse to the details of business, used to deliver over the Talukas to some powerful Chiefs, and make them responsible for the revenue. The intention was, that they should collect the revenue from the occupants of the land, and pay it to Government, retaining a percentage for themselves. These assignees were called Talukadars. If a Talukadar gave satisfaction, the office would be continued to his heirs. When the family position became firm, the Talukadars would begin to devote themselves to the delectable task of reducing and ejecting the village communities, with a view to constituting themselves landlords in their place. These amiable endeavours were generally more or less successful. Often the brave and steady peasants clung to their patrimony, though with depressed spirits, withered energies, and shattered circumstances; and sometimes, in spite of their oppressions, they preserved their full integrity. But, we fear, that in almost every Taluka in these provinces, the original proprietors have in a great measure lost their former vigour; and their character exhibits marks of "decay's effacing fingers." At the last settlement, whereever these people were found to be in possession of their villages, they were declared to be *bona fide* proprietors, entitled to engage for the Government revenue. They were made quite independant of the Talukadar, who was debarred from any interference whatever in the affairs of the Taluka. The Talukadars receive a percentage from Government, fixed at a certain rate on the revenue payable for the Taluka. It is quite obvious, that the condition of the proprietors has been much elevated hereby. The communities have been restored to their ancestral privileges. They enjoy the blessings of independence. "Libertas, quæ sera, tamen respexit inertem." Every one remembers the story of the poor life prisoner in the Bastile, who, when released during the revolution, died of sheer dejection at having left his prison-

* Vide report on the settlement of Pergunnah Delhi, (by J. Laurence, Esq.) paras 25 and 26. Published among the "Select Reports of the Revision of Settlement in the Delhi territory."

home. The prisoner of Chillon says, "my very chains and I grew friends," and "even I regained my freedom with a sigh." So it is, we fear, with many of these restored communities. Broken down by years of oppression, they are now too often incapable of appreciating, or using, their independence. Still their social rank has been undoubtedly raised, and it may be hoped that the moral effects of the measure will be eventually apparent.

Similar measures have been adopted in rent-free estates. It is well known that the native Governments used to grant away their rights in certain tracts of country to individuals, either on religious grounds, or in lieu of services performed. The British Government also used to make similar grants to powerful chieftains, in "gracious consideration" of timely help in critical campaigns. These grants are known by various appellations, such as Muafi, Istimrari, Altumghai, Jaghirdari, &c. Now here, just as in the Talukas, the Governments gave away what they themselves possessed, leaving the grantees to collect the revenue from the proprietors of the soil. As might be expected, the grantees pursued just the same course as the Talukadars. Already getting the revenue from the land, they wanted to get the rent as well. So they proceeded to oust the proprietors and occupants. At length Government interposed its strong arm between the oppressors and the oppressed. The rightful position of the proprietors was defined; the amount payable by them to the grantee was fixed; and all subordinate rights were ascertained and recorded.*

With respect to the class of Ryots, or cultivators, we have already adverted to the distinction, which has been recognised and enforced between hereditary and non-hereditary cultivators. We would wish to add one or two remarks regarding the many enactments that have been passed with reference to this class. That the unscrupulous agents of powerful landlords should oppress the sons of the soil, is a danger felt in most countries, and especially in India. The fear of this danger seems to have been always present to the mind of the Legislature. In few countries is there more legal protection afforded to cultivators than in India. The shield of the law is thrown around them, as much as is consistent with the undoubted rights of the landholders. Witness the laws to prevent improper distraint and attachment, undue enhancement of rent, exaction of extra dues, violent or irregular ousters, to afford

* Vide settlement of Pergunnah Sekrawah, Zillah Furruckabad, published in Selections from Public Correspondence, Part IV: and settlement of Pergunnah Kurnál, Zillah Paniput, also published among Selected Correspondence, Part VI.

cheap justice and speedy redress from those departments which are most likely to be cognizant of the real condition and wants of the parties. Whether these benevolent laws are adequately administered or not, it can hardly be doubted, that their enactment has done something to raise the ryots, and secure their independence.

Such then are the various classes into which the agricultural population of these provinces is divided. Before specially considering the qualifications, need and aptitude of each for educational advancement, we will notice briefly the elaborate system of registration, adopted for the protection of the various rights and properties above detailed. To English ideas, it might appear almost preposterous in theory, and impossible in practice, that a Government should undertake the Herculean task of recording the names, rights, interests, and holdings of every landholder and every cultivator in a country held by peasant proprietors, parcelled out into minute divisions, and containing seventy-two thousand square miles (that is, as large as England and Scotland put together), comprising eighty thousand *mouzahs* (townships or villages), with an agricultural population of between fourteen and fifteen millions. Besides this, every field in these provinces is to be mapped and classified according to the produce it yields. In short, Government possesses just as accurate and detailed information regarding every estate in these provinces, as is possessed by any landlord or farmer at home, regarding his individual property. Organic as the undertaking may appear, Government is steadily persevering towards its accomplishment. Much has been already done, and final completion cannot be very far distant.

The general registration may be conveniently divided into three compartments, namely:—the settlement papers, the village accounts, and the records of the Collector's office.

The basis of a Settlement Record* is a field map of the whole *mouzah*, just like the map of an Estate in England. The name will at once convey an intelligible idea to the general reader. The boundary outline of the whole estate would of course be taken from the professional survey, and would be drawn with scientific precision. The outline of each field is drawn by the eye,—its proportions having been accurately ascertained by chain measurement. Each field bears a number. To this map is attached a general Index, in which each field is known by its number. Opposite the number is given every conceivable particular regarding the field—the name of its owner and its culti-

* Vide translation of a proceeding regarding the settlement of a village published by order of Government, N. W. P.

vator, its length, breadth, and area, its produce, its local name ; and lastly, under a miscellaneous heading, is appended any little distinguishing mark it may possess, such as a large tree, grove, tank, &c. The map is technically called Shujreh : the Index, Khusreh. These two papers are of fundamental importance : all the information, that can be desired, is contained in them. In the other papers this information is abstracted and classified. One prime advantage is the absolute identification, which is obtainable for every field. Formerly, justice used to be at fault, fraud encouraged, judicial orders frustrated, by the difficulty, or impossibility, of ascertaining exactly what was the disputed ground. It is evident that a cultivator, or any other helpless claimant, might easily be made a prey of by designing persons, official or non-official, who could plausibly represent that the land claimed was not even in existence. Now-a-days nothing can resist the plain and unmistakeable entries of the field map and its Index. A collector in his office can, with these papers before him, decide just as well as if he were on the spot. After these two papers, comes a list of cultivators (called Muntukhub), showing what field each man cultivates, and the rent he pays for every field, supposing him not to be a proprietor. If he be a proprietor, the specification of the fields only is given. Then comes a list of proprietors, with each man's holdings. If there be a fixed quota of revenue for each holding, that is entered in its appropriate column. If payments are made by *Bach*, or subscription, then the column must be left blank. The holdings are of course classified according to any sub-division which may exist. In the great Puttidari estates this paper is of immense value, and its preparation requires the exactest care. We would next notice the paper of administration. The value of this paper rises or falls with the number of proprietors. In Zemindari estates it is not of much importance ; in great Puttidari estates it becomes a highly interesting document. In it are recorded all the regulations, by which the internal Government of the community is carried on ; such as the principles on which headmen (Lumbardars) shall be elected —common property held, or divided expenses borne—the Government Revenue parcelled out—subscriptions raised—re-adjustments effected, and so on. It is in fact an embodiment of the Lex Loci. The other papers are merely formal and need no comment. In the four papers above mentioned, is contained the Magna Charta of the village communities. Let them be correctly prepared and rigidly enforced, and no injustice, no sacrifice of right can take place. Let the people watch the preparation and preservation of these papers, as they love their rights.

The village accounts next demand notice. The office of the *Putwari*, or village accountant, is invested with the interest, and surrounded with the associations, of antiquity. Its nature and duties have been made familiar to the public by the many Digests of Revenue Law which have been published. It is almost superfluous to state, that although the Putwari is the servant of the landholder, yet Government considers itself interested in maintaining his position and efficiency. It warns him when incompetent, instructs him when ignorant, removes him when untrustworthy. It exercises a special supervision over his work. It compels the landholder to exert equal vigilance. It denies him the benefits of its revenue courts, till the Putwari's papers have been duly filed. It has attached a special importance to these papers, by enacting that they shall form the ground of all decisions in disputes between landlord and tenant, between Lumbardars and their constituents. The duties of a Putwari may be summed up as follows. He keeps a day-book *(Rojnamcha)* in which every fiscal circumstance is recorded, every contract between fellow-proprietors and between landlord and tenant registered, receipts and disbursement entered, and so on—all with their appropriate dates. To this is added an abstract, called *Khata Bahi*, containing the amount, which each man has paid, &c. A copy of the principal settlement papers is deposited with him. He goes round the fields with the field map in his hands: he notes where the boundaries of fields have changed; and if the changes are general (which may be the case after a lapse of years), he re-constructs the map partially or entirely. Then he has to prepare his rent-roll *(jumabundi)*, which shows the fields cultivated by each man, with the rent or revenue payable therefrom, according as the occupant is cultivator or proprietor. If the *Bach* system prevails, he must assist the community in allotting the subscriptions. An abstract of the rent-roll must be prepared, showing the total holdings and payments of each occupant. Two accounts current are also made up, called the *jumma wasil baqi* and the *jumma wasil baqi tuhsil*. The first shows how each man's accounts stand with the landlord, or with the body of proprietors—according to his tenure. The second shows how he stands with the Government. A general statement of receipts and disbursements, and of profit and loss for the whole estate, is drawn up. Lastly, there comes the register of proprietory mutations, such as deaths, successions, transfers, and so on. The papers are tested at the close of the year by the Pergunnah *Kanungo*, and then filed in the collector's office. The importance of the Putwari to the well being of the com-

munity can hardly be over-rated. Of course his intelligence and efficiency vary with the degree of perfection, to which the present revenue administration may have arrived. Under all circumstances, his influence must be great; and, until they themselves can read and write, the villagers must repose great confidence in him. Formerly these Putwaris held a very unworthy position. They would perhaps be "village bunniahs," and would keep a small shop, which occupied most of their time. They would accept the office of village accountant, merely in the hope of illicit gain—the regular remuneration being quite contemptible, and consisting perhaps of a few acres of bad land, which they must cultivate, or get cultivated. Their acquirements were of course rude and elementary. They wrote a barbarous hand-writing, which they themselves could hardly read, and which no one else, except a practised Kanungo, could possibly decipher; and, worst of all, their work was most unequal. One Putwari would have an estate not large enough to keep an account; another would be in charge of a parcel of estates, that would furnish occupation for five or six accountants. Sometimes different estates, constituting one Putwarishipp, would be "wide as the poles asunder." The unfortunate Putwari would reside in one village of his division, and would have to visit another of his villages, situated perhaps ten miles off; or he might reside altogether at a distance from his beat. Under such circumstances, the testing, correcting, and re-constructing of the field maps were quite out of the question. This was lucky perhaps, inasmuch as few Putwaris in those days could have mastered the idea of a field map. Now-a-days the face of things has been changed. The authorities make provisos regarding the Putwaris; first, that they shall possess personal qualifications; second, that their work shall be adequate, neither too much, nor too little; and third, that they shall be placed in a respectable and independent position. These views have been carried out with more or less completeness in different parts of the country; in some districts they have been put into the most vigorous practice. The old method of writing has been abolished, and the beautiful Nagri character has been substituted. A complete understanding of field maps, measurements, accounts, and prescribed forms, has been made a *sine quâ non*. Then, as to work, each Putwari has a compact division of land assigned to him, the whole of which he can easily traverse, and in the centre of which he must reside. The size of each division is so arranged, that he shall not have more than he can attend to, and yet have so much that he cannot attend to any thing else besides his official avocations. Then

as to position, his salary is fixed at such a rate as shall afford him the means of a decent livelihood, and shall render him independent of all other sources of income. He is to receive it in cash from the landholder. It is manifest that the most beneficial results must accrue to the internal management of estates from the creation of a respectable and intelligent class of village accountants.

We hasten to offer a brief description of the Collector's record office.* This office was designed by our earliest revenue enactments to be a depository of papers, which might ensure "the future security of the dues of Government, and of the rights and properties of individuals." The records of a district are arranged; firstly, according to the village to which they belong, and secondly, according to the pergunnah in which the village is situated. A collection of papers, as for instance the record of a case, is called a *Misl.* Each case is entered and classed in a general index under its appropriate heading. The Misls of each Mouzah (township) are thus collected together, and arranged according to date. To each of these collections of Misls is attached a fly-index, showing the date and subject of each case; then the papers of a number of villages are bound up together in a cloth. On the outside of the bundle, thus formed, are inscribed the name of the Pergunnah, and the letters of the alphabet, under which the names of the Mouzahs contained in the bundle fall. The bundles are then placed alphabetically on shelves. That portion of the shelf, which contains the bundles of a particular Pergunnah, is marked off, and legibly inscribed with the name of the Pergunnah. What a contrast is thus presented to the old record offices, ten or fifteen years ago! The ancient idea of chaos was quite a trifle in comparison with them; "*rudis indigestaque moles*" would barely furnish an adequate description. The highest authority has described these records as "loose sheets unconnected with each other, thrown together in large chests.† Many such chests-full were found in Collectors' offices, when attention was first turned to the subject." Now-a-days you need only know the name of the village and the Pergunnah. With that information go into the office, and call for any case you want. The record-keeper at once turns to that part of the shelf, or rack, on which the name of the Pergunnah appears in large letters. A reference to the alphabetical list shows the bundle, which contains the papers of your Mouzah. Open the

* Vide "*Directions to Collectors*," promulgated by authority of Government, North Western Provinces, Section III., Par. 127, and Regulation XXIII., of 1803.

† Vide *Directions to Collectors*, page 59, para. 134, Section III.

bundle, and your Mouzah appears. Consult the fly-index of the Mouzah, and you find the date and subject of your case. The various Misls being arranged chronologically, the knowledge of the date enables you to lay your hand on the Misl you want. Thus railroad rapidity is introduced into official routine.

Then this record office is thrown open to the public. Any person, desirous of inspecting the record, notifies his wish to the Collector, who refers the applicant to the record-keeper, who immediately produces the papers required. The party then leisurely inspects the papers,* in the presence of the record-keeper, or one of his assistants. He has to pay a fee of eight annas per hour, to every record-keeper so employed. Copies, authenticated or unauthenticated, are to be obtained in a similar manner. Formerly, the offices were inaccessible, and the papers undiscoverable. The record-keepers had unlimited facilities for suppressing, substituting, or forging papers. Now the lists and counter-lists render such a thing quite impossible. The papers can be found without any laborious search or delay whatever. A record-keeper, who could not turn up a case in a few minutes, would be deemed unfit for his office. The principal kinds of papers, which are kept in these offices, are the old Kanungo's records of dates prior to the British rule, the records of all settlements made since our accession to power, the village papers filed annually, and the Malguzari register. This register is defined as "showing who are the persons responsible to Government for the payment of the revenue as proprietors, and for what amount of revenue, and from what lands they are responsible."† The mutations in this register record give rise to most of the cases which are usually disposed of in the revenue department. The various kinds of cases thus recorded have been classified by the highest authority as follows:‡—I. Union of estates. II. Division of estates. III. Changes of proprietors. IV. Bringing Mouzahs on the rent-roll. V. Removal of Mouzahs from the rent-roll. VI. Alteration in the jumma (i. e. revenue assessed on) Mouzahs.

We have thus attempted to describe a system of registration, which in completeness of design can hardly be surpassed in any country, and which, we will venture to say, is equalled in few. The foundation-stone of this elaborate structure was laid at the settlement. The first results were avowedly imperfect. But since that time each year has witnessed progressive improvements. Various officers were from time to time vested with special

* Sudder Board of Revenue Circular Order, dated 25th February, 1848.

† *Directions to Collectors*, para. 161, Section III.

‡ Ibid, para. 163, Section III.

powers, for the purpose of remodelling any settlement records, which had been found to be defective ; and, in the year 1848, these powers were conferred on all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, with a view to their being enabled " to complete the record of rights in land, which should have been made at the time of the settlement, and to correct the existing record, when found to be at variance with fact."* Thus the door has been opened to constant improvement, which will doubtless advance *pari passu* with the intellectual progress of the people. Much has been already done to dispel popular ignorance and misapprehension, but still more yet remains to be learnt; and it seems that Government hardly ventures to hope that " the registration of rights will ever become perfect, till the people are sufficiently able to understand it, and to watch over its execution."†

The inconveniences of the laws of real property in England have been long felt and discussed. Among them the uncertainty of titles is one of the most prominent. The search after possible titles, which may exist, is always laborious and expensive. And after all the purchaser, or transferer, can never be quite sure, that, when the transfer is concluded, some undiscovered title may not be brought to light. A system of registration, similar to that adopted on the continent, has often been proposed with a view to rendering titles more secure.

The continental plan is very complete, and surpasses even our Anglo-Indian system. In those countries, where peasant proprietorship prevails, there are registration courts in each of the provinces, where the ownership of every parcel of land and the changes in the ownership are entered in a book under the name and description of the land. All deeds and papers of any kind affecting the land must be filed in this office, otherwise they have no validity. These courts are of course quite accessible to the public; and every direct or contingent right possessed by any person regarding any piece of land can be ascertained with little or no expence in a few minutes.‡ It is evident that a system of this nature, though it may be described in a few words, must be infinitely elaborate in practice, when rigorously carried out, as in the countries of Western Europe. Our system in one respect is inferior to it. In India it is possible that a title might exist, which should not be discoverable in any of the registration offices. Such a thing would not be possible in any of the countries just

* Notification by the Lieutenant-Governor, Revenue Department, dated September 21, 1848.

† *Directions to Collectors*, Section III., par. 218.

‡ Vide Kay, Vol. I., page 56.

mentioned. With us, however, the possibility is somewhat remote. There is nothing in the law, which renders unregistered title-deeds inoperative. But in every district there is an office for the registration of deeds. And of two deeds, affecting any parcel of land, legal preference would be given to the registered deed over the unregistered—*cæteris paribus*, of course. And we have already seen that the Collector's records would show where the actual possession had been for centuries. Thus, although a concatenation of circumstances might arise, in which a title existed which should not be traceable from either office, yet such a coincidence would be highly improbable. Positive possession in India carries more weight with it than in Europe. Much state responsibility, and the liabilities of taxation are, in India, attached to the possession of the land. Actual occupation accompanies many transactions, such as mortgages and all transfers of that nature, in which, at Home, possession is not accorded, till the foreclosure takes place. We are not aware that in any country such detailed information concerning every field is registered as in India. And it may be safely asserted that in no country are the rights to land more complicated and multiform, and their registration more arduous than in India. On the whole then our system, though in one or two respects inferior, is equal, or superior, to any in comprehensiveness of detail.

We have now described the rights and positions held by the various classes into which the agricultural population is divided, and the method which Government has provided for the registration of these rights. Our readers will therefore be able to apprehend what incitements, and what necessities for education are felt, and what capacities are possessed by each class.

We commence with the class of small proprietors. In this class may be included all those, who hold land by the great Puttidari tenure, perfect or imperfect; all those, who hold small properties in Biswadari estates, having been emancipated from the thraldom of the Talukadars; all those, who possess similar holdings in rent-free estates of every description, paying revenue to the grantee, instead of to Government; all the proprietors of secondary Zemindari estates, which have a constant tendency to sub-divide and merge into the Puttidari tenure;—in short all members of village communities, whithersoever found, and under whatever circumstances. What *capacities* for education, then, does this class possess? They have the feeling of independence, and the consciousness that their property is fixed and secure. They know exactly what their fiscal encumbrances will be for a period of years. They perceive that industry, perseverance,

economy, and enterprise may create funds, by which improvements in the land may be made, other lands acquired, and profitable speculations undertaken. Opportunities of purchasing are not often offered to men of this class. Private sales are not very common among village communities, and Government rarely resorts to the sale process for realizing the revenue. Any default, that may occur, is either made good by some solvent sharer, who takes the defaulting share, or is demanded from the whole body. These transfers are common. And private transfers for a term of years are often made by the unfortunate, or unthrifty, members in favour of their more prosperous brethren. Thus the prospect of further acquisition (which has been proved to impart so great an intellectual stimulus in Europe) is fairly opened up to this class; and mental habits of care, vigilance, thoughtfulness, self-controul, and caution are steadily and surely induced. But if so, is not the notion justified, that a peasant proprietor "must have an educated mind?" —must possess inherent capacities for regular education? Formerly what motive had the small proprietor to work his mind, to think, to ponder, and to plan for the future? When his right was not clearly fixed; when he was at the mercy of his own Lumbardar; when his property was liable every day to be annihilated by some sweeping and indiscriminate sale, to gratify the avarice of some intriguing native official; when he was exposed to the evictions, the grinding oppression, and the rack-renting of an unprincipled and grasping Talukadar or Jaghirdar—in such times, what inducement had he to seek after knowledge for the sake of the daily temporal advantages which it might confer? We have seen how different is the case in times like the present.

Let us next consider the *inducements* to the acquisition of common learning, which present themselves to this class. Most of the influential members are old enough to remember the time, when fraud flourished, because there was no record of rights. Later experience reminds them of the advantages gained by men who were versed in legal practice, who understood what records did exist, could read them, and turn them to their own profit. Often have they smarted from the consequences entailed by the deceits palmed off by village accountants upon their unlettered masters. Every day they learn to dislike absolute dependance on a Putwari's dictum. They see the mischief, which accrues to individuals from a misunderstanding of their own accounts. They perceive the confusion, which occurs in the management of the public concerns of the community,

the needless quarrels which arise, the delay and uncertainty which result from the inability of the several partners to read and write, and thereby to superintend matters themselves. The desire once conceived, the means of gratifying it are ready to their hands. Only let them learn to read and write and understand the accounts, and all the above inconveniences are removed. Every proprietor feels that the acquisition of elementary knowledge would enable him to satisfy himself as to the measurement of his own land, and the equity with which his share of the public burdens has been allotted to him by the community, to test the daily entries to his name in the Putwaris' diary, and to examine the state of his accounts, when the annual papers are drawn up. Then the settlement records are fraught with the nearest interests of those concerned. Is it to be supposed that an intelligent proprietor is satisfied with the oral recitation of these papers, or with the exposition of them by others? Is he not anxious to con them over himself? So with the records of the Collector's office, where the village accounts for past years have all been filed—does he not feel desirous to compare them with the present adjustment of accounts? If able to read Urdu, what an instructive history would the records of his village unfold—what an insight into the system of Government, under which he lives, would they give him—what clear prospects for the future would they unveil to him, —what excellent means would they offer of interpreting personal experience, and of forming a sound judgment as to the general position of the brotherhood!

But besides stimulants and inducements, these communities are urged on to the task of self-education by what is almost *necessity*. When the complex form of a village community, and the multiplicity of the springs, which move the great machinery, are considered, it is evident that the members, though infinitely sub-divided in interest, are yet ultimately and contingently united. In times of yore, the bond of union was formed to repel aggression. In later times, it has been kept up to ward off the consequences of uncertainty in the seasons, to provide for the many chances and contingencies brought about by the iron strictness of our revenue system, and to frustrate the designs of fraudulent interlopers. The people adhere confidingly to this institution, endeared to them by family associations, and recommended by practical utility. Every man, though he feels his own property to be distinct and separate, yet takes a brotherly interest in his neighbour's. He is ready to encourage the hesitating, to spur on the idle, to warn the improvident, to aid the unfortunate. The fear of extra risk is more than compensated

by the sense of security. Joint responsibility is necessarily accompanied by mutual reciprocity. It may be irksome to a man that he should be held responsible for the deficiencies of others, and forced to sacrifice a portion of the advantages gained by personal assiduity for the benefit of others. At the same time the thought is no less grateful and consolatory, that other people are equally responsible for him, and are equally bound to render him assistance, and to repair his misfortunes. Unexpected calamities may befal him; inevitable default may occur; but his land will not pass into the hands of a stranger; his patrimony will not be reft from him for ever. The brotherhood will make good his default, or some single relative will pay up the required deficit, assume temporary occupation of the property, and restore to its owner, as soon as the original outlay with interest shall have been recovered from the profits. A few hard cases may arise from the enforcement of joint responsibility; but they bear, we believe, a small proportion to the number of cases, in which individuals have been redeemed from ruin by the steady operation of this principle in the minds of the people. Tens may have been injured, but hundreds have been saved. The affairs of such communities are necessarily involved in much complication. For instance what intricate calculations are required for the periodical re-allotment of the village revenue among the sharers, for the ascertainment of the relative value, and the past and present productiveness of lands! Again, what numerous questions must present themselves at the election of headmen and Lumbardars, when the claims of rival candidates come to be discussed, at the re-admission of dispossessed co-partners. Then how many debateable points arise from the relations of Lumbardars and Puttidars, regarding the privileges of the one, and the prerogatives of the other! Then the cultivation of waste land, causing alterations in the relative proportions of holdings, and involving fresh estimates when the Bach is to be raised, and the distribution of the proceeds realized from manorial rights, rouse the passions and sharpen the wits of the various members: and when land held in common tenure comes to be divided, then every one is on the *qui vive*. The separation of interests, the assignment of shares, the method of procedure, the adjustment of details, afford ample scope for the exercise of judgment and discretion. When partial default occurs, a prompt decision is required regarding the manner in which it shall be made up; whether by general subscription, or by a particular sub-division or Thok, or by individuals, or how; if by subscription, then how is the defaulting share to be managed, to whom should it be made over, and so on. On all these questions, the settlement

administration paper must be consulted. Doubts also have to be solved regarding the interpretation of clauses and the application of principles. This may suffice to convey some notion of the many affairs, which come before the tribunal of public opinion among the village communities. On the justness of their votes often hang the welfare, even the safety of the clan. Ignorance and misapprehension generally lead to internal dissension. If the leading minds misinterpret, or the mass misunderstand, their own customs—if misapplication of the local rules creates injustice, or provokes discord, one of the first results is general default, and that usually brings ruin upon all; and thus all the disadvantages of union are entailed, while all its advantages are withheld. Knowledge then is *necessary* to adapt men's minds to the elaborate constitution of wheel within wheel, under which they live. Without the rudiments of education, they will not properly understand it, and they may not improbably misapply it. If they do misapply it, the community will be broken up, when severance is too late to retrieve the mischief, and individuals will be ruined, because at the fatal juncture they possess neither the advantages of union nor of separation. There can, therefore, we imagine, be little doubt that the diffusion of elementary knowledge is *necessary* to render secure the constitutional integrity of the village communities.

Variety of caste must not be forgotten. The idiosyncracy of caste forms of course an important element in the general character of any body of proprietors. A most complete description of the actual distribution of Zemindari possessions among the different tribes throughout these provinces is given in the maps appended to Sir H. Elliot's Glossary of Indian terms. From them, it appears that the greater portion of the landed proprietors in the North Western Provinces belong to the Jat, Gujur, Rajput, Brahman, and Kayth tribes. A certain proportion are Mussulmans, among whom may be included the Mewatis.

The Jats are principally to be found in the upper Doab and the Delhi territory. They enjoy a wide spread reputation for industry, perseverance, and agricultural skill. Their courage has been generally appreciated by Europeans ever since the siege of Bhurtpore. There is we imagine a good deal of German phlegm and steadiness about the Jats. Their women partake essentially of the character of the men, and their industrial qualities are quite proverbial.* They claim high descent, but we believe that the Brahmans and Rajputs some-

* Vide Proverb, cited by Sir H. Elliot in his Glossary, under the heading of Kurmi.

what look down upon them. There are, however, very few tribes of any country that have any real right, or can really afford, to despise the moral and physical qualities of the Jats. Great as their prowess in arms has been, their success in the arts of peace has been still greater; some of the finest estates, the best managed concerns, the best regulated communities in these provinces, belong to the Jat tribe. It so happens, that none of the districts, at present selected for the scene of educational operations, are tenanted by the Jats. As the scheme is extended, a trial will probably be given to this most meritorious class. Intellectually perhaps they may be inferior to some of the more aristocratic tribes. It is not improbable that they may be led to appreciate the practical benefits of elementary education; and should their attention be turned that way, and a fair opportunity offered them, it is not unreasonable to expect that their known resolution and perseverance may enable them to make marked and beneficial progress. At present, however, in point of education they are even worse off than some of their neighbours. The returns for the Delhi division show that they are entirely uneducated, and that scarcely any of their children attend the indigenous schools.

The Gujurs are a thievish predatory set, and much addicted to cattle-stealing. They are spread over the Delhi territory and the extreme Northern Doab. The Seharunpore district abounds in them. Their village communities hold together closely and firmly, but not for any good object; they unite not so much for mutual support and encouragement in industry, as for purposes of resistance and contumacy. We do not augur much good from educational efforts amongst them. Those, who have conducted the recent investigation into the state of indigenous education, pronounce them to be utterly uninstructed, and averse to education of any kind.

The characteristics of the Rajput and Brahman castes need not here be detailed. From the maps appended to the Glossary, it appears that the Rajputs still hold the largest tracts in these provinces of any tribe, and that formerly nearly two-thirds of the country was in their hands. It cannot be said that the Rajputs are quite uneducated. Rajput children are to be found in most of the village schools. But the proportion of children receiving education to those fit for education and not educated, is painfully small. In Ajmir (which, as most of our readers know, though it belongs to these provinces, is geographically separated from them, and lies in the very heart of Rajputana) hardly any Rajput scholars are to be found in the village schools. Upon these facts it was remarked that "this confirms the conclusion to which we are led by the paucity of Rajput scholars

in other districts, that the Rajputs are, as a class, averse to intellectual improvement."* This conclusion appears to us somewhat premature. It is certain that among the Rajput children some receive education, while, among the children of other important Hindu tribes, there are absolutely none who go to school. In industry and steadiness the Rajputs are inferior to the Jats, and so are the Brahmans. In intellect and capacity the Jats are not equal to either.

The Brahman caste, even in the agricultural tracts, has some pretensions to education. The Sanskrit schools in the villages are of course entirely supported by them; and, in the Hindu schools, they form a considerable portion of the teachers and the pupils.

The Kayths, since our rule, have become a large, though very scattered, class of landholders. They are of course not aborigines; their titles are all acquired from the *αυτοχθονες*. In Akbar's time, in A. D. 1596, there were only four or five compact little divisions held by these Kayths. But, since that time, these tracts have increased and multiplied and replenished the land. They appear like plague spots in every district.† These people have settled themselves down, sometimes by fair means, sometimes by foul. We doubt not that some of these properties were founded by retired officials, men who had expended their ill-gotten gains in landed speculations, and whose doings were parallel to those recorded by the Special Sale Commission. It is superfluous to say, that the members of this tribe (which, according to the division of labour in the theoretical Hindu state, has the task of reading and writing assigned to it) have a natural aptitude for education;—in fact most of them are educated already. In the Hindi and Persian village schools, many of the masters and scholars belong to this caste. Among the Mussulmans, as a class, it will be shown subsequently that education is partially extended.

The Mewatis, who reside principally in the district of Gorgaon, are represented to be utterly destitute of either the desire or capacity for instruction.

From small proprietors we pass on to the large landlords. In this set would be included the Talukadars, Jaghirdars, &c, that is, those, who hold land by the primary Zemindari tenure. It will be remembered that we have classed those, who hold by the secondary Zemindari tenure, together with those who hold by the

* See Mr. Fink's abstract for the Editorial Report for Ajmir, Appendix I., General Report for 1845-46.

† Vide Sir H. Elliot's Comparative Maps, showing the status of Zemindari possessions in Akbar's time, and in the year 1814.

Puttidar's tenure, with small proprietors in general. These great Zemindars are gentlemen, often non-resident on their estates. They are of course generally an educated class, and are not personally concerned in the village schools; but they might be induced to co-operate with the Government for the purpose of educating their cultivators; and any assistance from them would be most valuable.

We have still one class among the sons of the soil to deal with, namely, the cultivators; the improvements, which have been effected in the position and prospects of this class, and the many enactments passed in their favour, have been already pointed out. The hereditary cultivators are not very far removed from the small proprietors; their hold upon the soil is much the same, except that it is not transferrable, and not so valuable, inasmuch as the small proprietor enjoys the profits accruing to both cultivator and owner. On the other hand, they have less risk, and they stand alone, being not bound to any community. Nearly all, that has been said regarding the small proprietors, may be applicable to these cultivators, except the remarks concerning the necessity for education forced upon the communities by the form of their constitution. The non-hereditary cultivators, being simply tenants-at-will, are generally the dependants of an absentee landlord, or else of an agent or lessee. Much capacity or aptitude for education cannot be expected from them; but the advantages, which the ability to read and write would confer on them, are very evident. How often it happens that wrong leases (pottahs) and wrong receipts are purposely given to the poor cultivator! How often sums are put down to his name as paid, which he never did pay, in order that the same sum may be speciously demanded of him in future! How often are fields entered in the rent-roll, as cultivated by him, which he never even saw! These entries run on for years. Undisputed records must of course carry weight with them; and, when the demand is at last made, it is perhaps unavoidably enforced against him. Had the man been able to read, he would have at once represented the incorrectness of the entries to the proper authorities, and timely redress would have been afforded. As a rule then, this class are unintelligent, poor in spirit, careless, indolent, and migratory. We fear that they will not frequent the village schools; but bright exceptions are to be found in some of the castes, which furnish hands to till the ground. The Kurmis, or Kumbhis, Lodhas, Kachis, and Kochris, almost equal the Jats in industry. The latter tribes cultivate garden soil, and are always to be found in the neighbourhood of cities and large villages. The first tribe cultivate those lands, which yield the staple products. They are often hereditary cultivators. In all

positions their general habits fit them for the reception of education. In Cawnpore,* Futtehpore, and that neighbourhood, members of this caste are to be found in the village schools.

We have thus endeavored to describe the condition of the agricultural population in these provinces. It remains to be seen what is the present state of popular education. That can unfortunately be described in a very few words. The resolution of Government opens with the following sentences:—"Enquiries, which have been lately instituted in order to ascertain the state of education throughout these provinces, show that the greatest ignorance prevails amongst the people, and that there are no adequate means at work for affording them instructions. The means of learning are scanty, and the instruction, which is given, is of the rudest and least practical character." In the General Report on public instruction in the North Western Provinces, for the year 1848-49, we find the following paragraphs:—"During the past year, the enquiries into the education of the people, by means of their own indigenous schools, have been brought to a conclusion. The reports have been revised, and the table recast, to meet our more correct statistical knowledge, and they are now in the course of re-publication in a separate memoir, with a translation into the Urdu language. The investigation has established without a doubt that the mass of the population is in a state of the grossest ignorance, and that even, were the desire for knowledge awakened among them, there at present exist no means for its gratification. Masters and pupils are for the most part alike in darkness." The revised educational statistics, alluded to in the last extract, have not yet been published, we believe: otherwise we should have laid before our readers an abstract of their contents. But we are enabled to offer a tabular statement, drawn up from the separate returns for the different districts, which are to be found amongst general reports. The latter will show the centesimal proportion of male children receiving some kind of education, to those that are fit for education but quite uneducated. We are not aware that any complete statistical information on this subject for the whole of the Lower Provinces has been published. We subjoin a few extracts from Mr. Adam's report for five districts in Bengal and Behar; and we add a table for the principal countries of Europe taken from Mr. Kay's work, in order that (although no very accurate comparison can be drawn on account of the several tables being prepared in different forms) an approximate idea may be formed of the small amount of education at present existing among the natives of the N. W. Provinces.

* Vide Report on Settlement of Cawnpore, by Mr. Rose, and Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, heading of Kurmi.

Table showing the centesimal proportion of the total number of Scholars to the number of male children fit for instruction, assumed on total population at one-twelfth, in the North Western Provinces.

Division.	District.	Percentage of total number of scholars to the number of male children fit for instruction.	Number of Schools.
Delhi.	Paniput	6.4	46
	Delhi	10.95	268
	Rohtuk	2 8	46
	Gorgaon	3.4	100
	Hissar	2.2	33
Mirut.	Seharunpore	7.4	223
	Muzuffernugger	7.6	289
	Mirut	5.3	410
	Bulundshuhur	5.07	187
	Allygurh	4.5	296
Rohilcund.	Bijnour	4.4	278
	Moradabad	3.78	248
	Budaon	3.2	228
	Bareilly	2.9	452
	Shajehanpore	3.0	276
Agra.	Muttra	3.3	181
	Agra	3.2	284
	Furruckabad	4.4	334
	Mynpurie	2.2	152
	Etawah	2.18	52
Allahabad.	Cawnpore	6.6	195
	Futtehpore	9.1	362
	Humirpore	4.9	118
	Culpi	6.8	86
	Banda	2.4	135
	Allahabad	4.5	446
Benares.	Guruckpore	1.9	428
	Azimghur	2.10	161
	Jaunpore	1.54	94
	Mirzapore	2.1	97
	Benares	0.9	95
	Gazipore	3.6	389
		Total number of schools...	6,989

There are 80,883 Mouzahs, or Townships, in the North Western Provinces, and not quite 7,000 schools, of which at least one-third belong to the towns; so that the proportion of schools to villages is very small.

Table showing the state of Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar.

Province.	District.	Proportion of children capable of receiving instruction to children actually receiving instruction is as 100 to	Proportion of total adult population to instructed adult population is as 100 to
Bengal.	City of Murshedabad	8.3	7.5
	Thanah Doulatbazar district of Murshedabad	6.05	4.1
	——— Nanglia ditto of Birbhum	8.1	5.3
	——— Culna ditto of Burdwan	16.05	9.01
Behar.	——— Jehanabad ditto of South Behar	5.8	4.9
	——— Bhawara ditto of Tirhut	2.5	2.3

In the total number of children are included both males and females: and in the number of children receiving instruction are included those children, who receive *domestic* instruction, as well as those who attend schools.

Table showing the proportion of Scholars in the Elementary Schools, to the whole population in different European countries.

	Scholars.	Inhabitants.
Berne, Canton of Switzerland	1 in every	4.3
Thurgovie, ditto ditto	1 „	4.8
Vaud, ditto ditto	1 „	5
St. Gall, ditto ditto	1 „	5.5
Argovie, ditto ditto	1 „	5.5
Neufchatel, ditto ditto	1 „	6
Lucerne, ditto ditto	1 „	6
Schaffhausen, ditto ditto	1 „	6
Geneva, ditto ditto	1 „	6
Zurich, ditto ditto	1 „	6.3
Fribourg, ditto ditto	1 „	6 5
Solothurn, ditto ditto	1 „	7
Saxony, ditto ditto	1 „	5
Six departments of France (each)	1 „	6
Wurtemberg	1 „	6
Prussia	1 „	6
Baden (Duchy,)	1 „	6
Overyssel (Province of Holland)	1 „	6
Drenthe, ditto ditto	1 „	6
Friesland, ditto ditto	1 „	6.8
Tyrol	1 „	7.5

	Scholars.	Inhabitants.
Norway	1	in every 7
Denmark	1	„ 7
Holland (generally)	1	„ 8
Bavaria	1	„ 8
Scotland	1	„ 8
Bohemia	1	„ 8.5
Austria Proper	1	„ 9
France (generally)	1	„ 10.5
Belgium	1	„ 10.7
England	1	„ 14

It will be observed that Mr. Adam has taken the proportion of the total number of children (male and female) to the number of children receiving instruction ; whereas, in the tables for these provinces, the centesimal proportion has been taken between the total number of male children and the number of children receiving education. As girls' schools do not exist, and as female education is a thing unheard of, it has not been considered necessary to admit into the calculations the number of female children. From general enquiries throughout the Presidency, it has been found that the total number of male children comprises about one-twelfth of the whole population. In the tables, this proportion has been assumed as the basis of calculation, and then the proportion has been given between the ascertained number of children receiving instruction, and one-twelfth of the total population. We are not in the possession of any statistics regarding the state of education amongst the adult population in these provinces ; but a comparison can be instituted between the centesimal proportions of educated children, and educated adults in Mr. Adam's tables. And then, for these provinces, an inferential idea of the state of adult education may be deduced by parity of reasoning from the actual state of juvenile education. In comparing the condition of school instruction in the Lower and Upper Provinces, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Adam has included female, as well as male, children in his estimate of the juvenile population ; whereas, in these provinces, the number of male children only has been calculated. Now, the number of female children must be considered at least equal to that of the male. The statistical results can therefore be only balanced by doubling the centesimal proportions in the tabular statement for these provinces. Also it should not be forgotten, that Mr. Adam instituted enquiries into the state of domestic instruction, and in his returns has given the number of children receiving domestic instruction, as one-third of the educated community. No precise information on this head has been

obtained in these provinces. It will be seen hereafter that from the constitution of the schools, it is extremely difficult to separate domestic from scholastic instruction. A vast number of children, who might be considered as receiving domestic instruction, have been returned as receiving scholastic instruction, to account for the difficulty which has been felt, in drawing a line between the one kind of education and the other. In the reports of one or two districts, allusions are made to domestic instruction independent of the schools; but in most districts no such supposition appears to have been entertained. And on the whole it may be concluded that the number of educated children, not included in the reports, is small.

It is happily fruitless to compare the statistical proportions of juvenile education in this Presidency, and in the countries of Western Europe. In these latter countries, no proportion can be said to exist between educated and uneducated children. There *all* children are of necessity educated, whether in town or country. In these countries every parent must send his children to school, or incur heavy legal penalties. Besides, he is bound by a moral controul, enforced by the universal consent and customs of society, and far stronger than the authority of any statute. Then each parent is compelled by law to combine for the support of the parochial schools, and in those tracts where, from the absence of peasant proprietorship, the people are considered too poor to educate themselves, the large landlords, the feudal lords of yore, are obliged to educate at their own cost the labourers that cultivate their estates. There are many philosophers, who would have pronounced it practically impossible to carry out such a legal system, because the minds and dispositions of men are not to be operated upon by such rough instruments as statutory enactments—because it might be advisable for a Government to educate the lower orders, who are unequal to the task of self-education, but to force people in a respectable station of life, to educate the children, would be worse than vain; and because official interference would be productive of harm rather than good. But such dogmas have been utterly refuted by the actual experience of Western Europe. There the legal system of education is a vast machinery, spreading its magnificent frame-work over the whole country, the springs of which are supplied by the moral resolution and cordial co-operation of society, the foundations of which are laid in the hearts and minds of the people. Of course such laws, as those now in force throughout Germany and Prussia, would be highly unpalatable to the Zemindars of Bengal, or the great landholders of these provinces. They would nauseate the idea of being

compelled to educate their cultivators. But they might be urged and stimulated to contribute their efforts and influence towards the attainment of this end. Allusions to this point are to be found in the late resolution of this Government; and, when Vernacular schools were first set up in Bengal during the year 1844, the Sudder Board of Revenue expressly called upon the several Commissioners and their subordinates "to instigate the more opulent native inhabitants, whenever an opportunity is afforded, to a liberal support of the proposed institutions, as being one of the surest means of showing that they merit elevation and distinction from the Government;" and, in their letter to the Bengal Government, the Board say "the more opulent natives of each district might be very usefully stimulated to establish, and place under the controul of the officers of Government, Vernacular schools, such as are now proposed, at their own expence."*

It remains briefly to touch upon female education in India. In the great educational countries above alluded to, male and female education stand upon the same footing, and are carried to an equal degree of perfection. In India, the case is lamentably and notoriously the reverse. Female education is a thing almost unknown in the N. W. Presidency. Not only is its growth, in common with that of all kinds of education, withered by the chilling influences of prevailing apathy, but the active opposition of inherent prejudice is arrayed against it. Mr. Adam gives the following description of the spirit, which militates against it, at the same time supplying positive testimony to its absolute non-existence in the Lower Provinces. (Sec. XII. ch. 5). Speaking of native female schools established by benevolent Europeans, he says:—"The native prejudice against female instruction, though not insuperable, is strong; and the prejudice against the object should not be increased by the nature of the means employed to effect it. Now it appears nearly certain, that, independent of the prejudice against the object, native parents of respectable rank must be unwilling to allow their daughters, contrary to the custom of Native Society, to leave their own homes, and their own neighbourhoods, and proceed to a distance, greater or less in different cases, to receive instruction.—"To re-assure the minds of native parents, native matrons are employed, as messengers and protectors to conduct the girls to and from school; but it is evident that this does not inspire confidence, for, with scarcely any exception, it is only the children of the very poorest and lowest castes that attend the girls' schools." Further on, in Chapter XV., Mr. Adam writes,

* Vide General Report on Education in the Lower Province of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45 and 1845-46.

"It has been already shown that the schools for girls are exclusively of European origin; and I made it an object to ascertain in those localities, in which a census of the population was taken, whether the absence of public means of native origin for the instruction of the girls was to any extent compensated by domestic instruction. The result is, that in Thanahs Nanglia (Birbhum), Culna (Burdwan), Jehanabad (South Behar), Bhowara (Tirhut), domestic instruction was *not in any one instance* shared by the *girls* in those families, in which the boys enjoyed its benefits; and that, in the city of Murshedabad, and the thanah of Doulut bazar in the Murshedabad district, I found only five, and these Mussulman families, in which the daughters received some instruction at home.—This is another feature in the degraded condition of Native Society. The whole of the juvenile female population, with exceptions so few, that they can scarcely be estimated, are growing up without a single ray of instruction to dawn upon their minds."

In the reports for the North Western Provinces, we read of six schools for Punjabi girls in the city of Delhi, and of one female Hindu instructress in Ajmir. No other girl schools whatever, we believe, are mentioned. But we conjecture that, in Mussulman families, the girls do not unfrequently receive some domestic instruction. In the present state of the native mind, it seems hopeless to introduce any system of public instruction available for girls: and private instruction (the only kind of education which native parents would allow their daughters to receive) is a matter beyond the controul or influence of any Government.

Having thus completed the first division of our subject—namely, the class to be educated, we pass on to the second—namely, the nature of the education to be given.

This portion of the subject may be most conveniently commenced by a brief retrospect of what has hitherto been done and written regarding Vernacular education and indigenous schools in the North Western Provinces: On the third of May, 1843, the superintendence of public instruction in the North Western Provinces was vested in the local Government; the final allotment of the funds was completed on the 20th March, 1844. The local Government was thereby entrusted with the annual sum of nearly two lacs, and with the controul of three colleges at Agra, Delhi, and Benares, and nine schools situated at some of the principal stations. At these schools and colleges, instruction was given in the English language and in the higher branches of education. The Colleges still remain: the schools have dwindled away. In April of 1849, only three of the latter were

being kept up by Government. It is not our intention to trace their history, or to discuss the many interesting questions connected with them. Nor do we mean in any way to depreciate them. But at present we wish to watch the progress of opinion and action regarding Vernacular literature and indigenous schools.

Up to the year 1843, village schools had never been thought of, nor had any information been either sought for or obtained regarding indigenous education. But no sooner had the transfer of superintendence from Calcutta to Agra been notified, than the then Lieutenant Governor (the Honorable G. Clerk) placed his sentiments on record, in a letter addressed to the Supreme Government, on the 8th August, 1843. Ever since that time, the stream of opinion appears to have flowed in the same direction. We regret that we have not room to insert the whole of this powerful letter; but we must be content with drawing attention to a few paragraphs of special interest.* "It cannot be concealed from any one, who has been in the habit of familiar intercourse with the native gentry of these Provinces, that the colleges and schools established by Government have neither their countenance nor their support; that to these institutions they neither send their sons for education, nor do they themselves take the slightest interest in their existence; yet do they seek through other means to give their children the best education they can afford. In proof of the foregoing position, the Lieutenant Governor would only advert to the frequent instances, which have occurred, of the necessity to close and give up Government schools in these Provinces.—In like manner, the Government school at Ajmir was closed last year, not because there was no desire for education amongst the community, but because they would not resort to a school which was not in union with their feelings. The sentiments of Colonel Sutherland upon this subject are strongly corroborative of His Honor's opinion. That experienced officer was anxious that the Government means should, if possible, co-operate with the existing establishments, so that the interests of the community should be retained, and their feelings carried along with the Government undertaking. The Lieutenant Governor cannot but think that, by such a course only, can real advancement be made in any scheme of general and useful education.—Every town in the Provinces has its little schools; in every Pergunnah are two or more schools; even in many villages is the rude school-master to be found. Yet from not one of them are children sent to

* Vide Appendix C. to General Report for 1843-44.

a Government school.—That education may be advanced; that the people do desire to learn; and that there is no backwardness in any class, or in any sect, to acquire learning, or to have their children taught, His Honor from a long personal intercourse with all classes is convinced. It only needs that our endeavours should be properly directed; that existing native schools should not be cast aside as useless, and the whole population, as it were, arrayed against us, because we will not bend to adopt an improvement on existing means." Among the general observations at the close of the year are to be found some remarks in the same strain:—"It must not be forgotten, how much less encouragement there exists here for the study of English than in the Lower Provinces, or in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. There are here few English residents. Except the functionaries of Government, there is no wealthy body of European merchants, transacting their business in the English language, and according to English method. There is no Supreme Court, where justice is administered in English; no English Bar, or attornies; no English sea-borne commerce, with its shipping and English sailors, and constant influx of foreign articles and commodities. Even in the public service, the posts are few, in which a knowledge of English is necessary for the discharge of their functions.—In addition to the above obstacles, and perhaps in some measure springing out of them, is another, of which the effects are universally felt in this part of the country. The boys, who attend our institutions, and especially our provincial schools, are seldom the children of men of independent property: hence they are called away from school to earn their livelihood before they have time to master a study, so strange to them, as that of the English language.—This state of things tends to show, that, if we wish to produce any perceptible impression on the general mind of the people, we must attempt it through the medium of the Vernacular language, and not through that of any foreign tongue.—The present subject of Vernacular education is connected with that of the indigenous village schools.—Much simple, yet useful knowledge might be conveyed through their means, for instance, all the details of our Revenue system.—The increased certainty and minuteness, with which legal rights of all classes are now sifted and adjudicated in Courts, make it worth every man's while, not only to be able to check an account, but also to obtain a good practical knowledge of our system and regulations.—Another department of science, which is daily rising in practical value and importance, is that of civil engineering. The roads and canals, which

are now in progress, will give ample employment for such youths as may distinguish themselves in this line. It may also be expected, that the minds of many landholders will be turned to the improvement of their estates. The young civil engineer may assist them in this object by showing the cheapest and most effectual mode of forming wells, raising water, or draining swamps." In these latter sentences, we presume, lay the germ of the Rúrki College. At the outset, then, it is clear that a new principle was enunciated—namely, that Vernacular literature and indigenous schools should be encouraged. As the first step in carrying out this principle, the Government charged itself with the duty of superintending the preparation of school-books in Urdu and Hindi. In Urdu literature, the lead was taken by Mr. Boutros, Principal of the Delhi College. And lists of Hindi works were furnished by Mr. Moore of Agra. Investigations into the actual state of indigenous education were commenced by the appointment of Mr. Tucker of the civil service to examine and report upon all schools in the Allahabad and Benares divisions. Amongst the subjects, touched upon in that gentleman's report, are the want of good Vernacular class-books, and of Vernacular literature generally, the want of Vernacular branch schools, and the improvement of the indigenous village schools. Some paragraphs are also cited from a letter of the Court of Directors, regarding Mr. Adam's report for the Lower Provinces. The Court say,—" Mr. Adam expresses his opinion that existing native institutions are the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people; that to employ those schools for such a purpose is the simplest, safest, most popular, economical, and effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind, which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing." Thus, from the proceedings of the first year ending April 1844, it was evident that an intention existed, in the highest quarter, of taking up and prosecuting vigorously the hitherto neglected subject of indigenous education.

During the next year, 1844-45, a positive step was taken by the appointment, first of Mr. Lodge, and then of Mr. Fink, to investigate and report upon village-schools in the district of Agra. This latter gentleman's report was submitted to Government shortly after the close of the official year. Its statistical results have been already exhibited, and the various principles detailed in it will be presently noticed, together with the reports of the other districts. Progress was made in the formation of Vernacular libraries for the distribution of elemen-

tary works among the village schools. Rewards for the proficiency of their pupils were offered to the school-masters. Lists of the works proposed for study were also published. It was further notified that extensive enquiries of the same kind had been set on foot, in various parts of the country, with a view to local improvement in education; and it was further declared that the basis of the whole plan was an attempt to supply the wants of the people as landholders and agriculturists.

Statements regarding the village schools were received, during the next year, 1845-46, from eight districts, viz., Hissar, Futtehpur, Ajmir, Allygurh, Gorgaon, Bulundshuhur, Furruckabad, and Seharunpur. These reports were principally furnished by the several Collectors and their subordinates. Abstracts of the several reports, drawn up by Mr. Fink, were published; and a further report on the Agra district was submitted by Mr. Fink. In August 1845, was issued an important circular to all Collectors and Magistrates. The opening paragraph ran thus:—"The Lieutenant Governor is desirous to draw your attention to the subject of Vernacular education in the district entrusted to your charge." The circular then sets forth the strong inducements, which the agricultural classes naturally have for the acquisition of elementary knowledge. Then came the following injunctions:—"You will perceive that it is your duty, with reference to the great interests immediately entrusted to your care, to do all in your power to promote the education of the people. The means for this purpose are at hand in the indigenous schools, which are scattered over the face of the country.—In this, as in all other operations, it is important to carry the people with you, and to aid their efforts, rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion, by making all the effort yourself.—It is not unreasonable to expect that, before long, the village school-master will be as recognized a servant of the community, as any other of the servants, whose remuneration is now borne amongst the village charges. These school-masters may be encouraged by kindly notice, and by occasional rewards to the most deserving of themselves and of their scholars. They may be aided by the distribution of printed and lithographed books." It is then stated that a series of village school-books was in the course of preparation, and would shortly be circulated: and the whole concludes with directions for the collection and arrangement of statistical information. To the circular was appended a set of instructions to Tuhsildars, and other subordinate Revenue Officers, regarding the method in which encouragement was to be given to the schools, and the form in which information regarding them was to be pre-

sented. Thus we see that during this third year after the transfer of superintendence, and second year of active operations, much progress was made in the preparation of statistics, teeming with practical facts and experimental suggestions, and in the revenue machinery put in motion for the purpose of procuring information concerning the present, and of offering encouragement for the future.

In the course of the year 1846-47, educational returns were received from the Collectors, or other local officers, of seven districts, viz., Paniput, Delhi, Cawnpore, Etawah, Moradabad, Juanpur, Azimgurh. Abstracts prepared by Mr. Fink as before were published. Progress in the Agra district was also reported by Mr. Fink. Superior qualifications had been exhibited by some of the native masters; some of the most useful school books had been circulated; and 257 Rupees had been distributed as rewards to the teachers.

The year 1847-48 was unfortunately marked by the demise of Mr. Fink, the inspector of indigenous schools. In him this department lost one of its most useful and zealous officers. Statistical returns were received from twenty-seven districts, that is from the remainder of the provinces. By this time great progress had been made in the science of general statistics, which has resulted in the publication of a most useful manual under that title. The census of the population in each district had been tested and amended. Popular prejudices, and the blind fear at first entertained by natives for all investigations, had already been in a great measure removed. Consequently the educational enquiries, prosecuted during this year, received more countenance and co-operation from the people, and were therefore completed with greater accuracy, and the comparison of these returns with the general population returns was more perfect and trustworthy than heretofore. It is stated in the General Report, that the columns in the tabular statements for this year might be looked upon as the nearest approximation to the truth in these respects, which had yet been arrived at in this part of India. The measures, already adopted in the district of Agra to promote and extend the formation of village schools, were introduced into the districts of Muttra, Bareilly, and Benares. It was added that the "means at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor were wholly inadequate to the accomplishment of so great a work; that the Honorable Court of Directors had expressed their readiness to encourage the undertaking; and that a scheme had been submitted for their consideration, which contemplated the gradual accomplishment of this great object."

Though it does not strictly appertain to the scope of our present treatise, we cannot forbear to mention that this year was distinguished by the founding of the Rúrki College for Native Civil Engineers. But we may be excused for adverting to this admirable institution, because it represents an educational effort, directed among other objects to the improvement of agriculture. The letter, proposing the institution of this college, addressed by the Government of the North Western Provinces to the Supreme Government, opens with the following paragraphs :—" The great want of Civil Engineers has been long and urgently felt.—The revenue survey has rendered the tenure of landed property and the maintenance of civil rights in a great measure dependant on the skill of the surveyor and the topographer. The character of this country affords great facilities for irrigation; and the nature of the soil and climate render irrigation always valuable, and often necessary, for raising any produce at all. The rivers, which take their rise in the Himalayas, feed numerous canals for irrigation, some of which are large works and difficult to maintain, and many of those, which do exist, are capable of extension.—The mountainous countries, to the west and south-west of the Jumna and the Ganges, afford opportunities of forming tanks and reservoirs.—Even in the level country, in the Doab, and in the plain country to the east, irrigation is extensively carried on from wells and tanks, all which may be improved and rendered more useful by the skill of the engineer.—No one, who examines the old buildings and the public works in this country, can question the capacity of the natives to attain high excellency in the art. Even with imperfect scientific knowledge and defective appliances, they erected edifices, which, at the present day, excite wonder and admiration. The services of natives can be more readily procured, and they can better bear fatigue and exposure to the sun in this climate." It is believed that one of the primary objects of this institution was to raise up a class of native civil engineers, who might assist in the construction of the great Ganges canal, the grandest agricultural work ever attempted in this country. There is good hope that its advantages may be eventually felt by the whole agricultural population of the N. W. Provinces. Even the undertaking of such a work, supposing its completion to be distant and uncertain, will be productive of real good. It will show to the people that Government feels a paternal care for its subjects. It will recal to their minds the traditional memory of the most beneficent among their own sovereigns. The very conception of a benevolent

work like this is a great point. It is an omen and earnest of the "good time coming."

> Better than Fame itself, the wish for Fame,
> The constant striving for a glorious end.

The Rúrki College is an institution, of which Switzerland herself, with all her agricultural colleges, might be proud; it rivals the model schools of Vehrli and Fellenberg.

We now come to 1848-49, the last year of the ancient regime, as far as indigenous education is concerned. The completion of the statistical investigations was notified. The general impression produced by these enquiries we have already mentioned. Measures for the improvement of the indigenous schools had been carried on in four districts, viz., Mynpuri, Muttra, Bareilly, and Benares. The first annual report of the Rúrki College was published.

The report for the next year, 1849-50, has not yet been published. Its main features would of course be the promulgation of the scheme at present under notice—the operation of more comprehensive principles, and the employment of more adequate resources in this most important branch of domestic government. Our readers are already aware that the resolution, which embodied this scheme, was published on the 9th February, 1850.

Before closing this narrative of the operations which have been conducted with regard to the indigenous schools, it may be as well to give some connected account of the progress which has been made in the formation of a vernacular literature and a general library of school-books, and to collect the scattered notices which are to be found on this head.

When Government first turned its attention to popular education in the vernacular tongues, there was hardly a single available school-book in existence. We purposely omit all reference to the higher branches of education, as imparted at the central institutions. At present we confine ourselves to the subject of books suited to the indigenous schools. Rude and elementary as the education given at these schools was and will be, there was not, a few years ago, a single treatise on the commonest subject, such as Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, &c., fit to be put into the hands of the teachers or the scholars. It may not be misplaced to trace briefly what has been done to remedy this defect.

Nearly all the school-books, Hindi and Urdu, at present in use or circulation in these Provinces, have been either published or circulated by the Agra Book School Society, or the Delhi Vernacular Society. Government has largely aided both these

Societies by purchasing copies of their books. Allusion has been already made to the views enunciated by Government in the year 1844 regarding vernacular education, and to the exertions made for the furtherance of that object by Mr. Boutros of Delhi. That public-spirited gentleman first prepared and published translations from his own resources. He then succeeded in founding the Delhi Vernacular Society. Much vigour was infused into the proceedings of this Society by Mr. Boutros's successor at the Delhi College, Dr. Sprenger. Government greatly assisted the Society by purchasing copies of each publication; and, for the first two or three years, it was the principal purchaser. Up to the year 1846, the Society had published about fifty volumes, containing upwards of 14,000 pages, at a cost of about 16,000 rupees. The influence of this Society was supposed to be visible in the establishment of two literary and scientific Urdu Journals,—one at Delhi, the other at Agra. During the years 1846 and 1847, the private demand for the Society's books increased, and the sums contributed by native supporters almost equalled the amount realized from sales to Government; but fears were entertained for the continued existence of the Society on account of the accumulation of unsold books on its hands. The Society however rallied, and has since prosecuted its useful labours. It is hardly within our province to analyse the lists of works published in Urdu by this Society, seeing that the books comprise a far higher range of education than is contemplated for the indigenous schools. But it may come within the compass of our scheme to enumerate the works belonging to certain branches of education. The history, geography, productions, and peculiarities of India have been copiously illustrated. The system of Government at present existing has been fully explained in all its departments.* Treatises have also issued from the press regarding practical mathematics, engineering, and land-surveying.

During the year 1843-44, the Agra School Book Society published Ram Surrun Doss's (Deputy Collector at Delhi) well-known books. A great number of copies were purchased by Government, and distributed throughout the districts. They have been introduced with great success into many of the vernacular schools, and have been mainly instrumental in raising up in several districts a class of well-trained Putwaris. These

* On this head, the following books have been published in Urdu:—
Marshman's Civil and Revenue Regulations; Marshman's Assistant Magistrate's Guide; MacNaghten's Hindi Law; Mahomedan Law; MacNaghten's Criminal Law; MacNaghten's Law of Inheritance; Principles of Legislature; Principles of Public Revenue; Principles of Government; Principles of the Law of Nations; Prinsep's Abstract of Civil Law.

books embrace a course of elementary and practical instruction. The course is divided into four compartments; first, grammar; second, arithmetic; third, weights and measurements (including mensuration); fourth, a complete model of agricultural and village accounts. The arithmetic and mensuration are explained after the native fashion. The sets are published both in Hindi and Urdu, the former being written in the Nagri character. During the year 1844-45, the rewards given to the masters of indigenous schools were accorded with reference to the proficiency of the pupils. Two grades of proficiency were fixed for the Hindi and Urdu schools respectively. For the Hindi schools, the first stage comprised Ram Surrun Doss's four books, and writing from dictation. The second stage comprised the Rajniti, and History of India, Ram Surrun Doss's four books, and Hindi Composition. The Rajniti, it will be observed, is a translation of the Sanskrit Hitopadesha, the Æsop's Fables, or the La Fontaine, of India. For Urdu Schools, the first stage comprised Ram Surrun Doss's four books, and writing from dictation. The second stage, Bagh-o-Behar, and History of India, Ram Surrun Doss's four books, and Urdu Composition.

During the same year, the Agra Schools were supplied by Government with the following books in Urdu: Brown's Arithmetic; Gilchrist's "Risala" (treatise) on Urdu Grammar; Literary and Historical selections from English works; Looking Glass for children; Short and Simple Stories from the English; Urdu Delectus; Spelling-book. In Hindi the following books were furnished in the same manner: Hindi Primer, Hindi Reader, Nos. I and II; Treatise on the benefits of Knowledge; Adam's Arithmetic; Adam's Grammar; Rajníti. In Sanskrit, some copies of the Hitopadesha were distributed. Besides these books there were at that time available elementary treatises on Geography, Astronomy, Indian and General History, Characteristics of England, Hindu Law, and Hindi Grammar (vide Mr. Moore's List). Many of these works had been originally published by the Calcutta School Book Society; some by the Agra School Book Society.

But the effects hitherto made for the formation of a Vernacular literature had been somewhat isolated, and had been conducted without concert, and without uniformity, or comprehensiveness of design. To supply this want, Government created at Agra the office of curator of school-books. It was hoped, that, through the means of this appointment, those who required books might be supplied with them, or be informed where, how, and at what price, they might procure them; that the various

efforts made by individuals might be connected; that references would be made by those who were engaged in the work of translation or compilation, as to what books already existed in India on any particular subject, and on what parts of the subject instruction was most needed; that all existing deficiencies might be brought to the notice of Government, and suggestions offered as to the best method of supplying the want; and that a Catalogue Raisonnée should be constantly kept up, which should be as complete as possible in the Urdu and Hindi languages, and shew all that had been done to provide printed books capable of being used for the education of the people.*

Thus it is clear that these Provinces have produced their Chamberses and their Charles Knights. They can boast of societies and institutions, which may be compared in kind, if not in degree, to the societies which at home gave to the world the Penny Magazine, the Penny Cyclopædia, and the Library of Entertaining Knowledge. It remains that the people should learn to read. The agency, which Government now proposes to employ for the distribution of plain works on practical subjects, will be described hereafter. This much is evident, that, as the rising generation of agriculturists learn to read, they will find ready to their hands books, that will afford them rational instruction regarding their own country and the system of Government with which they are brought into such close and constant contact.

It is thus seen that information, statistical and general, regarding the village schools, throughout the North Western Provinces, has been offered to the public. We proceed to analyze the principal points ascertained respecting indigenous education, classifying our remarks according to the different kinds of schools. Throughout these Provinces, the village schools are of four descriptions:—Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian.

In some districts are found schools, where Hindi and Sanskrit are both taught. It will be observed that in no district do there appear to be any Urdu village schools. We will consider the schools according to the order of their relative importance, and commence with the Hindi schools. The matters for reflection naturally resolve themselves into four divisions, namely (I.) the scholars; II. the teachers; III. the schools; IV. the course of study.

I. The Hindi schools are the most numerous of any class, and can boast of the largest aggregate number of pupils. The scholars

* Vide instructions to the Rev. J. J. Moore. Appendix B. to General Report for 1844-45.

mainly belong to three castes, viz. Brahmins, Bunniahs, and Rajputs. A somewhat insignificant residue belongs to other castes; and the number, belonging to each of the lower castes, is almost too small for computation. The Brahmin scholars are the most numerous; the Bunniahs next; the scholars of both these castes numerically exceed those of the Rajput tribe. The usual age of entrance is about nine years. The average period of pupillage is from four to seven years.

II. The teachers are either Brahmins or Kayeths. They are usually middle-aged men, seldom (except sometimes the Kayeths) elderly. They do not often receive regular salaries. Their remuneration generally consists of fees and presents from the scholars, food, or complete subsistence, clothing, and such like. Sometimes, but rarely, they hold a piece of rent-free land, made over to them by the proprietors; but they are often engaged in cultivation. In such cases they break up the school, when the urgency of the season requires their attendance in the fields, and return to their sedentary occupations after "harvest home." Mr. Muir (in his report for the district of Futtehpur) tells the following anecdote of a "school-master abroad." "A school was held in the house of a Zemindar at Sankha, and the teacher, in order to better his circumstances, undertook at the request of the Zemindar to watch his field; but, being anxious to improve the time, he took the boys with him, and, seated upon the frame work of bambus and wood (Machan), divided his attention between teaching his pupils, and driving away the birds. The scaffolding unfortunately fell to the ground, and this exemplary master was severely injured; and the Tuhsildar, when he visited the village, found the school closed, and the teacher laboring under the effects of his fall." If the various payments made in kind, food, clothing, &c., be turned into money value, the schoolmasters' salaries will, we believe, be found to average from three to four rupees per mensem, an amount less than the average remuneration of the teachers in the other kinds of schools, except of course in those where instruction is imparted gratuitously. Similar mean rates are found to prevail in Bengal and Behar. Mr. Adam gives them thus:—

Murshedabad, Rs. 4 12 9; Birbhum, Rs. 3 3 9; Burdwan, 3 4 3; South Behar, Rs. 2 0 10; Tirhut Rs. 1 8 7.

III. Let us now describe the school-house, or rather what the natives call the "Muktub," or place of teaching, that is, the external shape, which the institution assumes. It is very rare that a building is purposely erected, or that a separate house, or even apartment, is hired for scholastic uses. It is generally found that the parents of one of the pupils, or

some one interested therein, or some person having spare rooms, and being charitably disposed, such as a resident Zemindar, or shop-keeper, lends a verandah, or outer apartment, or mere "chubútra," to the village school-master. Occasionally the school-master keeps school at his own house. Sometimes the school is held "patulæ sub tegmine fagi."

The pupils attend only at certain times of the year when there is a lull in agricultural activity. Mr. Muir has described this perfectly. We give the description in his own words—"The most constant season for instruction is that which intervenes between the sowing and the reaping of the Rubbi (spring) crops, viz., from November or December to March; and this would be the season for obtaining the most favorable record of the extent of education. After the gathering in of the Rubbi harvest a short period of rest is obtained, comprising a part of May and the contiguous months, and where the opportunities of education are at hand, study is again renewed. The rains are then ushered in by the busy preparations of June for the arrangements of the new year; and, as soon as the crops begin to rise, juvenile labour is especially required for weeding. A season of relaxation succeeds, and the schools are re-commenced and numerously attended from about August to November, when the gathering of the Khurif (harvest) and the sowing of the Rubbi again engrosses the attention." On the whole about five months in the year are available for educational purposes. Thus it is that the identification of any particular school becomes exceedingly difficult. A school held in one house for two or three months breaks up for the harvest holidays. These over, it re-commences perhaps in another house with another teacher. Thus investigators into statistics are puzzled to decide whether they ought to be considered as one and the same school, or two different schools. Mr. Johnson, the deputy collector, in his report for Paniput, cut the Gordian knot by excluding these transitory Hindi schools altogether from his return, merely mentioning that there were such things as "temporary schools." When the report was drawn up on Hindi schools for Futtehpore, 65 per cent. had originated within the year, and forty-three per cent. within six months. From the tabular returns for all the districts it will be found that the larger proportion of teachers have been employed for periods less than one year. The schools are seldom formed in towns, or even in large villages, but are scattered about amongst the rustic classes.

IV. The instruction given in these schools generally comprises the Hindi Alphabet; the literary branch does not extend

further than that, except in those schools, which have been reached by Government influence. Then there are simple arithmetic, the Bunniah's or Mahajun's system of book-keeping, account keeping, mensuration according to the native method, and sometimes agricultural accounts. These rustic institutions then are evidently kept up by the practical necessities of life. Many people, who must know how to keep accounts, need not know how to write their names properly; and such is constantly found to be the case.

There is a great deal of patriarchal simplicity about these schools with their rustic apparatus, the coloured board and chalk pencil, and brickdust, corresponding to the palm (tal) leaf, the wooden board, the brazen plate, and the sand, of the Bengal schools. The pursuit of homely knowledge is intimately blended with the manual toil of agricultural life. The tide of learning ebbs and flows, and fluctuates with the cycle of the seasons,—almost with the changes of the moon. The scholars, fresh from the plough, are ready at a moment's notice to rush off to scare away the birds or weed the crops; the school-master, equally ready to break up the rude assemblage and work in the fields, is gifted with just enough knowledge to distinguish him from the mass of ignorance around, to win the respect of the villagers, and to emulate Goldsmith's pedagogue :—

> The village all declared how much he knew :
> 'Twas certain he could write, and cipher too ;
> *Lands he could measure*, terms and tides presage,
> And even the story ran, that he could guage.

Let us next consider the *Persian* schools. I. The attendance at these institutions is next largest after the Hindi schools. A considerable proportion of the pupils are of course Mussulmans; the remainder are chiefly Kayeths. The average age of entrance is about the same as in the Hindi schools, perhaps a little later. The period of pupilage is in almost all districts a year or two longer. The scholars do not often move among the rustic walks of life, but are generally those, who are likely to derive benefit from polite education, and are aspirants for public employ.

II. Of the teachers those, that are not Mussulmans, are Kayeths. The latter are generally more advanced in life than the former. Their remuneration is similar to that enjoyed by the teachers in the Hindi schools; but their average income is in almost every district much higher. It generally varies from five to eight rupees per mensem. The same rule holds

good in Bengal and Behar. From Mr. Adam's report it appears that the income averaged in

Behar.....	Tirhút	Rs.	3	0	0
	South Behar	„	5	2	0
Bengal.....	Burdwan	„	6	10	8
	Birbhúm	„	6	6	1
	Murshedabad	„	8	14	1

They are seldom agriculturists, and usually look upon tuition as a profession. They are often also the dependents of one of their chief constituents, whose children they educate, and in whose house they hold their school, being allowed to teach other children at the same time. They are consequently more at the command of an individual, and are less likely to be susceptible of general influence, or to partake of popular improvement, than the teachers in Hindi schools. The same remark has been found applicable to Bengal and Behar. Mr. Adam thus expresses himself :—" It may be remarked that the Persian teachers as a class are much superior in intelligence to the Bengali and Hindi teachers; but they are much more frequently the retainers or dependents of single families or individual patrons, and, being thus held by a sort of domestic tie, they are less likely to engage in the prosecution of a general object." With the Persian teachers of these provinces, the period of incumbency is longer than with the Hindi teachers.

III. The "Muktub" is generally the private house of one of the principal supporters of the school. Sometimes a mosque or *imambarah* is used for this purpose. A regular school-house is not often to be seen. Under these circumstances, the school must be somewhat transitory, but not like the Hindi schools "varium et mutabile *semper*"—not liable to such constant interruptions, because both masters and pupils have less manual labour and less out-of-door work to do. Nor is the attendance consequently so fluctuating, or so dependent on the changes of the seasons. In the same way the period of duration is longer, and the school has more of a "local habitation and a name." Also, the schools are more confined to towns and large villages, and less scattered over the face of the country.

IV. The instruction is literary rather than practical. It embraces Grammar, Composition, even Rhetoric, the study of approved and popular authors, modes of address, epistolary forms, and official technicalities. A little poetry and the rudiments of history are also included in the educational course. We have not been able to make out, that in these schools any practical

work-a-day information is imparted in the shape of arithmetic, book-keeping, or any thing of that kind.

Next let us take the *Sanskrit* schools.

I. The pupils are, as might be expected, almost entirely Brahmans; the aggregate amount of attendance is much less than in either of the two classes of schools already adverted to; the usual age of attendance is decidedly later; and the period of pupilage longer than in either of the above cases.

II. The teachers are always Brahmans, and they generally give gratuitous instruction. Every Brahman is considered to be entitled to instruction in the sacred tongue free of cost. A Brahman has so many ways of extracting alms from the public, is gifted with such an inherent power of raising perquisites, that he can well afford to acknowledge that it is the duty of every Brahman to teach, in the same way that every Brahman has a right to be taught. In the Agra district, the occupations of most of the Sanskrit teachers are thus described:—"The others teach gratuitously, and support themselves by copying almanacs, officiating as priests, wandering about, reciting the Puranas, or by fees received at weddings and public assemblies, or by divinations." Sometimes they are supported by contributions, and sometimes receive remuneration in kind.

III. As to the school-house, that sometimes is as changeable as in the former classes of schools. The school-master often holds the school in his own dwelling, seldom in the private residences of any of his constituents, occasionally in *chauparis* (village town-halls), temples, or hired apartments in shops. The schools are consequently more fixed and permanent. In the Futtehpur district, it is stated that the "Sanskrit schools are without comparison more permanent than any other species, as the average of the period, during which the present teachers have been employed in their respective schools, is above thirteen years; and many of the institutions have been conducted by their forefathers.

IV. In the course of study, three elements are almost invariably to be found, namely, grammar, astrology, and the study of the Puranas: often a little lexicology, medicine, witchcraft, ceremonies of observances, are added. At Azimgurh, arithmetic appears to be taught. Mr. Fink, speaking of Sanskrit education in the district of Agra, remarks that "a proof of the decline of school learning and Vernacular education may be derived from a comparison of their present condition with the limits prescribed in the Shastras to the study of the former by the different castes of the Hindus. The study of the Law

and of the six schools of Philosophy, which are the peculiar inheritance of the Brahmanical caste, is now neglected; while grammar, lexicology, poetical and dramatic literature, rhetoric, astrology, and medicine, to which even the Sudras were permitted access, are now monopolized by that caste. The Brahmans then possess in point of learning the position, which the lowest were once allowed to occupy; and the lower castes have suffered a corresponding declension in the scale of education." These remarks are very pertinent and just with regard to provincial education; or, in Anglo-Indian parlance, to Sanskrit as taught in the Mofussil. But they must not be understood, as they were not meant, to apply to Sanskrit as taught in large towns, and at the public colleges. In those districts, where the course of study has been looked into, or the qualifications of teachers and the attainments of pupils have been examined, the standard appears to be low. The pundits have sometimes turned out incompetent, and the students unable to explain what they learnt. It does not appear that any sound knowledge, even to the most limited extent, is ever acquired. The pupil learns by rote from the master's mouth the meaning of the particular passage he is reading, without attempting to master the grammatical construction. The Agra and Azimgurh examinations proved this point. Neither does much attention seem to be given to poetry. The inattention to this branch was pointed out at Azimgurh as a matter of regret. What progress may have been made at Azimgurh in arithmetic, does not appear. Setting these branches aside, what can be said for the other branches of study? The astrology, in which the students do perhaps attain some proficiency, is worse than useless, nay positively injurious. The medical science of the Hindus can be of little practical benefit.

As for the Puranas, they contain a great deal which no European Government could be desirous to teach or diffuse. It is evident that they are studied simply as a means of qualification for the performance of religious duties.

Of the schools, where Sanscrit and Hindi are taught together, much need not be said. It must not be presumed from the existence of such schools, that there subsists any connexion between the two branches of study, or that the one leads to the other. Such is not the case. Mr. Adam took some pains to prove that no such relation was to be observed in the lower Provinces. They do no exist in every district. No distinct notice is required of their condition, inasmuch as they combine the characteristics ascribed above to the Hindi and Sanskrit schools separately.

Arabic schools are to be met with in small numbers almost every where. Both teachers and pupils are of course Mussulmans. The schools are usually permanent. The teachers are not highly remunerated. The course of study simply consists in learning portions of the Koran (a few Siparas) by heart, without understanding what they mean. It may be observed that six girls' schools, belonging to this class, were found in the city of Delhi (vide Appendix F. to General Report for 1846-47); they were all situated in one quarter of the town, were conducted by Punjabi women, and attended by girls of the same class. They were almost, we believe, solitary instances.

Even from this brief survey of the characteristics, which distinguish the various classes of schools, it is apparent that as yet the agricultural population have done but little to educate themselves; and that nearly the whole of this great work is yet before them. The only one of the great landholding castes, that possesses any thing like education, is the Brahman caste. The Mussulmans and Kayeths are to a certain extent educated; but they form but a diminutive portion of the whole. The Rajput caste certainly contributes some pupils to that number, which, we have seen, forms so small a per-centage of the juvenile population fit for education. But many, many, castes are not blessed even with the feeblest ray of light: and the first attempts, that were made to penetrate this mass of darkness, were received with sinister suspicion, and were made the objects of superstitious jealousy. In Futtehpur, Allahabad, and Agra, the people concocted some preposterous legends about universal proselytism. At Muradabad, the school-masters had an impression that the investigation would destroy their livelihood, and at first withheld all the information they possessed. In many districts the ghost of the old bug-bear was conjured up again—some monster poll-tax must be in contemplation! So the people thought when the census was begun, and so they always think when any general enquiry is set on foot. But in one district the investigation communicated a wonderful impetus to education; and a number of new schools started into existence just after its commencement.

In the foregoing pages various points of resemblance between the schools of the Upper and Lower Provinces have been incidentally adverted to. There are yet several topics in regard to which comparisons might be advantageously drawn.

It is clear from Mr. Adam's educational returns that the revolution, which has every where been more or less wrought in

Hinduism, has especially manifested itself in Bengal. There indigenous education, scanty though it be, has spread itself through all castes, from the highest to the lowest, in a manner which shows how much the levelling process has been carried on, and how much the disruption of social barriers has been effected. A tolerable proportion of the scholars belong to the lowest castes. And further these low-born scholars frequent not only the Hindi and Bengali, but the Persian, schools also; and sometimes even teach in the latter, as well as in the former. On the other hand Mussulman scholars and teachers are to be found in the Hindi and Bengali schools. The Kayasthas (or Kayeths), who once enjoyed the exclusive privilege of teaching, now find their vantage ground invaded, not only by high, but by low-caste, Hindus, and even by Mussulmans. Nor have the Brahmans a complete monopoly even in the Sanskrit department. Some of the teachers belong to the medical caste, and among students a certain proportion own other castes besides the Brahmanical one. In many cases also the Brahmans learn Persian. This amalgamation however has not proceeded so far in Behar. There the boundary marks of ages have been partially preserved. Sanskrit is confined to the Brahmans; Vernacular teaching to the Kayeths; Persian to the Mussulmans; and utter ignorance to the low castes.

The North Western Provinces in these respects rather resemble Behar than Bengal. There the Sanskrit teachers and scholars are entirely Brahmans. The Brahmanical caste has admitted no intruders within their inviolate precincts. Nor have they ever joined in the study of the Mussulman language. The Kayeths have not kept their ancient prerogative quite intact; but their duties are shared by no other caste except the Brahmans. In the department of Mussulman education, they have gained ground, and are the only Hindu caste who teach Persian. The appearance of any other Hindu caste, as pupils in these schools, is rare. The Mussulmans do not venture out of their own sphere, nor do they ever figure either as teachers or scholars in the Hindi schools; as for the inferior castes, the numerical proportion of any caste, except Brahmans, Kayeths, Rajputs, and Bunniahs, is too small to be calculated; and the presence of low-caste scholars is a thing unknown. So that there is a liberality of sentiment (we might call it latitudinarianism) pervading indigenous education in Bengal, which is not to be met with in the N. W. Provinces.

The indigenous schools of Bengal also excel those of the Upper Provinces in respect of the instruction given. We have before stated that in the Hindi schools of the N. W. Provinces,

instruction is limited to accounts, commercial and agricultural. For Bengal and Behar, Mr. Adam gives the following table :—

	Native Schools, in which written works are employed.	Native Schools, in which written works are not employed.
Murshedabad	39	28
Birbhúm	13	398
Burdwan	426	190
South Behar	2	283
Tirhút	11	68

The two latter districts belong to Behar, and, as before remarked, resemble the Upper rather than the Lower Provinces. Mr. Adam observes that "with regard to the nature of these works, the employment of the Amara Kosha, the Ashta Sabdi, Ashta Dhatu, Sabda Subanta, and the verses of Chanakya, as school-books in some of the Vernacular schools of the Bengal districts, indicates a higher grade of instruction, than that previously believed to exist in these schools. With the exception of the verses of Chanakya, the other works mentioned are grammatical; and their use is said to have been at one time general, which would imply that they are the remains of a *former superior* system of popular instruction." It will be interesting to prosecute this latter point of enquiry, and to ascertain (if possible) how far popular instruction of former ages excelled that of the present. But we apprehend that the extension of knowledge to the lowest castes must be the fruit of purely modern times. There are no data for inferring that the state of indigenous education in the Upper Provinces was ever otherwise than at present, except that there are grounds for supposing that the schools have increased numerically of late years. Such was proved to be the case at Delhi, where some educational records of the year 1826 were discovered.

The manner, in which Mr. Adam speaks of the Sanskrit instruction in the Lower Provinces, indicates that the pundits are more learned, and the scholars better grounded in what they acquire, than in the Upper Provinces. Mr. Adam shows by some tables, that those who avail themselves principally of Vernacular

education, belong determinately neither to the agricultural nor to the commercial community, and may be considered as a non-descript class, who expect to gain their livelihood as writers, accountants, &c. This rule is applicable to the N. W. Provinces, especially so far as it implies that Vernacular education is at present but little sought for by the purely agricultural classes.

We proceed to offer a few remarks on the respective uses and relative advantages of the four great classes of indigenous schools established in the N. W. Provinces.

The *Hindi* class of schools is undoubtedly the most practical and comprehensive in its effects, and extends its influence to the greatest number of people. It supplies just the information, which the agriculturists want. It invariably flourishes most in the rural villages and in the purely agricultural parts of the country. The schools are represented, by those who have examined them, to be capable, nay readily susceptible, of amelioration. They are, in their very nature and constitution, open to improvement. The institutions are transitory; therefore they want support. The teachers are poorer than those of the other schools; therefore they most need assistance. They are neither incumbered, nor over-awed by the prejudices of priesthood, sect, ceremonial religion, or superstition; therefore they are more likely to accept advice. Government is able to supply all these desiderata. And, in return, these schools are able to teach those people, whom Government most wishes to be taught.

The *Persian* schools are mainly kept up by that class, from whom Government draws most of its employeés. The attainments of the pupils are merely linguistic. They are pronounced, by those who have observed them most, to be not capable of material improvement. There is little or no chance of making them better than they are. They stand less in need of extraneous assistance. The advantage then of their being aided by Government at any cost or trouble is questionable. At the same time their existence is not without its use, supposing that they tend in any way to spread a knowledge of Persian among the landholders. Mr. Adam says that, in the Lower Provinces, "Persian must be pronounced to have a strong hold upon native society." Such was also the case a few years ago in the Upper Provinces; but of late years the Delhi Society has done much to supplant Persian and to substitute Urdu. Persian is of course the key to Urdu: the written character of the two languages is the same. And Urdu is the legal and the fiscal language of the country—the special tongue of that class, which furnishes the officials of Government. Mr. Fink,

in his first report on the Agra district, enters at some length into this subject, and recommends that the Persian schools be excluded from the patronage of Government, on the ground that the Persian and Urdu languages are worse than useless, and should be forthwith abolished. There are few things more difficult, even for the most powerful Government to accomplish, than the abolition of the language spoken by any portion of its subjects: and, as there is no probability of Urdu falling into desuetude, the landholders are immediately interested in acquiring that tongue. We think with Mr. Fink that the Persian schools are undeserving of Government support; but we think so, not because Persian and Urdu are unworthy to be taught, but because the schools will not accept the practical improvements which might be grafted upon them, and because the object in view, namely, the diffusion of Urdu, may be effected in another and a better way.

The *Sanskrit* schools, if they could be made to work with any efficiency, might be really useful. Some languages are so admirable in their structure, that they offer the finest field of exercise for the human intellect. Sanskrit is certainly one of these. Its lexicology undoubtedly tends to elevate and enlarge the Hindi dialects; and thus rich resources would be thrown open to people, who are precluded by inborn taste and prejudice from learning any other tongue except the cognate languages of Hinduism, and have therefore no other means of improving the medium through which they think and convey their thoughts. But schools, like those which have been hitherto tested (we mean of course the *village* Sanskrit schools), can do no good to any one. One advantage however is conferred by all Sanskrit schools. They popularize the Nagri character. The common Hindi or Kaythi character varies exceedingly. It is at the best uncertain, and is often illegible. But it is of course perfectly possible to teach Hindi at the schools in the Nagri character.

The indigenous *Arabic* schools require no comment, the instruction given in them being merely parrot-learning and "cram"-knowledge.

The preceding considerations lead us to the conclusion that of all the existing schools by far the most important are the Hindi. They are evidently the medium through which any momentum must be primarily communicated to the popular mass. Of the other two classes, the Persian schools, though not without their advantages, are, on the whole, but little deserving of patronage; and the Sanskrit may as well be left alone,

unless they can be placed on a different footing, and made to change their *modus operandi*.

It remains to be seen what effect the new Government plan will produce upon existing institutions, and what further improvements it will originate.

In Paragraph 15 of the Resolution, it is stated that the "sanction of the Hon'ble Court of Directors at present authorizes the introduction of the scheme into eight districts." The following are the districts selected :—Agra, Muttra, Mynpurí, Etawah, Furruckabad, Allygurh, Bareilly, Shahjehanpur. It will be remembered that operations had been already commenced partially in five districts, namely, Agra, Muttra, Mynpurí, Bareilly, and Benares. These are all included in the present scheme, except Benares, which is pronounced to be too distant from the other districts. We observe also that indigenous education in that district appears to be at a very low ebb. It has only ninety-five schools; whereas some districts, such as Bareilly, have nearly five hundred, and several districts have between three hundred and four hundred. It is not here intended to institute any accurate comparison, inasmuch as the relative size of districts, the number of villages, &c., should be taken into account. But at all events, there would be but comparatively few schools in the Benares district to work upon. Of the eight districts now selected, it will be observed that the five first, namely, Agra, Muttra, Mynpurí, Etawah, and Furruckabad, belong to, (and in fact comprise the whole of) the Agra Division. The reason of the selection is clear. In these the pioneers of education had been working; and all five lie compactly together, and are close to the seat of Government, under the immediate eye of the highest authorities. One, namely, Allygurh, belongs to the Mírut division, but it is conterminous with the above-mentioned districts, and is near to Agra. The remaining two, namely, Shahjehanpur and Bareilly, belong to Rohilcund. The latter had been the scene of former operations. One of the most influential and flourishing of the Government schools is situated there. The district can boast of more indigenous schools than any district in the provinces; and great interest in native education has been evinced by the local officers. We are not aware that Shahjehanpur possesses any special recommendation; but it contains a large number of schools, and is contiguous to Bareilly.

The agency, through which the scheme is to be carried out in these several districts, is thus constituted in Paragraph 7 :—
"There will be a Government village school at the head quar-

ters of every Tuhsildar. In every two or more Tuhsildaris, there will be a Pergunnah visitor; over these a Zillah visitor in each district; and over all a Visitor General for the whole of the Provinces."

The Government village schools are to be constituted as follows:—The school-master is to draw a salary of from ten to twenty rupees per mensem; besides which, he may collect what fees he can from his scholars. Thus, in point of position and emolument, these school-masters will be better off than any of the most-favoured school-masters of the indigenous schools, and five times better paid than the Hindi teachers, who usually scrape together only three rupees per mensem. The course of instruction is to consist of reading and writing the Hindi and Urdu languages, accounts, and mensuration of land according to the native method; and, whenever practicable, instruction is to be added in the elements of geography, history, and general subjects.

The remarkable feature in this course is the introduction of the Urdu language. We do not find in any of the reports the reason stated for the non-existence of any Urdu schools. The same want of Urdu schools is perceptible in Bengal and Behar. Mr. Adam remarks thereon as follows:—"The absence of Urdu schools for the Mussulman population, corresponding with the Bengali and Hindi schools for the Hindus, may explain in some measure the great degradation and ignorance of the lower class of Mussulmans, when compared with the corresponding portion of the Hindu population; and the first step to their improvement must be to supply this defect." We have before explained the reason for concluding that Urdu is a language, which all landholders, who wish to look after their own concerns, must learn. Persian schools are useful only so far forth as they contribute to diffuse the knowledge of Urdu: but the best way to attain that end is to establish Urdu schools at once. In them, arithmetic, mensuration and other practical sciences can be conveniently taught; whereas the Persian schools will not suffer the introduction of these useful branches into their system. The best plan therefore obviously is to go straight to the fountain-head, to found Urdu schools, and let them supersede entirely the Persian.

We have pointed out the importance to landholders of the Settlement papers and the Collector's record. It vitally concerns them to consult these papers, and they are all written in Urdu. We have shown that it is the landholder's interest to understand the revenue system. Now the regulations, circulars,

notifications, Government orders, &c., are all written in Urdu. The *Government Gazette* is translated into Urdu. This language is therefore quite as necessary to landholders as Hindi. Its introduction into the Government system of Vernacular education is a novelty, and a great step in the path of improvement; but these schools are not in any way to rival or interfere with the indigenous schools already established by private exertions. To prevent any such contingency, the terms of admission are to be higher than those usually demanded in the village schools. Free admissions are only to be granted under special circumstances. In the Agra district, it had been discovered, that the free admission to the Government school injured the attendance at the indigenous schools; and it was also found that this gratis system crowded the institution with the lower orders, while the higher orders, who could pay, were deterred by the fear of unworthy associations. (See Mr. Fink's Report). In several parts of the country it has been observed that the teachers of the indigenous schools had been alumni of the Government institutions. In the same way it may be reasonably hoped, that in the Tuhsildari schools may be formed a nucleus, from which teachers may be drawn to scatter enlightenment among the villagers. A set of competent teachers is a great desideratum. The Hindi teachers are universally represented as rude and ignorant: and Urdu teachers there are none. One of the most approved portions of Lord John Russell's late educational plan was that which provided for the school-master's station, emoluments, and respectability. Government has done much, and seems likely to do more, to provide a class of qualified teachers. It rests with the people to give them employment.

The duties of the Pergunnah Visitor are varied and important. They have but little to do with the Tuhsildari schools; their business lies in the villages. They are to visit all the towns and villages in their jurisdiction, and to ascertain what means of instruction exist. Where there is no school, they will urge the people to found one; they will aid in procuring a qualified teacher: they will provide books. They are to examine and encourage all schools which they find in existence, and to communicate with the teachers. Wherever these offers of assistance are accepted, the schools are to be placed on their lists: necessary books would be procured for them, the boys would be examined, the most deserving noted, rewarded, and granted free admissions to the Tuhsildari schools. Meritorious teachers are also to be rewarded, and vested with the power of granting these

admissions. The Pergunnah Visitors are to receive from 20 to 40 Rs. a month.

Over the Pergunnah Visitors will be placed a Zillah Visitor in each district, on a salary of 100 to 200 Rs. per mensem. He is to carefully overlook the Tuhsildari schools, and to hold periodical examinations. He will see that the Pergunnah Visitors do their duty, will test their reports, and decide on the bestowal of the prizes they may recommend. A sum of 500 Rs. per annum is to be placed at his disposal for distribution in this manner. He is to furnish an annual report on the state of education throughout the district. The Pergunnah Visitor's statements will of course form the basis of this compilation; but he is expected to make investigations on his own part. These enquiries will comprehend every kind of education, public or private, whether conducted in the families of individuals or in schools, whether included or not in the Pergunnah Visitor's list. The nature of the various kinds of instruction is also to be specified. He is further to be the agent for the distribution and sale of school-books, and will receive a commission of 10 per cent. on all the sales which he may effect. These officers are in a position to do much good. The results, which attended the labours of Mr. Fink and his native assistants in the district of Agra, may furnish a fair criterion of what may be accomplished by means similar to those now placed at the disposal of the Zillah and Pergunnah Visitors. Mr. Fink and his subordinates constantly visited all the villages which supported schools. They distributed books, awarded prizes, obtained free admissions for the most deserving scholars to the Government schools, procured efficient teachers, and exposed incompetent teachers. The period of the experiment commenced in April 1844, and closed in April 1847. Mr. Fink died during the course of the latter year. The total number of indigenous schools rose during this period from 225 to 284; the total number of scholars from 1,999 to 3,061. Each successive year added about one-fourth to the aggregate number. The year 1848, when the guiding hand was removed, exhibited a slight decrease.

The present scheme would influence in a similar manner the following number of indigenous schools already existing:—

	In the Agra Division		1,003
	„ District of Allygurh.....	}	296
	„ Mirut Division		
Rohilcund Division.	„ District of Shàjehànpur		452
	„ Bareilly.....		276
	Total ...		2,027

We are unable to state the exact number of Tuhsildaris in the eight districts, and therefore we cannot estimate accurately the number of new schools which will be established; but we will venture to say that, on an average, there are not less than six Tuhsildaris for each district, and probably seven. However take six as the number, and that will give forty-eight schools for the eight districts.

We may judge of the untouched ground, which lies open for the exertions of the Zillah and Pergunnah visitors, by the following figures:—*

In Muttra there are 9,960 towns and villages *without* (not having) schools.
„ Mynpúrí..... ... 1,880
„ Etawah 1,460
„ Agra 1,296
„ Furruckabad ... 1,845
„ Shajehanpur ... 2,718
„ Bareilly 3,698
„ Allygurh ..... 1,780—24,132, total number of villages, towns, &c. *without* schools.

There would then be eight Zillah visitors and some thirty Pergunnah visitors. These officers will have to assist and encourage about 2,000 schools already existing; and besides, they are to administer persuasion, and to endeavour to diffuse education among twenty thousand towns and villages, that have no school whatever. Verily it cannot be said that their sphere is a contracted one!

The Visitor General is to supply the subordinate agency, and to supervise the working of the whole, and to furnish an annual report on the state of education in the several districts under his charge. He will have the power of granting free admissions to the Government colleges to a certain number of the most promising youths, who come under his notice. To this office a covenanted Civilian has been appointed. The revenue authorities are to lend their most cordial assistance; and operations are to be conducted as much as possible in concert with them. It is clear from this that the support of the most influential authorities is to be directed towards the furtherance of the scheme. It was represented by Mr. Fink, that native officials were likely to offer secret and indirect opposition to the spread of education among the people, inas-

* The number for Muttra (taken from the tabular appendix to Report for 1847-48) appears unintelligibly large. The number of *mouzahs* as given in the statistical manual, is 1,029, and the number of towns and villages inhabited and uninhabited is 1,019. If this number, viz. 9,960, should be materially wrong, as we suspect it is, a considerable diminution must be allowed in our sum total of towns and villages without schools.

much as it was their interest to be the sole possessors of knowledge. We do not think that much apprehension need ever have been entertained on this score. A few Putwaris might perhaps offer their mite of opposition; some of them shrewdly remarked to Mr. Fink, that their occupation would be gone, when Zemindars could read and write. Even had not the revenue authorities been enjoined to render every practicable aid, the appointment of a Civil Servant would be quite sufficient to crush anything like active opposition, directly or indirectly offered. He will necessarily have had practice in revenue matters, will be conversant with the agency employed by Government, will have been habituated to controul native subordinates, and will have acquired some insight into the character of the agricultural population. The principal enemy to be striven against is a passive one, namely, the *vis inertiæ* of the people. We shall conclude this summary of the Government scheme by quoting at length the twelfth paragraph of the Resolution:—"It will be observed that this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying them with the means of instruction at the cost of Government. Persuasion, assistance, encouragement, are to be the means principally employed. The greatest consideration is to be shown to the feelings and prejudices of the people; and no interference is ever to be exercised, where it is not desired by those who conduct the institutions. The success of this scheme will chiefly appear in the number and character of the indigenous schools which may be established. The poor may be persuaded to combine for the support of a teacher; the rich may be encouraged to support schools for their poorer neighbours; and all the schools, that are established, may be assisted, improved, and brought forward."

Imperfect as our treatment of the various matters involved in this great question may have been, yet enough has perhaps been written to show that the primary object of this educational scheme, namely, the rousing of the people to exertion by means of their interest in the land, is the crowning point and the corner-stone of our revenue system. The agricultural population are fortunate in having thus placed before them the happiest of all motives to exertion, the adjudication and definition of their dearest rights. *Fortunati nimium, sua si bona nôrint, agricolæ.* The law can only help those who will help themselves; the Government has accorded rights, which it rests with the people themselves to preserve. That most powerful of all weapons—knowledge, limited though it be, is now offered to the landholders. Will

they grasp it? Will they wield it for their own welfare? Who, that looks upon Western Europe, can despair? From what has been, we see what may be accomplished. Vast as are the difficulties which meet us here, can they be more vast than those which met the reformers of landed tenures, and the ministers of education in France, Germany, Prussia, or Switzerland? In India* the agriculturists form so large a portion of the whole population, and the mode, in which the land-tax is levied, does so keenly and directly affect their daily comfort, that revenue reforms gladden the hearts and brighten the homes of a people, and are for ever freshly and affectionately remembered. The deeds of the Great Moguls, their public works, their roads, their canals, their dykes, have all but perished: a few ruins are all that remain "to say 'here was or is:'" but the revenue system of Akbar Shah—*that* is not forgotten: the remembrance of it lives in the minds of a grateful nation. So also, if vernacular education should consolidate our revenue system, should render the landholders themselves capable of guarding the rights assigned to them at the Settlement, and of bequeathing the inheritance to their children, then we may believe that, in a future age, when the British rule may have passed away, when our roads, canals, and colleges may have been mingled with the dust, yet the good settlement will not be forgotten by posterity. It is to be devoutly hoped that those, who are entrusted with the carrying out of this educational scheme, which may add so much to the usefulness and stability of our fiscal arrangements, will catch some portion of the spirit of those great men, who have laboured so successfully for the agricultural populations of Europe—of the Steins and the Hardenbergs of the past, of the Pestalozzis, the Vehrlis, the Fellenbergs, the Ottos of the present; and that in this, as in all other measures, may be exhibited the feeling of the new national anthem—"God save the People.'

* In the N. W. P. out of a total population of twenty-three millions, fifteen millions are agricultural.

ART. VII.—*Raja-tarangini, Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer. Paris.* 1840.

REFERENCE has been made in a former number of this *Review* to Kashmir, as connected with recent events, and with its political relations to the Panjab. The object of this article is to call attention to the condition and history of this lovely valley, previous to the Muhammadan conquest of India—a period, which, though not pregnant in events interesting to the lovers of modern history, may suggest various topics of useful thought, for those who are fond of exploring the obscurities of Indian affairs in the days of the Ramayan and Mahabharat.

The light thrown on the former state of India by the Mackenzie MSS., the disclosures made by Buddhist travellers, linguistic investigations, &c. shew that knowledge and civilization spread in India from North to South. The English are the only conquerors of India, who have reversed this process by proceeding from the South. The others established the chief seat of their power in or near Central India. All the great scenes recorded in those interesting epics, the Ramayan and Mahabharat, and in the beautiful dramatic writings of the Hindus, are laid in *Ariavarta*, or the land between the Vindhya Hills and the Panjab. And Central India, the land so fully brought to our notice in *Tod's Rajasthan*, was the country round which the events clustered, which told on the great destinies of India.

The information, communicated by Professor Wilson in his admirable Essay on Kashmir, and by M. Troyer, seems to indicate that the beautiful valley of Kashmir, secluded from the gaze of the world, and removed from the line of the conqueror's route, formerly served as a *point d' appui* for the efforts of the religious and political conquerors, who poured down on India from the plains of Ariana. Religious propagandists in India, like the monks of the middle ages, often chose for their seats such sequestered nooks: thus Tamluk on the borders of the Sunderbunds, "the holy city of Buddhism"—Parasnath, the lovely hill to the north of Burdwan, "the Sinai of the Jains"—Bali, in the Eastern Archipelago, to whose recesses the persecuted Brahmans of Java and the Eastern isles retired—with many other similar spots, were the favored nuclei, from which streams of moral and social influence flowed over different parts of the continent of India. The wonderful discoveries made of late by ethnological research and philological affinities invariably point to the North as the focus of civilization. Ritter, the greatest geographer perhaps of the present age, considers Kashmir with

Butan and Thibet, to be the intellectual cradle of the Hindus, though even those places were not the primeval sources of their civilization. The Brahminical tribes, when they crossed the Hindu Kush, like the Pilgrim Fathers landing in New England, carried with them the seeds of a prior civil and religious polity, sufficient to indicate that it is vain for the votaries of Hinduism to boast of their religion having always been indigenous to the feelings and views of the masses of Indian population. They crossed the Hindu Kush, and settled as invading foreigners among the prostrate Sudras of the north of India.

As an illustration of these, and other kindred subjects, we know few books, in modern times, that are likely to prove of such utility as the work on Kashmir by Kalhana, the Pandit.

M. Troyer, the Editor of a valuable edition of this work, was formerly Secretary to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. With the aid afforded him there by learned Pandits, he completed this translation of the *Raja-tarangini* from Sanskrit into French, which has been published at the expense of that useful body, the Asiatic Society of Paris. He possessed the advantage of being able to consult various eminent Pandits, who have since died, but have left few successors equal to them in historical or antiquarian lore. In fact, we think that the interests of Sanskrit literature are quite as well upheld by the Pandits of Nadiya, as by those of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta. Certainly the alumni of the latter institution are very deficient in historical and geographical information; and we should think the study of such a work, as the *Raja-tarangini*, as a part of their College course, would contribute very much to guide their minds into the channel of historical research, in which Pandits take very little interest. The Hindu mind, involved in the mysteries of metaphysics, treated with contempt historical studies, as conversant only with the shadows of time—*Máyá*, while the learned aimed at the abstractions of pure psychological truth. At the same time they were singularly inconsistent in being so attached to poetry;—for even their *Dictionaries* and codes of Law are indited in verse. In the dearth of Sanskrit historical works, these beautiful mirrors of Indian life, the Sanskrit Dramas, which Professor Wilson has brought so effectively before the world, afford us valuable hints on various points, connected with Hindu society —the manners of a court—the liberty allowed to females, &c.; while, in the beauty and richness of their similes and imagery, the knowledge shewn of human nature and human passions, they may rank with the productions of Alfieri, Racine, Calderon, Goethe, or even of our own Shakespeare.

Kalhana, one of the writers of the *Raja-tarangini*, "the Orpheus of the valley," was the son of the Prime Minister of Kashmir, and lived in the twelfth century. He was a contemporary and fellow-countryman of Soma Deva, the author of the *Vrihat Katha*, a work containing a most interesting series of tales in Sanskrit, which throw much light on the manners and religion of the Hindus, and in fact furnished materials for the *Arabian Nights*. They have been printed, with a translation in German, by Brockhaus of Paris. Harsha Deva, the author of the *Naishadh Charitra*, was also a fellow-countryman of his.

Kalhana was an enthusiastic admirer of poetry, and composed, in verse, "The daughter of Memory," his history, which was compiled from the works of seventeen historians, who preceded him, as well as from the archives of the temples. Like his fellow-countrymen, he was well versed in metaphysics, which he describes as being "a mine containing many precious stones, which, when free from incrustations, can be wrought into jewels for the enrichment of the world." The Buddhist system, in its history and doctrines, was also familiar to him. In the faithfulness of his descriptions, he certainly does not stand inferior to any modern historian, and would often obtain the preference in point of impartiality. Kalhana was no mere hero-worshipper, though living in a slavish day, when the doctrine of "the right divine of Kings to govern wrong" was held all over the world; yet he boldly states his opinions on these subjects. "In all ages, Poets and Kings enrich their possessions by plundering. The former steal verse, the latter the goods of another.—A king destroys him, who has served to elevate him to his dignity, as a wood-cutter hews down the trunk of the tree, which has enabled him to command a view of the forest.—Who will not become a prey to kings, when their cupidity is excited, as ants become the spoil of the smooth tongue of the porcupine?—The lion kills even while crouching, the adder in embracing, the Vetala in laughing, the king while praising."

Kalhana, though immeasurably inferior to Kalidas, the Indian Shakespeare, in beauty of expression, yet, like orientals in general, uses "variety of similes." We give a few specimens. A king, not controlled by his ministers, is compared to a "diamond, that is not cut by other minerals, but itself cuts precious stones." Aryaraja, who, like Charles V., abdicated the throne, and refused to become king again, "raised his eyes to heaven, and was content with the empire of his soul; he never resumed the reins of power, as a snake does not take the slough, which it has once cast away." "Rajah Siddha could not contract any defilement,

though surrounded with sensual pleasures, as the image of the moon is not soiled by the filth, from which it is reflected." "The King Parvarasena did not associate with his neighbours, as the lotus, delighting in the favour of the sun, shuns any immersion in the water." "Fortune unites herself to King Chandrapida, leaving defects with other kings, as a river deposits its muddy particles on its mountain route, and mixes its purified waters with the ocean."

We will not compare Kalhana, for obvious reasons, with the modern historians of Europe; but he certainly may rank with such writers as Ferdusi, and Abul Fazil; and, considering the disadvantages he laboured under, the age in which he lived, and his little intercourse with foreigners, he may be entitled to say like Ovid—

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

His history of Kashmir will ever remain as a proof of the capabilities of Hindus (when they choose to exert them) for historic writing.

Circumstances connected with this work of Kalhana's, point out the importance of orientalists at present using every effort, in order to secure the preservation of MSS. Although this MS. was formerly so common, that every Hindu family of rank possessed a copy, and though it was translated into Persian by order of the Emperor Akbar, who encouraged in various ways translations from the Sanskrit into Persian, yet forty years ago there were *only three* authentic copies extant; and one of these was procured by Moorcroft from a Pandit, as a mark of gratitude for his having cured him of what was considered an incurable disease. It is most singular that no enquiries, to our knowledge, have ever been made respecting the MSS. deposited with Pandits in Nadiya, though for six centuries it has been the chosen resort of the learned from all parts of Bengal, and no doubt various hidden treasures may be brought to light in this as in other places. Let the Asiatic Society of Bengal take up the subject of the collection of MSS., with a kindred zeal to that of Colonel Mackenzie in Southern India, or of Colonel Tod in the North, and we feel assured, that ere long documents, as valuable as the *Raja-tarangini*, will be forthcoming, as well in Kashmir, as in Bengal. No aid in this, we fear, is to be expected from the Government of Bengal, who at present seem to prefer that their most valuable papers should rot in their archives, rather than allow them to be used for the advancement of science and literature. But in marked contrast to this, the Government of the North Western Provinces have shewn a very different spirit, and have encouraged, by every means in their power, statistical and oriental research.

That the history of Kashmir runs back to so early a period as fifteen centuries B. C. (Herodotus makes mention of Kashmir), may seem incredible to some; but this date is not so very improbable, when we consider that the streams of religion and civilization, like the waters of the Ganges, have proceeded from North to South. The settlement of Agastya in the South, the foundation of the Pandyan and Chola kingdoms, Ram's expedition to Ceylon, (like the French expedition to Algiers, a chastisement of savage tribes)—all took place at least ten centuries before Christ; and, though in the history of the Back Wood Settlements of North America, we have extraordinary instances of the rapidity with which colonization progresses, yet in ancient days, matters moved on a far more moderate scale. Now, taking the data derived from the *Raghu Vansa* and other works, it must have occupied a considerable time, previous to the tenth century B. C., before Brahmanism could have penetrated from Aria Varta (Central India) and Kashmir to the Dekhan, even making full allowance for the victorious armies of Ram, which, though like Napoleon's, they may have over-run a continent, would yet require other and more permanent influences to establish a national faith.

The history of Kashmir becomes important at the time, which may be reckoned the commencement of the historic age in India—the war of the Mahabharat, when the races of Northern contended for the prize of empire with Southern India; in fact the Pandava race, which acted so prominent a part in the war of the Mahabharat, was probably of Kashmirian origin, as there is strong historical evidence in favour of the fact that Pandu was a native of "the happy valley." The early existence of Brahminical institutions in Kashmir, which were as much identified with the political supremacy of the Pandu race, as the ascendancy of Romanism in the Netherlands was with the rule of Philip II., confirms this. The assaults of the Rakshases, the fights of Suras and Asuras, though dressed up with poetic imagery, yet, when viewed in the light of historic criticism, simply refer to the struggles for religious superiority between the Brahminical invaders and the aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

At an elevation of 6,000 feet above the sea-level, surrounded by the lofty ranges of the Himalayas, whose tops are buried in everlasting snow, the valley of Kashmir presents one of the most interesting points in India to the traveller. Like the valley of Nepal, it was originally a lake, and was dried up, either in consequence of an earthquake, or by that elevating process, which has changed Bengal, from a bay into a valley. Yet, interesting as is its physical conformation, its history is equally

so, as it dates from a very remote period. We have an account in the Mahabharat that the kings of Kashmir took part in the "Great War." In modern times, its chief claims to attention have been Ranjit Sing's influence, its magnificent shawls, the beauty of its women, and its lovely scenery, which made the Emperor Jehangir declare that he would rather lose his throne than lose Kashmir. But we shall notice it now solely in connection with its history previous to the Muhammaddan invasion, and with the important work, which we have placed at the head of our article, and which is highly creditable to the judgment and indefatigable research of its editor, Monsieur Troyer. We hope that the *Raja-tarangini* will soon reach a second edition, and that the blunders made by the printers in figures, which render the references to the Sanskrit slokes in various places useless, may be corrected, and also that the editor will separate the Sanskrit words to a greater extent. Wherever the rules of Sandhi do not prevent, every word ought to be separate. The Pandits love to have the words all joined together, as it renders their aid more necessary, and gives an air of mystery to "the language of the gods;" but the object of European philologists ought to be, to open wide the portals of this magnificent language, and to facilitate by every means the study of a tongue, which is now essential even to European linguistic studies, and a key to the feelings, thoughts, and ancient condition of the vast population of India.

This history of Kashmir gives us little insight into the manners and mode of living of the *people*. The kings generally acted on the maxim of a modern ruler—*l'etat, c'est moi;* and historians seem to adopt it by filling their works with details of the butcheries and intrigues of ruthless conquerors. The only classes of women, whom Kalhana mentions, are courtesans and queens. These queens seem to have exercised on various occasions great political power, and to have ruled their ministers, as much as Elizabeth ever did. One of them Diddha, the Messalina of Kashmir, was noted for her extraordinary profligacy, rivalling any thing that is recorded of Catherine of Russia.

It is the same with the men. Indeed the very name, *Raja-tarangini* or "river of kings," indicates the existence of only two classes—despots, and serfs. The doctrine of legitimacy was the only one recognized in the valley of Kashmir, and the personal character of a monarch was regarded as nothing in comparison with his office. The notices, recorded of some of those monarchs, call before our memory the days of

Napoleon. "The people," says Kalhana, "knew of the presence of the monarch only by the birds of prey, eager to feed on the carcasses of slaughtered warriors." But Kalhana Pandit gives a view of conquerors more conformable to Christian morals, than many Christian writers do, when he describes their *glory* "though scattering everywhere its rays, yet productive of terror, like the glare of a funeral pyre." There are no such eulogies pronounced on warriors and princes by Kalhana the Brahman, as were uttered *ad nauseam* by Massillon, and the Court Preachers in the churches of "Le Grand Monarque." Many of these kings seemed to have quieted the stings of conscience, like the monarchs of the middle ages, by founding edifices for religion—Buddhist temples after a life of slaughter! Others, however, rendered eminent service to their country by the construction of canals, embankments, and roads. A question has been raised as to the period when bunds were first made in Bengal. No answer can be given to this: but we find that, perhaps 3,000 years ago in Kashmir, monarchs spent the wealth of kingdoms in constructing them on a magnificent scale, and one king lent all his royal treasures to the engineer, who erected a series of embankments round the valley. It has been stated, that, previous to the advent of Christianity, there had been no hospitals: but we find that a king of Kashmir, long anterior to that period, had established Hospitals and Dispensaries. Some of these kings, indeed, seem to have paid far greater attention to the physical comforts of their subjects, and to the making of good roads than any European conquerors have done in India. The Marquis of Wellesley is the only Governor-General, who planted trees along the sides of roads to give shade and refreshment; but it was a very common practice among the Kashmirian monarchs. It is highly creditable to Lord Ellenborough, that when the public presented him with a service of a plate, as a token of their approval of his Indian career, had his own wishes been consulted, he would have preferred the money to have been spent in planting rows of trees along the Grand Trunk Road, as a more useful memorial.

The ancient Kashmirians were well acquainted with certain branches of practical science, as the forming of embankments, mining,* coining, sculpture, and architecture. The drama, which exercised so important an influence in the development of the Hindu mind, was brought to a high state of cultivation. Learned men were highly respected. In the reign of Jayapira, "the name of a Pandit was held in greater repute than that of a king."

* The traces of mining operations, found in the Rajmahal hills and the Birbhum district, as well as in other remote parts of India, indicate, that the Hindus of former days possessed a skill in these things, which their successors have not maintained.

Another king, Matrigupta, deposited a new drama, presented to him, in a vase of gold to indicate his sense of its value. The educated classes won their way to the highest offices of the state; and we have an account of one man, who was chosen king in consequence of his profound learning. The Kashmirians are still distinguished for their manufactures of shawls and paper; but we question whether they ever attained the mechanical skill of the people of Dacca.

The recognition of the system of caste and the penalties affixed to the loss of it, in the *Raja-tarangini*, does not favour the views so ably maintained by Colonel Sykes, in his "Notes on the Ante-Mahommedan state of India," in which he advocates the opinion, that caste did not exist as a religious distinction in ancient India. Even in Hinduism, we have traces of primitive practices, in the general mixture of all classes, allowed at the festival of the Huli and in the temple of Jagannath.

The rite of Sati, "a lotus bed resplendent with flames," was practised at an early period; and we find also that the Brahminical custom, formerly so rife at Benares, of sitting *Dhurná*, was also in fashion. Sanyiasis were held in high favour, and, in the time of one of the kings, named Arya, it is stated "The articles of fashionable dress were ashes of burnt cow-dung, rosaries, and matted locks of hair."

The *Raja-tarangini* confirms the testimony, borne by the Hindu dramas, as well as by the ancient Hindu writings, to the fact, that in former days women enjoyed a considerable extent of liberty, went abroad, and exercised great influence even in a political way: thus, Damodara, one of the early kings of Kashmir, fought on account of a *Syambara*, or lady allowed to choose her husband. This was a very ancient custom. The suitors were drawn up in a line, and the lady threw a garland of flowers round the neck of the object of her choice.

Incidental light is thrown by the *Raja-tarangini* on Foreign countries: thus Benares became the Buddhistical retreat of Matrigupta, when he abdicated the throne of Kashmir: Mathura was besieged by the first king of Kashmir: Bengali pilgrims visited the temples of Kashmir: Ceylon is said to have been invaded by two kings of Kashmir, one of whom planted the banners of Kashmir on Adam's Peak: Lalitáditya, the Napoleon of Kashmir, penetrated in his career of conquest to the Tartars of the North, and the Draviras* of the South—the sources of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal witnessed the triumph of his arms, while the king of imperial Kanauj rendered him homage: Gaya paid revenue to Kashmir: Gonerda led a Kashmirian

* The people that speak Tamul.

army to the aid of Jarasandh, the King of Magadh (Bahar): Paravarasena subdued the Governor of Dacca; while Baladitya erected pillars of victory on the shores of the Bay of Bengal; and the daughter of the King of Pragyatish (Asam) was married to a King of Kashmir. Casual references of this sort, derived from various works, will enable the future historians of India to draw much safer inferences, than are at present deduced from a few books, with reference to the connexion, political, literary and social, between the different parts of India. Professor Lassen of Bonn has made a commencement in this respect in his Indische Alterthum, in which, by his indefatigable research in exploring all sources of information, Puranic or Epic, he has shed a flood of light on various obscure parts of the Mahabharat. This great work will remain a noble monument of his critical research.

The Ophite, or snake-worship, system practised by the Nagas, who were Highlanders, existed at an early period in Kashmir. It may have been the first form of religion that prevailed there, as our author states that the first line of Kashmir kings were unworthy of record, on account of their disregarding the religion of the Vedas, which perhaps refers to their being adherents to the *Naga* worship. In the days of Abul Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar, there were 700 places for snake-worship in the valley. But this superstition was not confined to the valley. The Puranas and Harivansa give many details respecting the prevalence of Ophiolatry in India. The same motive, that led the Hindus to adore objects of influence, whether for utility or destruction, would also induce them to revere the snake—"the emblem of eternity," and "symbol of life," whose poisonous power is so fatally felt in India. Traces of this primitive form of idolatry in India are still to be seen in remote districts of India, while the snake is a very common figure in Hindu temples. The image of Krishna trampling on the snake was probably designed to symbolize the overthrow of the aboriginal religion, which was destroyed by the same Brahminical power, as Parasuram used in defeating the Kshetryas. We have seen an earthen vessel, having three heads of the cobra on it, which is an object of worship in the Jessore district. The references to snake-worship are frequent in the Puranas and Mahabharat, and give clear evidence that this form of aboriginal idolatry became incorporated into the Hindu pantheon, which, like the Roman, recruited its numbers from the gods of all people, whether Buddhists, or snake-worshippers. Late years have witnessed in Bengal the adoration of *Ula-úta*, the goddess of cholera; *Sitala*, the deity of the small-pox; and *Dakshin Ray* (King of the South), the patron

against floods and tigers; but these have not been established sufficiently long to claim a niche in the same temple with Krishna and other heroes exalted into deities.

Previous to the coming of the Brahminical race into Bengal, the people who now occupy the Hills of Rajmahal, Birbhum, &c. &c., probably lived in the plains, and were subsequently driven by the tide of foreign conquest to their Highland fastnesses. In Kashmir, in a similar way, the aboriginal races were the Nagas, Gandharas, and Dheradas, who were all Ophites, or serpent worshippers. But in the course of time foreign invaders from the table lands of Ariana introduced the Buddhist and Brahminical systems, by their possession of superior physical power and intellectual energy. The lunar race of kings were Buddhists, and the Brahmans had the Kshetryas, or military class, as their allies. They supplanted the religion of the Nagas, or mountaineers, just as wherever the Moslem banner waved, or the Koran was chaunted, the crude superstitions, which overlaid Christianity in the middle ages, gave way to the traditions of the Mecca legislator. Though the Nagas seem to have been a very powerful race, and at one time to have exercised great political sway, yet they could not withstand the sapping effect of Buddhistical influence, which resorted both to the arsenals of argument and of physical force, in order to propagate the dogmas of Sakhya Muni. The Ophite, or snake-worship, system seems at last to have to a great degree been amalgamated with Hinduism; in fact it spread very widely, as the general use of the symbol of the dragon in the Chinese rites shows. The proselyting zeal of the Buddhists was founded on the principle "that they do not desire wisdom for themselves alone, but for the preservation of the world."

Subsequently, in Kashmir, a fierce struggle took place between the Sivites and the Buddhists. These two religions then existed contemporaneously, as they do in the island of Bali in the present day, and in some cases the one melted into the other. But, though many dogmas were held by the Sivites and Buddhists in common, and, notwithstanding the ingenious arguments drawn from the monuments in Bali and Java by Dr. Tytler, in order to show that the two systems had a common origin, we cannot conceive how the bloody rites of Siva could have any affinity to the peaceful tenets of Buddha. Yet Buddhism itself was in *practice* occasionally warlike; for when it had fixed its roots at an early period in Kashmir, the first thirty-five kings, being Buddhists, were very active in propagating their creed, and had no scruples in appealing to the sword to carry out their religious plans. One of them, Meghavahana, at the head of a conquering *army*, preached on the duty of extending mercy to every thing that

has life ! He pensioned from the revenues of the State all the hunters and butchers in his dominions, as his regulations deprived them of the means of gaining a livelihood. We thus see in the case of the Indian Buddhists, as well as of the Muhammadans, how religion removes that physical inertia and apathy, so characteristic of Asiatics generally.

At the period (A. D. 399) when Fa Hian, a Chinese Buddhist priest, visited Tamluk, Buddhism was in the ascendant, not only in Kashmir, but also in Tartary, Khotan, Scinde and Agra. Asoka left monuments of his Buddhistical zeal, in the valley of Kashmir, and on the borders of the Rupnarayan at Tamluk, in those magnificent towers, which long stood to attest the liberal hand with which he supported his religious views. But in the 10th century, Khamagupta, King of Kashmir, the Aurungzebe of his day, destroyed the Buddhist images and burnt the monasteries. No doubt a change must have taken place in public opinion to justify him in resorting to such measures, like that which occurred, when Henry VIII. found popular and aristocratic sympathy in favour of his measures for sequestering the property of the monasteries.

When Kalhana wrote, the worship of Siva was predominant. This system prevailed in the South of India at the commencement of the Christian era, and was in the ascendant every where except in Telingana, where the people were Vishnuvites. Sivism seems to have had various points of accordance with Buddhism; and, when the Sivites embraced Buddhism, they were allowed to retain their titles and family distinctions. But when Abul Fazl visited Kashmir in 1582, the Vishnuvites had gained the ascendancy. There are now, according to Hamilton, in Kashmir, sixty-four places dedicated to Vishnu, and forty-five to Siva. In fact the whole of Kashmir is considered by the Hindus to be holy ground, and the struggle between the Sivites and Vishnuvites now occupies the same place in history, as that formerly between Brahmans and Buddhists.

The Buddhist, as well as the Brahminical, religion seems to have been propagated in Kashmir through the patronage of the State, and, above all, by what has been adopted in modern times so successfully by the Moravians—religious *colonies*.* Connected with these, were *Mats*, or edifices, which, combining the joint uses of a church and seminary, gave weight and local power to the priesthood. It was in fact the principle of *resident* pas-

* The importance of religious colonies is brought of late more prominently before the public. We have the projected settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand for the members of the Anglo-Episcopal Church, and of Otago in the same island for the members of the Free Church of Scotland. It is felt that mere codes of laws, or rules on paper, are not enough to form character; the links of neighbourhood, acquaintance, and association of ideas, must be of a favourable kind also.

tors and a parochial system, which gave these religions a fixity in the country, just as Musalman colonization raised up an indigenous Muhammadan agency in India. The monastic system of Europe in the middle ages, by which agricultural and social improvement was diffused as from an oasis through the wilds of a lone district, was adopted to a great degree in Kashmir, and in fact in all countries, where Buddhist principles had any ascendancy. "The Buddhist priests in their Viharas employ all their time in instructing the youth, in reading, writing, religion, history, and the principles of law." Their monasteries were nuclei for social advancement, where the ignorant received instruction, the poor relief, and the sick the best medical treatment known. Buddhism also, like Methodism in England, owed much of its influence to the system of itinerancy. The mendicant friars of the middle ages acted on a similar plan: but neither Methodists nor Friars could exceed the energy and self-denial of Buddhist missionaries. In fact their proselyting zeal equals any recorded in modern time—of St. Francis Xavier, or that of the Jesuits in India and South America. The Raja-tarangini, in its emphatic Sanscrit style, characterises them,

बौद्धानां प्रव्रजोर्जिततेजसां

The Buddhists, whose power is increased by an itinerant life.

We have now taken a summary view of the chief political and religious points connected with Kashmir in former days, without going into minute details. We trust that more attention will be paid to the former history of this and other countries in the North Western Provinces: for, in order to adopt measures suitable to the character and habits of a people, we must know their former pursuits, and those associations, the growth of centuries, which retain such a firm hold over the mind. Abstract theories wrought out by men, who never knew India, are often as ridiculous as that of the Liverpool merchant, who, forty years ago, despatched a cargo of skates to Calcutta. The more the ancient literature of the Hindus is studied, the better judges will we be, from a knowledge of the national character, how to apply remedial measures to existing evils. We therefore think that, even on the ground of utility, the publication of such works as the Raja-tarangini is most valuable. While we condemn the religious and social system of the Hindus, let us at the same time admire whatever has a redeeming quality in their ancient literature. The ties of sympathy will thus be drawn closer; and we shall remove one of the barriers, which our haughty and exclusive manners, as foreigners, place between us and the teeming millions of the East, on whom we wish to confer both moral and religious good.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Chronology of Creation; or, Geology and Scripture reconciled. By Thomas Hutton, F. G. S., Captain, Bengal Army. Calcutta.* 1850.

2. *A general view of the Geology of Scripture, in which the unerring truth of the inspired narrative of the early events of the world is exhibited and distinctly proved, by the corroborative testimony of physical facts, on every part of the earth's surface. By George Fairholme, Esq. (American Reprint.) Philadelphia.* 1834.

3. *The Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. A Fragment. By Charles Babbage, Esq. London.* 1837.

4. *Twelve Lectures on the connection between Science and Revealed Religion, delivered in Rome, by the Right Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D. D., Bishop of Melipotamus. Second Edition. London.* 1842.

5. *On the Relation between the Holy Scripture and some parts of Geological Science. By John Pye Smith, D. D., F. R. S., and F. G. S. Divinity Tutor in the Protestant Dissenting College at Homerton. Third Edition, with many additions. London.* 1843.

6. *Foot-Prints of the Creator; or, the Asterolepis of Stromness. By Hugh Miller, Author of the Old Red Sandstone, &c. London.* 1849.

THE heading and running title of this article may haply induce the supposition, that we are about to deviate from the path that has been hitherto followed in the choice of subjects for treatment in the pages of the *Calcutta Review.* This is not the case; or, at all events, the deviation about to be perpetrated is not a very large or important one. While the element of orientalism, that is, a direct and easily perceptible connexion with "India and the East," has been ever regarded as an essential condition of the admissibility of an article into the main body of the *Review;* the accident, as it may be called, of Indian publication, or even Indian authorship, has, from the first, been recognised as constituting a claim, on the part of a book, whatever be its subject, at least to a brief examination in the department of *Miscellaneous Notices.* The only irregularity, then, of which we are guilty, consists in the transference of the present article from the one department to the other. This transference is made simply on account of the length to which a notice of such a work as Captain

Hutton's must necessarily extend, if aught like justice is to be done to it, or to the important subject of which it treats. We have added, indeed, the titles of two or three books on kindred subjects, because we shall have constant occasion to refer to them; but we desire it, for several reasons, to be distinctly understood from the outset, that our article is not to be regarded as a regular treatise on so large a subject, but mainly as a somewhat extended *notice* of the book, whose title occupies the first place at its head, and whose publication is the *occasion* of the appearance of the article.

Setting out from the incontrovertible axiom, that all truth is consistent with all truth, we come by a single step to a point where we must pause to make a choice betwixt these five conclusions; viz. (1), That the Mosaic account of the creation of the world, and the deductions from geological science respecting its antiquity, are both true, and are consistent with each other; or (2), that they are both false, but still consistent with one another; or (3), that the Mosaic account is correct, and the geological doctrines incorrect; or (4), that the geological doctrines are true, and the Mosaic narrative erroneous; or (5), that Moses and the Geologists are both wrong, while still their several doctrines are inconsistent with each other. There is no other alternative within the range of possibility, inasmuch as two propositions, both true, must be consistent; but if they be both false, they may be either consistent or inconsistent; and if one be false and the other true, they must be inconsistent. Besides the necessary consistency between two truths, and the necessary inconsistency between truth and falsehood, and the possible agreement and possible disagreement between two falsehoods, there is no other case even supposable. The question at issue in the present case may, however, be somewhat narrowed by the immediate rejection of the second supposition, the probabilities against it being altogether overwhelming. "Truth is one, error is manifold;" and it is altogether so improbable as to be virtually impossible, that Moses and the Geologists, so differently situated, and subjected to so widely different influences, should have fallen upon the same individual one of the tens of thousands of possible errors. We may also leave out of view the fifth case supposed, viz., the erroneousness of both accounts; since, whatever may be the case respecting minute details, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that, respecting the general question, with which alone we occupy ourselves, truth lies somewhere either within the domain of physical investigation, or within that of historical testimony. Indeed, the great question at issue being as to the antiquity of the earth, it may be so

stated as to exclude altogether the supposition of the two accounts being at once false and mutually contradictory; as thus,—*Was the earth created about six thousand years ago, or at a much earlier period? If the former, how can the Geological phenomena be explained? If the latter, how can the Scriptural narrative be explained?* We have now therefore to concern ourselves only with the three possibilities, that the historical account may be true and the geological erroneous; or the geological true and the historical erroneous; or lastly, that both are true, and that the apparent inconsistency between them is only apparent.

If we were to treat the question historically, it would not be difficult to assign a period, during which each of these beliefs has been in the ascendant, and *that* in the order in which we have stated them. Before the origin of Geology as a science, (and its origin is within the memory of many yet alive) the great mass of those who had the Bible in their hands of course gave implicit credence to the Mosaic account. In the infancy of the science, when facts began to be observed, and too hasty generalizations—as is usual in the infancy of a science—began to be deduced from them, the great majority of those who assumed to themselves the name of Geologists took up with the idea that the Mosaic narrative is inconsistent with observed and indisputable facts; and with this idea they dealt according to their several tastes and inclinations. Some secretly, and others openly, willing to discredit the scriptural testimony, were not slow to maintain that the testimony is utterly false, and that the book which contains it, and the whole collection of books of which it is the first, should be henceforth rejected as altogether unworthy of credit. Others again, thoroughly convinced, on other grounds, of the substantial verity of holy writ, yet unable to explain the phenomena in a manner consistent with the narrative, or to explain the narrative in a manner accordant with the phenomena, were somewhat disquieted, though not alarmed, at the advantage which infidelity seemed to have acquired;—

And the boldest held his breath—for a time.

This period of suspense did not last long. We are safe in saying that there is now scarcely a single Geologist of any note, who does not hold to the belief that the history of the creation, as recorded in the book of Genesis, is a veritable history of the transaction, and is capable of being reconciled with the facts that are indisputably ascertained by investigation; although there is still considerable difference of opinion as to the mode

in which the reconcilement is to be effected. Thus, in the history of this question, the actings of men's minds with respect to their belief in the inspired narrative have been in strict accordance with Lord Bacon's terse statement as to their actings in regard to Theism :—"It is true that a little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism ; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion." It is very interesting to notice the uniformity with which this process has been described with respect to almost all branches of science, as admirably evinced by Dr. Wiseman in the work whose title is prefixed to this article. The almost unvarying stages have been, *first,* undoubting belief in the scriptures; *second,* doubts cast on their truth ; *third,* ascertainment that there is no contradiction between Science and the Bible ; and *fourth,* the confirmation of the truth, and illustration of the meaning, of the Bible, by means of scientific discoveries. In the case of the matter before us, the first two stages are passed over already ; the only question now is whether we be in the third or fourth stage.

Such being the present state of opinion respecting the question, and our present subject leading us more especially to the consideration of the harmony between the Mosaic account of the creation, and the ascertained facts of Geology, we shall pass over, with very little notice, the supposition that either the one or the other—the statement or the facts—are unreal, and shall nearly confine ourselves to a notice of some of the attempts that have been made to evince the mutual consistency of the Mosaic and geological accounts.

The scriptural statement has been generally understood to declare that the world was created at a period somewhere about 6,000 years ago ; that the whole creation was effected in the space of six days, up to the commencement of which days no portion, even of the matter of which the earth consists, had existence ; and at the end of which days, the earth existed substantially in the same state in which it exists now. The facts that present themselves to the observation of Geologists are generally supposed, on the other hand, to indicate that the creation of the matter of which the earth is composed, was effected at a very much earlier period, and that a very long period of time was occupied in the creation, from first to last ; that many races of animals existed and perished before the presently existing species were created ; and particularly that not five days, but many thousands of years, elapsed, between the original creation of the material components of the earth, and the time when the human race was called into being; and that, during a long portion of this very long period, the earth was not

in a chaotic but in a habitable state, and was actually inhabited by numerous races of animals that lived and moved and had their being upon it, and whose bodies were subsequently mingled with its dust. Moreover, it is generally understood to be ascertained, that these races of animals were not created all at once, but that some races had existed and become extinct before others were created.

Men differ considerably, as might be expected, as to the details of the explanation to be furnished of the phenomena; but few are now so hardy as to attempt to deny the phenomena altogether. A mere statement of the straits, to which such attempts of necessity reduce those who make them, will suffice for our present purpose, and will comprehend all that we have got to say in reference to the supposition, that the geological phenomena are unreal. It will be at once seen, that the main difficulty to be got over is to account for the fossil remains that exist in such vast numbers in the various strata every where. It is clear that there is but one way of meeting this difficulty, in accordance with the plan of those whose views we are about to state. There is nothing that will serve their turn but a bold and brazen-faced denial of the trustworthiness of the human senses, and a confident assertion that, for aught we know, things may not be at all what they seem. We are indebted to Dr. Wiseman for the mention of several writers who have thus boldly set themselves in opposition to the common sense of mankind. "Perhaps, (says that eloquent writer), you will hardly believe me when I say, that, for many years, the fiercest controversy was carried on in this country (Italy) upon the question, whether these shells were real shells, and once contained fish, or were only natural productions, formed by what was called the plastic power of nature, imitating real forms. Agricola, followed by the sagacious Andrea Mattioli, affirmed that a certain fat matter, set in fermentation by heat, produced these fossil shapes. Mercati, in 1574, stoutly maintained, that the fossil shells, collected in the Vatican by Sixtus V., were mere stones, which had received their configuration from the influence of celestial bodies; and the celebrated physician, Fallopio, asserted, that they were formed, wherever found, by 'the tumultuary movements of terrestrial exhalations.' Nay, this learned author was so adverse to all ideas of deposits, as boldly to maintain, that the pot-sherds, which form the singular mound, known to you all under the name of Monte Testaceo, were natural productions—sports of nature to mock the works of men. Such were the straits to which these zealous and able men found themselves reduced to account for the phenomena they had observed."

Thus far Dr. Wiseman. But it is not alone in Italy, and three centuries ago, that such statements were made; else we might be disposed to hint to Dr. Wiseman that we could give a reason for our having no difficulty in believing his assertion, that men were found bold enough to cast to the winds the most undoubtful testimony of their own and other men's senses. We are sorry to be obliged to confess that such hardihood is not confined to the country and the period, where and when men were schooled to such boldness, by being required to believe the doctrine of transubstantiation, in opposition to the equally undoubtful testimony of the same senses. In our own Protestant England, and in our own day, we find a class of writers expressing precisely similar sentiments. We find, for example, one of this class of writers, the Rev. J. Mellor Brown, as quoted by Dr. Pye Smith, "looking with evident complacency to the hypothesis that 'Almighty God may, by the mere *fiat* of his power, have intentionally brought every rock and stratum, every fossil leaf and shell and bone, into its present form and condition;'" in other words, that the strata are not strata, that the leaves and shells and bones are not, and never were, leaves and shells and bones, but that they are merely ingeniously contrived semblances of such things. Now, it were vain to deny that, in some cases, objects may be supposed to belong to one class of fossils, which do, in reality, belong to another; as the leaf of a fern may be mistaken for the back-bone of a fish, or *vice versa;* and as the ammonites, which so abound at the mouth of the Humber and elsewhere, were once regarded, and by the peasantry are still regarded, as headless snakes.* It may also be freely admitted that it is very probable that some objects may be regarded as animal or vegetable remains, which are not really such; while it cannot be doubted that multitudes of such remains are as yet unrecognised. But, making all due allowance for probable error, we are just as sure, respecting hundreds of thousands of fossil objects, that they are what they appear to be, as we are certain that any of the other objects, by which we are surrounded, are what they are commonly understood to be.

Such notions as those under notice are, by some, supposed

* See Marmion, Canto II.—

They told, how in their convent-cell,
A Saxon Princess once did dwell,
The lovely Edelfled:
And how, of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone
When holy Hilda prayed;—
Themselves within their holy bound
Their stony folds had often found.

to indicate a more than ordinarily strong regard for the authority of scriptural testimony; but they do in reality sap the foundation of all testimony whatsoever, and open a door for the introduction of a universal and most ruinous scepticism. "Whoever contradicts our senses (says Archbishop Tillotson, while speaking of transubstantiation) undermines the foundation of all certainty." It is strange that writers of this class should not see at once that, in their zeal for the authority of scripture, they give admittance to a principle which would utterly annihilate that authority. We speak not now of the havoc they so relentlessly make in all the arguments from design and wisdom manifested in the works of creation—sweeping away Natural Theology at once from the encyclopædia of the sciences. But we would call attention to the fact, that the Bible itself would become a virtual nullity under their mode of treatment. The argument of Gibbon against transubstantiation is unanswerable when urged against the views in question. If our senses cannot be trusted to distinguish between a skeleton and the semblance of a skeleton, how shall we claim for them, or rather for one of them, the power of discriminating between a letter and the semblance of a letter? How shall it be proved that there is any reality in the scriptural narrative?

Between the admission of the general accuracy of the testimony of our senses on the one hand, and the pure Hindu doctrine of *Maya*, or universal illusion, on the other, there is no resting place where consistency can be maintained. We must either go the whole length with that common sense, which teaches us to place confidence in the clear intimations of our own senses and those of other men, or we must go the whole length with the Hindu sages, who represent all such indications as utterly false, and the universe as a phantasmagoric deception. In the one case we shall be consistently right, in the other consistently wrong. In every other case there must of necessity be a portion of truth and a portion of falsehood, which can by no possibility cohere. We are perfectly serious in stating our firm conviction that the notion under notice lays the axe to the root of all truth; and even if the notion itself were true, it is one that it were well for its discoverer most religiously to conceal. Yea, conceal it he must; for it is impossible for language to enunciate it without at the same time refuting it; for how is it possible for us to declare that *we can know nothing*, without at the same time stating that *we do know at least one thing*—to wit, that *we know nothing*—and implying our knowledge of many other things?

We have said enough now—some of our readers may think

a little more than enough, as to the opinions of those who deny the geological facts, and who think thereby to vindicate the authority of the Bible. Although we so love the Bible ourselves as to be disposed to regard with considerable leniency the errors into which men may be led by a sincere but indiscriminating love of it, we must protest against the idea, which all such errors as we have spoken of tend to originate and foster, that the Bible requires any such violent measures for the vindication of its authority, or the defence of its doctrines :—

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
> Tempus eget.

However, we have now done with those who deny the geological facts ; henceforth our concern is with the interpretation of the facts.

We should next notice the attempts that have been made to get rid of the supposed contradiction between Geology and Scripture, by a denial of the latter, equally bold with the denial of the former that we have just noticed. But it would lead us a great deal too far, and into regions moreover which we have no desire to traverse, were we to take any notice of the merely infidel assertions that were rife in the days to which Dr. Chalmers alludes, when he speaks of " Geology arising from the depths of the earth, and entering into combat with a revelation, which, pillared on the evidence of history, has withstood the onset;" and again, when he speaks of the attempts made to "shiver the evidences of our faith by the hammer of the mineralogist." To state and refute these attempts would be, we trust, a needless task ; we therefore gladly confine ourselves to a notice of the denial, by professing Christians, of the authority of the narrative of the creation. As a fair specimen of the mode in which this denial is supported, we shall have recourse to Mr. Babbage, whose professed (and undoubtedly sincere) object is to vindicate the authority of the Mosaic narrative, and to rescue it from the hands of those rash interpreters, who, by attempting to explain it in such a way as to increase its accordance with the undoubted facts of Geology, might, as he fears, shake the confidence that men ought to entertain in its perfect truth. This he attempts to do, by shewing that we are not at all certain of the genuineness of the passage ; nor, if this were ascertained, are we at all certain of the meaning of the words of which it is composed. Perhaps it is too much to expect our readers to take this statement of Mr. Babbage's sentiments on our assertion, and indeed it is always most satisfactory to state any sentiments, that we have occasion to controvert, in the words of their own advocates. It will be observed that Mr.

Babbage is arguing against those who hold sentiments similar to those that we have just come from discussing—those who, out of zeal for the authority of scripture, deem it necessary to deny the facts of Geology. Here is what he says of the genuineness of the Mosaic record :—

Those, however, who attempt to disprove the facts presented by observation, by placing them in opposition to revelation, have mistaken the very ground work of the question. The revelation of Moses rests, and must necessarily rest, upon *testimony*. Moses, the author of the oldest of the sacred books, lived about 1,500 years before the Christian era, or about 3,300 years ago. The oldest manuscripts of the Pentateuch at present known appear to have been written about 900 years ago. These were copied from others of older date; and those again might probably, if their history were known, be traced up through a few transcripts to their original author; but no part of this is revelation; it is testimony. Although the matter which the book contains was revealed to Moses, the fact is, that what we now receive as revelation, is entirely dependent on testimony.

The meaning of this cannot be mistaken. The object is to shew that to contradict the Pentateuch, as it now stands, is merely to contradict the transcribers through whose hands it has reached us. It is to vindicate a supposed revelation, which nowhere exists, and which we have no earthly reason to believe ever did exist, at the expense of that revelation which is in our hands. So much for the genuineness of the record. Now for what is said of the language in which it is composed. Our quotation goes on from the point where we just broke it off :—

Admitting, however, the full weight of that evidence, corroborated as it is by the Samaritan version; nay, even supposing that we now possessed the identical autograph of the book of Genesis by the hand of its author, a most important question remains—what means do we possess of translating it?

In similar cases we avail ourselves of the works of the immediate predecessors, and of the contemporaries of the writer; but here we are acquainted with no work of any predecessor; of no writing of any contemporary; and we do not possess the works of any writer in the same language, even during several succeeding centuries, if we except some few of the sacred books. How then is it possible to satisfy our minds of the minute shades of the meanings of words, perhaps employed popularly; or, if they were employed in a stricter and more philosophical sense, where are the contemporary philosophical writings, from which their accurate interpretation may be gained?

Mr. B. proceeds to illustrate the matter by supposing the parallel case of the interpretation of a passage in Shakespeare, on the supposition of our having none of the works of his predecessors, none of those of his contemporaries, and very few of those of his successors. He then goes on :—

The language of the Hebrews, in times long subsequent to the date of that book, may not have so far changed as to prevent us from rightly

understanding generally the history it narrates; but there happens to be no reasonable ground for venturing to pronounce with confidence as to the minute shades of meaning of allied words, and on such foundations to support an argument opposed to the evidence of our senses.

We quite agree with Mr. Babbage as to the last sentiment expressed in this extract; as we have already intimated that we have no sympathy whatever with those against whom he is arguing. But we do most decidedly protest against the line of argument that Mr. Babbage adopts, while dealing with our common antagonists. In point of fact there is not a shadow of reasonable doubt as to the genuineness of this portion of the Pentateuch; neither is there any difference of the slightest moment among Hebraists as to the proper *translation* of it. The *interpretation* is quite another matter, which will claim our notice anon.

The result then is that Mr. Babbage would have us virtually ignore the Mosaic account altogether, as if it were impossible for us, first of all to know whether the account which we now possess is the Mosaic account at all; and then, as if it were equally impossible to ascertain the meaning of the account that we actually possess. It is not very easy to believe, and yet we do believe, that Mr. Babbage's real object is to save the Bible from the rude encounter of the Geologists, to which he supposes that the indiscretion of its defenders has exposed it. He would save the credit of Moses by withdrawing him from the conflict altogether; and then he would save the Mosaic narrative, or what is generally received as such, by enveloping it in a cloud of impenetrable obscurity. We may well ask—*Cui bono?* If this passage of scripture is to be vindicated in this way, why may not all?—and so the Bible is to be defended at the expense of its own existence.*

* We are sorry to be obliged to say that this is not the only instance of singular inconsequence, occurring in a very delightful work, which has been suggestive to us of several thoughts which we regard as valuable. In the chapter on "Hume's argument against miracles," Mr. Babbage says:—

"The difficulty which is frequently experienced in understanding this argument, appears to arise from the circumstance that a double negative is concealed under the words, '*its falsehood would be more miraculous than.*' [In the following sentence;—'The plain consequence is, that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavors to establish.] For in Hume's argument the word '*miraculous*' means *improbable*, although the improbability is of a very high degree. The clause then reads.—

"Its *falsehood* would *be more improbable* than—

"Which is evidently equivalent to

"Its *truth* would be *less improbable* than—

"Which is again equivalent to

"Its *truth* would be *more probable* than—

Replacing this in Hume's argument, it stands thus:—

"'That no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be

Very nearly allied to the mode of procedure now adverted to, is that of a numerous class, who, without so absolutely setting aside the Mosaic account as Mr. Babbage would do, yet pass it over, making little or no account of it, professing that because the Bible is meant to teach something else than Geology, we are not to look for aught else than a popular account of the creation of the world, and one that would be intelligible to persons without scientific preparation for understanding it. Thus, for example, Dr. Buckland, after stating a method of reconciling the two accounts, to which we shall ere long have occasion to advert, concludes thus:—

It should be borne in mind, that the object of this account was not to state *in what manner*, but *by whom*, the world was made. As the prevailing tendency of men, in those early days, was to worship the most glorious objects of nature, namely, the sun and moon and stars, it should seem to have been

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of such a kind, that its *truth* would be *more probable* than the fact which it endeavors to establish.'

" The argument is now reduced to the mere truism, that

" ' The probability in favor of the testimony by which a miracle is supported, must be greater than the probability of the miracle itself.' "

Now, it is very certain that Hume's argument is not this; that he was not quite so foolish as to argue that a smaller amount of testimony would be sufficient to establish the most miraculous fact than would be necessary to establish the most probable. The argument is not that the probability of the truth of the testimony must be greater than the *probability* of the fact, but that it must be greater than the *improbability* of the fact, so as to cover or neutralize that improbability, and leave a surplus of positive probability. It is not difficult to perceive where lies the fallacy of the method whereby Mr. Babbage has reached so strange a conclusion. It will be patent at once if we only complete the sentences which he has left imperfect.

Its falsehood would be more improbable than *the fact is improbable*—
= Its truth would be less improbable than *the fact is improbable*.—
= Its truth would be more probable than *the fact is improbable*.

This is so clear, that we should perhaps apologize to our readers for dwelling upon it so long; but, an apology being confessedly necessary, it will be just as easy to make it for a greater as for a smaller fault, and therefore we shall venture to exhibit the argument in a way that may make Mr. Babbage's fallacy still more palpable to some minds. This may be effected by the adoption of a simple mathematical symbol. Hume's proposition is this:—

In order to establish a miracle,—

Improb. of falsehood of test. must be $\nearrow$ Improb. of the perform. of the mir.

Consequently,—Improb. of truth of test. must be $\angle$ Improb. of the perform. of the mir.

Or—Prob. of truth of test, must be $\nearrow$ improb. of the perform. of mir.

Thus is Mr. Babbage's interpretation of this celebrated argument shewn to be equally repugnant to common sense, to Logic, and to Algebra; and now for the inconsequence with which we have ventured to charge him. Immediately after giving this statement of what he supposes Hume's argument to be, he sets himself to the refutation of the argument itself; and does refute it in a way at once elegant and convincing, both in the text and in a valuable note, without ever hinting that it is the real argument that he is refuting, and not his absurd version of it. Yea, a few pages further on, he states the argument quite correctly, without appearing to be in the least aware that this statement of it is utterly opposed to that which he had previously given.

Since we have taken upon us thus freely to discuss the *demerits* of the "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," it is but fair to say, that if our subject had led us to speak of its *merits*, we should have found no lack of matter for a much longer digression than that for which we have again to beg the indulgence of our readers.

one important point in the Mosaic account to guard the Israelites against the polytheism and idolatry of the natives around them, by announcing, that all these magnificent celestial bodies were no gods, but the work of One Almighty Creator, to whom alone, the worship of mankind was due. —*(Bridgewater Treatise.)*

To a similar purpose is the following argument, by a writer less known indeed than Dr. Buckland, but whose work we have no hesitation in pronouncing an excellent one—Mr. Trimmer :—

What can be gathered from the brief account of the creation contained in the first chapter of Genesis, more than this, that the world was not self-existent and eternal; that it was called into being by the fiat of an Almighty Creator; and that, though he could have produced it in an instant, clothed, as we now behold it, with plants, and furnished with inhabitants, it was his pleasure to proceed gradually in the work of creation; and that man was the last, as he is the noblest, of his Maker's works? And what, we would again ask, is there in the phenomena of Geology inconsistent with this?

Now, we would submit that this is not the fair view of the case. While it is quite true that the object of the Bible is not to teach its readers Geology, and while it is not to be expected that it should contain any particular account of the geological formations; while, moreover, it is expressed in popular and plain, rather than in philosophical or strictly accurate, language, it is true also that it details the process of creation at considerable length. The historical narrative that it gives has been all along understood by its readers as a plain and distinct statement; and it is impossible to read it without being convinced that its author intended that it should be regarded in this light, as descriptive of an actual transaction, and not merely as an amplification of the few points of information which Mr. Trimmer states as its substance. At all events, the main difficulty is evaded, in this and all similar attempts at reconciling the geologic and scriptural statements, by regarding the latter as consisting of merely general and vague assertions, which were never intended to be understood as strictly and literally accurate. The *date* of the creation is ascertained by the scriptural narrative ; and although the chronologies of the Hebrew, the Samaritan and the Septuagint texts of the Pentateuch do not exactly accord, that date on the largest computation cannot be removed so far back as 8,000 years from the present time. Now, what we may call the catholic geological doctrine, the doctrine in holding which the great majority of Geologists are agreed, and which all those of any considerable repute do decidedly hold, is, unquestionably, that the strata, composing that crust of the earth which comes within the reach of our observation, have been deposited during successive periods, whose aggregate must amount, not to eight, but to thousands of thousands of years. Every

attempt, therefore, to reconcile the two accounts, which leaves the chronological difference unaccounted for, we must regard as an absolute failure.

Having now adverted to some of the principal attempts that have been made virtually to set aside the scriptural text on the one side, or the geological text, as it may well be called, on the other, we have now to speak of several attempts made to shew that consistency, or at least no contradiction, obtains between the two records, by a departure from the usual interpretation of the one or the other.

As soon as a knowledge of the main facts of Geology, especially those respecting organic remains, came to be generally diffused, and many men received by hearsay vague reports of these facts, and many others saw with their own eyes merely so many geological phenomena as accidentally or spontaneously fell under their notice, it was too hastily supposed that these facts afforded strong confirmation of the account of the creation, but more especially of the deluge, recorded in holy writ. By such careless observers, and by such non-observers, the mere fact that thousands of marine shells were found in large numbers at great elevations above the present level of the sea, was not only regarded, as it very legitimately might have been regarded, as a proof that at one period the land of our present continents was submerged beneath the waters of the ocean, or the waters of the ocean raised above the land; but further it was concluded, that this submergence took place at the period of the Noachian deluge, and was, in fact, nought else than that deluge. Now this latter conclusion, right or wrong as it might be as to the fact, was certainly, as a conclusion, unwarranted and illegitimate. But neither was it right as to the fact itself. Indeed, it was soon ascertained that it was wholly erroneous; that, in reality, the strata indicated not one submergence merely, but several; and moreover that not only had such submergences swept certain races of animals from existence, which seems from the Mosaic record not to have been the case at the Noachian deluge, but, what was more strange and more difficult to account for, that after each submergence certain new races of animals had been brought into being, different altogether from those that existed before. In fact it was clearly ascertained, that there exists a series of geological formations, each containing the remains of distinct classes of animals and vegetables, deposited in succession one over the other; and that the organic remains are so distinct from each other, even in the contiguous strata of the same locality, and at the same time so similar to each other in the corresponding strata of even the most remote localities, that they afford

the means of accurately demonstrating the comparative age of the strata themselves. It was the determination of this great law of the "characterism" of the organic remains by Dr. W. Smith, that converted Geology into a science, and earned for Dr. S. the title of the father of that science. Till then, its facts were a mere rabble; thenceforth they were reduced to order, and formed into troops and regiments and brigades, and into a great and well-appointed army. Now some Geologists having considered that the strata might conveniently, for purposes of nomenclature and reference, be divided into six main classes, it occurred, not unnaturally, to some minds, that these six classes of strata might be none other than the records of the six days of creation. This idea received a certain degree of confirmation from the fact that there is a general correspondence between the deposits in the successive formations on the one hand, and the objects recorded as having been created on the several days on the other. In particular it is known to every one that there are no organic remains in the lowest rocks of the series, and that we can trace a general advancement in the organization of the remains, as, leaving the "primary" rocks, we proceed, through the "transition" series, to the "secondary" and "tertiary" formations. One great element was necessary however in order to effect the desired reconcilement—the element of *time;* and the introduction of this element into the Mosaic account forms the first of the attempts, now under notice, to modify the interpretation of the scriptural narrative, so as to shew its correspondence with geological phenomena. The essence of it consists in understanding the term "day," as used in the first chapter of Genesis, as significant, not of a solar day of twenty-four hours, but of a long period of time. We are not aware who first suggested the interpretation in question; but it has found considerable favour with many highly respectable interpreters of scripture. It has indeed been characterised by some as rationalistic and infidel; but it has been propounded by many who are certainly neither rationalists nor infidels; and it has been defended from such charges by many who have not adopted it. Dr. Wiseman for example says:—"I do not advocate the prolongation of the days to periods, but I think it very wrong to call men infidels for doing so." The writer of the present article has as good a right as any one, according to the usual wont of apostates, to revile and vilify the interpretation to any extent; for he not only approved of it, but actually wrote and published an argument in support of it many years ago. We confess, however, that we still feel a lingering attachment to our first love, although we have withdrawn from her the undivided homage of our heart.

We first became acquainted with the interpretation in the course of our study of two works by Mr. Stanley Faber, his *Three Dispensations*, and his *Horæ Mosaicæ;* and the exceeding delectation with which we perused these singularly suggestive works went far towards recommending to us the doctrine in question. It was shortly after that we took upon us to publish in a religious periodical * an argument in favour of the doctrine, the substance of which, (so far as we recollect it, for we have not been able to procure a copy of it,) was somewhat as follows. It was argued :—

1. That the days spoken of in the first chapter of Genesis were certainly not solar days, inasmuch as the sun was not created till the fourth of them had begun. Since then the necessity of the case makes it impossible that the term *day* can be used in its ordinary sense, it remains to us to ascertain, by all available means, in what sense it is used.

2. That the expression, "every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew," seems to indicate plants and herbs in an embryo state, the answer to the question—"what is a plant before it grows ?"—being apparently —"a seed." But if the vegetable kingdom were created in the state of seeds on the third day, it is clear that the graminivorous animals could not have been created within forty-eight hours thereafter.

3. It seems that a considerable length of time must have elapsed between the creation of Adam and that of Eve. It was God's will that our first father should, by experience, find out his want of a help-meet for him, that so he might, with more lively gratitude, receive "Heaven's last, best gift." But Adam was not created even at the beginning of the sixth day. How then could he possibly, before its close, if it were but an ordinary day, review all the tribes of animals, so as to discover that amongst them all there was not one fitted to be his mate, be thrown into a deep sleep, and receive his rib-formed partner ? God's works are independent of time ; but here we have man collecting experience, the experience of his own feelings ; and this is a work to which time is an essential pre-requisite.

4. The terms, in which the institution of the Sabbath is alluded to in the fourth commandment of the decalogue, seem to favor the supposition, instead of being, as has been sometimes urged, inconsistent with it. The reasoning of the fourth commandment implies, that we are to rest on each seventh day, in humble imitation of our Creator, who accomplished the work of creation

* Edinburgh Christian Instructor, for 1835 or '36.

in six days, and rested from his work on the seventh day. Now, the analogy or correspondence is clearly incomplete, unless we regard the Divine work of creation as destined to be resumed at the commencement of the eighth day. But, so far as the heavens and earth are concerned, (and to these alone the sacred narrative refers) we have every reason to believe that, since the hour when God saw his work and pronounced it very good, the work of creation has been intermitted till the present hour. There are intimations in the scripture, from which it appears that the time is not far distant when this creation-work is to be resumed, and, when new heavens and a new earth are to be constructed out of the fire-purified materials of the heavens and earth that now are. If this view of the matter be correct, it will appear that, God's rest still continuing, his seventh day is still running its course; and that our week, consisting of six working days and one day of rest, is a precise epitome or reduced copy of the Divine week. In any other view of the matter, it would seem that the reasoning of the fourth commandment is lax and inconclusive, unless it were intended (as it certainly is not) that the rest succeeding six days' labour should begin on the seventh day and be continued ever after; in short that man is only to work six days, and thereafter work no more for ever.

Such are the main arguments that we employed fourteen or fifteen years ago in support of this interpretation. Our faith in its accuracy was considerably shaken at a subsequent period, by the apparent difference of the order of succession of the geological remains on the one hand, and the recorded works of the several days on the other. There is indeed a general accordance, but it must be admitted that there is not such a correspondence in the detail, as we should perhaps consider ourselves entitled to expect. Our attachment to it has, to a considerable extent, been revived by the perusal of two works, that we have read with a special view to the composition of the present article, and whose titles we have prefixed to it. The one is Dr. Pye Smith's *Geology and Scripture;* the other is Mr. Hugh Miller's *Footprints of the Creator.* Dr. Smith rejects the interpretation in question; but the exceeding feebleness of the arguments, he adduces with a view to its refutation, is to us a ground of presumption in its favour. Mr. Miller is not led by the nature of his subject to consider the question fully; but he clearly shews his belief of the correctness of the interpretation now under discussion; and it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value of the testimony on such a subject of such a man—a man who is so thoroughly conversant with the geological phenomena, and so rigidly Baconian in his conclusions—a man, re-

garding whose former work, on the *Old Red Sandstone*, Sir Roderick Murchison declared, that he would have given his right hand to have been able to write it,—and who, in his present performance, has so excelled his former self, that the ability he displays might be cheaply purchased, if purchased it could be at all, not perhaps by Sir Roderick's two hands, but certainly at a large ransom.

For mere purposes of defence, we regard this interpretation as rendering the scriptural record impregnable. For this purpose, it is sufficient that this, or any other meaning not inconsistent with the ascertained facts of Geology, *may* be the meaning of the scriptural narrative, and that it is impossible for the oppugners of that narrative to prove that such *is not* the meaning of it. To such an extent then at least, we regard the interpretation as valuable, inasmuch as we can confidently challenge any infidel whatsoever to disprove it. For this purpose, it is sufficient that it *may* be correct; the *onus* of disproof lies upon the opponents of revelation; and this *onus* they can neither shake off nor sustain. But without now venturing to be so confident on the subject as we once were, we still incline to the belief that this is really the meaning of the Mosaic narrative. We hesitate between it and the interpretation we are now going to notice, although our leaning is rather towards that which we have now stated.

Perhaps, however, the majority both of Geologists and Divines prefer the interpretation, which, as we believe, originated with a man, to whom, if on such a matter we could be influenced by deference to authority, we should be disposed, both by feeling and by conviction, to defer more than to any other man. That full justice may be done to the interpretation in question, we shall present it in the words in which it was originally promulgated by Dr. Chalmers, nearly forty years ago. It has been repeated in another form in his Evidences of Christianity, and also, if we mistake not, in some other of his works; but we shall give it, as reprinted in vol. xii. of his collected works from the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, where it originally appeared, in a review of *Cuvier's Theory of the Earth*, in 1814:—

Should the phenomena compel us to assign a greater antiquity to the globe than to that work of days detailed in the book of Genesis, there is still one way of saving the credit of the literal history. The first creation of the earth and the heavens may have formed no part of that work. This took place at the *beginning*, and is described in the first verse of Genesis. It is not said when this *beginning* was. We know the general impression to be, that it was on the earlier part of the first day, and that the first act of creation formed part of the same day's work with the formation of light. We ask our readers to turn to that chapter, and to read the first five verses of it. Is there any forcing in the supposition, that the first verse describes the

primary act of creation, and leaves us at liberty to place it as far back as we may; that the first half of the second verse describes the state of the earth, (which may already have existed for ages, and been the theatre of Geological revolutions), at the point of time anterior to the detailed operations of this chapter; and that the motion of the Spirit of God, described in the second clause of the second verse, was the commencement of these operations? In this case, the creation of the light may have been the great and leading event of the first day; and Moses may be supposed to give us not a history of the first formation of things, but of the formation of the present system. * * * * *

I take a friend to see a field which belongs to me, and I give him a history of the way in which I managed it. In the *beginning*, I enclosed that field. It was then in a completely wild and unbroken state. I pared it. This took up one week. I removed the great stones out of it. This took up another week. On the third week, I entered the plough into it: and thus, by describing the operations of each week, I may lay before him the successive steps by which I brought my field into cultivation It does not strike me, that there is any violence done to the above narrative, by the supposition, that the enclosure of the field was a distinct and anterior thing to the first week's operation. The very description of this state, after it was enclosed, is an interruption to the narrative of the operations, and leaves me at liberty to consider the work done after this description of the state of the field, as the whole work of the first week. The enclosure of the field may have taken place one year, or even twenty years, before the more detailed improvements were entered upon.

Against this we have nothing to say. But the chief difficulty is, with respect to the heavenly bodies—the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are recorded to have been made on the fourth day. Here is the way in which Dr. Chalmers meets the difficulty:—

The creation of the heavens may have taken place as far antecedently to the details of the first chapter of Genesis, as the creation of the earth. It is evident, however, that if the earth had been at some former period the fair residence of life, she had now become void and formless; and if the sun and moon and stars at some former period had given light, that light had been extinguished. It is not our part to assign the cause of a catastrophe, which carried so extensive a destruction along with it; but he were a bold theorist indeed, who could assert that in the wide chambers of immensity, no such cause is to be found.

Such, substantially, is the method of interpretation which, as we have said, is probably most in favor, both with Divines and Geologists. Dr. Buckland supports it in his Bridgewater Treatise, and fortifies it by the opinion of Dr. Pusey, that there is nothing in the scriptural text incompatible with such an interpretation. The only modification that Dr. Buckland introduces into the theory is, that he does not suppose that the sun and moon and the stars were darkened up to the fourth day, and on that day restored to their light-giving office; but that on that day, they were merely "appointed" to an additional office, "to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night,"

" to be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years." To us it appears that, at the least, Dr. Chalmers's view of the matter is necessary to satisfy the requirements of the narrative.

So far as the mere purpose is concerned of defending the sacred narrative from the attacks of those who strive to show that it controverts ascertained truths, and is consequently not itself true, and therefore not inspired by the God of truth, we think that either this interpretation, or that we formerly noticed, is sufficient to render all their attempts nugatory. There is no reasonable denial of the postulate that the long interval required for the deposition of all the strata, *may* have elapsed in the interval between the " beginning," when the material elements of our globe were created, and the period when they were arranged as we now behold them. The earth may have been peopled with those vegetable and animal tribes, whose remains are now fossilized " in numbers numberless;" it may have enjoyed the light of the sun, the moon and the stars, and been subjected to all those influences to which it is now subjected through the action of these bodies upon its material mass; and yet the narrative of what was done in the six consecutive days, during which its temporarily-disordered elements were arranged in their present form, may be strictly and literally true. For the purpose of the vindication of scripture, therefore, we care little which of those suppositions we adopt as to the meaning of this particular portion of it. We hold it impossible for any one to show that either of them is illegitimate as an interpretation of the narrative; and equally impossible to show that the narrative, so interpreted, is inconsistent with any one geological fact. Nor do we sympathize in any degree with the fears so pathetically expressed by Mr. Babbage, as to the evil consequences likely to result from thus giving hypothetical interpretations of a few passages of scripture, as if this would give rise or countenance to the notion that the scripture gives an uncertain sound, that its interpreters can make *quidlibet ex quolibet*, and that the utmost we can attain to is a vague guess as to its meaning. Of the two interpretations that we have spoken of, we confidently believe that one is substantially right, and the other substantially wrong, notwithstanding that we are not able to come to a satisfactory conclusion, as to the rightness or wrongness of the one or the other. The very same thing in kind happens in the most exact of all the sciences. In the science of Optics, for example, the emanatory and the undulatory theory of light are equally capable of accounting for all the phenomena. And although it is probable that every optician has a feeling of preference for the one over

the other, although indeed there are probably very few scientific opticians now-a-days, who do not think the latter to be much more likely to be correct than the former, yet no one thinks he can positively prove the one hypothesis to be correct and the other erroneous. But what then? Does any one ever entertain a doubt as to the soundness of the conclusions of optical science, because it cannot be decided what that light really is which is the subject of it? Assuredly not. And if the case stands thus with respect to one of the most exact of all the demonstrative sciences, is it to be wondered at, that a similar dubiety should occur in the science of interpretation? Or is the Bible to be accused of vagueness or indecision, because, on a subject which is only casually introduced into it, it does not give us all the information that we might desire, or because we may not be able demonstratively to prove the accuracy of a particular interpretation of a particular passage? Surely, we may well wait for more light on the matter, confident that the scriptural narrative is strictly true, and that in due time we shall attain to the correct understanding of it. We never happened to hear as yet of any optician, who deemed that he must refrain from the study of the phenomena and laws of reflection and refraction and polarization, until it can be decided, what is the nature of the light that is reflected and refracted and polarized. Nor is it usual, in any place that we have been accustomed to visit, or in which it has been our lot to sojourn, for men to shut themselves up in dark rooms, in gloomy and sulky expectancy of the decision of this vexed question. We have generally seen the peasant light his dip-light, and the student his Cambridge reading-lamp, and the family circle gather itself around the bright-shining Argand, and the old man bestride his nose with his spectacles, and the young maiden trink herself at the little mirror, and all the affairs of life go on very much as they might be supposed to do, had the rival hypotheses of Newton and Huyghens never existed, or had one of them been disproved as soon as it was mooted. It were well, no doubt, that the question were determined and set at rest for ever; but its determination would not modify to the slightest extent any one of the ways in which man renders the properties of light subservient to his various uses. And so, in like manner, it were well if we could decide the precise meaning of this portion of the inspired record; but there is no reason whatsoever, why the want of our ability to ascertain this meaning, should prevent the gladdening of our hearts and homes by the light of heavenly truth; no reason why we should not pay implicit deference to its beacon-warnings; no

reason why we should not rejoice in its cheering rays, and in all the lovely hues that it casts upon our path; no reason why we should not reverentially adore the manifestation of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ our Lord."

Dr. Pye Smith adopts this interpretation, so far as the insertion of an indefinite interval between the creation and the present arrangement of the materials of the earth and heaven is concerned; but he adds to it an explanation of the work of the six days, which certainly startled us on our first introduction to it, and to which we have not been in any degree reconciled by more lengthened acquaintance. We shall give it in his own words :—

I must profess then my conviction, that we are not obliged by the terms made use of to extend the narration of the six days to a wider application than this; *a description, in expressions adapted to the ideas and capacities of mankind in the earliest ages, of a series of operations by which the Being of omnipotent wisdom and goodness adjusted and furnished* [not]* *the earth generally, but, as the particular subject under consideration here* a PORTION *of its surface, for the most glorious purposes; in which a newly formed creature should be the object of those manifestations of the authority and grace of the Most High, which shall to eternity shew forth his perfections above all other methods of their display.*

This portion of the earth I conceive to have been a part of Asia, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Tartary, on the North, the Persian and Indian Seas on the South, and the high mountain ridges which run at considerable distances, on the Eastern and the Western flank.

Upon this we shall only remark, that, while we are not disposed to deny that the Hebrew *aretz*, like the Latin *terra*, and the Greek κατοικουμενη, may sometimes mean a *land* or *country*, instead of the *earth* generally, we can see no reason whatsoever for thus restricting the meaning here. Geological reasons there can be none; for we have already shewn that the interpretation, which Dr. Smith adopts, answers all the demands of geology, without any such modification as that proposed. And just as little reason is there afforded by pure criticism for the modification proposed. The nature of the case renders a positive refutation very difficult; inasmuch as, although we were to prove that the whole world was arranged in its cosmical order during these six days, it would not *necessarily* follow that

* The insertion of a negative, *nostro periculo*, may seem to be taking a Bentleian, or ultra-Bentleian liberty with the text of an author; but we are satisfied that we are only doing him justice by rectifying a typographical error. The sentence, as it stands, we cannot at all comprehend; the insertion of the negative not only renders it intelligible, but gives it that very meaning which the context requires. In other respects, as in respect of Italics and Capitals, the extract is precisely as in the text.—ED.

the narrative in Genesis referred to more than the arrangement of the country contained within the limits specified. But we would ask, whether it is at all likely that the Creator thus performed his work piece-meal, or that he put forth a special issue of creative energy to furnish with beasts and birds and plants a little corner of the earth. Moreover, what are we to say respecting the reason assigned in the fourth commandment for the observance of the Sabbath? If God merely rested on the seventh day from the creation of a district in Central Asia, how was this a reason for the observance of the Sabbath by the Jews in the wilderness, and in the land of Canaan—not to speak of its observance, as obligatory, as we are well prepared to shew that it is, on all men, in all places, and in all ages, to whom the Bible is made known? We know not how it may be with others, but to us it would appear that there were a gap in the reasoning, were that commandment to be written thus:—"Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but on the seventh thou shalt not do any work;—for in six days the Lord rendered the heavenly bodies visible to, and 'adjusted and furnished' a portion of the earth, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Tartary on the North, the Persian and Indian Seas on the South, and the high mountain ridges which run at considerable distances on the Eastern and Western flanks. He also in these six days 'adjusted and furnished' these seas aforesaid, to wit, the Caspian, the Persian Gulf and the Northern part of the Indian Ocean, and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and sanctified it." Such reasoning would not, we have said, commend itself to our understanding; but it is enough for us and for Dr. Pye Smith, that such is not the reasoning employed. Whatever might be said in favour of the restriction in the first chapter of Genesis, it seems utterly inapplicable to the twentieth chapter of Exodus. But the terms, "heavens" and "earth" and "seas," must of necessity have precisely the same extent of meaning in the one of these passages that they have in the other. We believe the reason, that weighed with Dr. Smith to assign this restricted meaning to the term "earth," in the record of the creation, was his supposition, that its meaning must be so limited in the account of the Noachian deluge, and a desire to maintain consistency in his interpretation. We shall have occasion, ere we have done, to examine his reasons for maintaining the partial prevalence of the Noachian deluge; and if we can shew these to be insufficient, then his theory of the partiality of the Adamic creation will fall to the ground of itself.

We trust we have done no injustice to this venerable Divine

in the statement of his views. Assuredly we have not intended to do so; and, if they are not as we have stated them, it is not because we have designed to misrepresent them, but because we have failed ourselves to apprehend them correctly. If here were degrees of inexcusableness for want of candour, we know no man towards whom it would be more inexcusable than towards Dr. Smith—not only on account of the high personal and professional character that he has sustained throughout, we suppose, an almost unexampled length of time, but also on account of the exceeding candour which is displayed in all his own writings. Mistake he may, (as who may not, and who that thinks at all for himself does not, and that often ?); but never does he do intentional injustice to an opponent, and never does he shrink from the avowal of what he believes to be the truth. Such a tribute of respect we regard as well due to this truly venerable man, who has done much for the cause of truth, and whose mistakes will ere long be all forgotten, while his name will be long remembered as that of a champion of truth and righteousness.

We cannot dwell any longer upon this, or at all on any others of the methods employed to evince the harmony between the historical and the geological records, whose main element consists in a modification of the commonly received interpretation of the former. We now pass on to the notice of such as consist mainly in a modification of the commonly received interpretation of the latter.

With the earlier attempts of this sort, we shall not trouble our readers, or ourselves. In truth we are to the full as ignorant of them as it is understood to beseem a reviewer to acknowledge himself to be respecting any thing knowable or unknowable; nor do we deem it likely that the profit would go any considerable way towards compensating for the labour of rendering ourselves acquainted with them. Writing at a time, when men's minds were alarmed with a vague terror induced by the infant-Hercules Geology of the day, it is not improbable that Burnet and Whiston may have served a useful purpose at the time, by opposing one spectre to another; but we can conceive no good purpose that would be served by resuscitating in these days their long-ago-refuted hypotheses and theories. *Requiescant in pace.*

The principal writers who have, in recent times, since Geology established its title to be ranked among the sciences, attempted to prove that the geological doctrines generally received are erroneous, and in particular that all the formations of which the earth's crust is composed, have been deposited during the period that has elapsed since the creation of man upon the

earth (an event which Geology and Scripture perfectly concur in representing as having taken place somewhere about 6,000 years ago), are Mr. Granville Penn and Mr. George Fairholme. The work of the former writer we read many years ago; but, as we have not been able to lay our hands on it in this remote corner of the world, we should not have ventured to give any statement of its doctrines on the faith of our recollection, were not our memory refreshed by a short notice of them in Dr. Pye Smith's book, several extracts from the work itself in Mr. Fairholme's treatise, and several allusions in Captain Hutton's work. These notices, extracts, and allusions, all agree in representing the views of Mr. Penn as being almost exactly those of Mr. Fairholme. They may be stated briefly thus. That the period betwixt the creation and the deluge (say 1,656 years) is sufficient to allow of the stratified rocks being formed in the bottom of the ocean by the accumulation of the debris of the land, constantly washed down by the rivers and streams; that the bed of the ocean being thus gradually raised, and the level of the land as gradually depressed, the deluge was the consequence; that that great and awful judgment must have been occasioned by the gradual interchange of level between the former seas and lands; that we are consequently now inhabiting the bed of the ante-diluvian ocean; and that all the fossil remains of animals and vegetables, now discovered in our rocks or soils, were either imbedded in the course of this gradual formation of the secondary strata, under the waters of the former sea (as in the case of the marine productions in chalk, and many other calcareous marine formations), or were thrown into their present situations by the waters of the deluge, and imbedded (as in the case of quadrupeds, vegetables, human beings, and other *land productions*) in the soft soils and strata so abundantly formed at that eventful period, by the preternatural supply of materials for secondary formations.

Here there are two main points brought under our notice, viz., *first*, that the whole strata, forming the crust of the earth, were deposited during the 1,700 years that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the deluge, or during the year of the prevalence of the deluge itself; and *second*, that the surface of the present land was the bottom of the ante-diluvian sea, and the bottom of the present sea was the surface of the ante-diluvian land. The former of these two points will occupy our attention ere long, when it will be brought before us by Captain Hutton; at present we shall only remark respecting it, that we feel considerable diffidence as to the correctness of our apprehension of Mr. Fairholme's meaning,

and that an attentive perusal of his book has not enabled us to form even the vaguest idea as to the way, in which he would account for the existence of hills upon the earth. With respect to the second point, it will probably be sufficient to remark, that for its establishment, it confessedly requires the expunging of that part of the book of Genesis, which describes the situation of Paradise or the Garden of Eden: and that, in our estimation, its establishment would be all the more firmly secured by the further deletion of a few passages besides. Mr. Fairholme quotes from Mr. Penn a long argument in favour of this diluvial interchange of land and sea, and of the deletion of the description of the primeval Paradise from the sacred narrative. The substance of the argument is no more than this; that there are instances in which glosses or explanatory notes, originally written on the margin of the manuscripts of scripture, have been subsequently introduced, either intentionally, or through the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, into the text. This argument is followed up by the assertion that the description of Paradise has been thus introduced. Now to this it is sufficient to answer that there is no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of the argument; but there is no reason whatsoever to believe in the propriety of the application of it to the matter in hand. We have no doubt that passages may have been introduced, both into the Old Testament and the New, in the manner described; but there is not the shadow of a reason for believing that the account of the situation of the Garden of Eden is thus spurious, except the single reason of its inconsistency with the theory of Messrs. Penn and Fairholme. "Tell me what are the facts," said the French theorist, "that I may reconcile them with my hypothesis." "Tell us what are the facts," say these hardier speculators, (for the statements of the Mosaic record are the very facts that they have to deal withal,) "that we may deny them, since they square not with our hypothesis." It would have simplified the matter considerably, as we have already hinted, to have carried the denying process a little further, and to have quietly blotted out the narrative of the deluge from the Mosaic record; for, as it stands, it certainly does seem to ordinary understandings, and to every understanding save that of a determined theorist, to describe a very different occurrence from that which is essential to the stability of the hypothesis in question. Mr. Fairholme indeed declares as follows, but our mind is not so constituted as to be able to go along with his reasoning :—

In the whole of this narrative, we find no one circumstance to lead us to a supposition that the *same earth*, or dry land, existed after the flood, as had been inhabited previous to that event; or to contradict the united

evidence of the declaration of the intention of God to *destroy the earth*, and of the physical facts with which we are now surrounded on every part of the present dry land.

Now, it would be pure pedantry to pretend to say that every foot of land, that was dry before the deluge, was dry after the deluge; but we will say that if the Mosaic narrative do not assert generally that that which was dry land before the deluge became dry land after the deluge, and so contradict the supposition that the land laid bare by the subsidence of the flood was not the land that had been bare up to the commencement of the flood, but the land that had, till then, been covered with the waters of the ocean—it would just as little contradict the supposition that the land submerged was indeed the land of this planet, but that the land that emerged from the aqueous envelope was the land of the moon or the remotest planet of our system. As to the expression in one of the Epistles of Peter, distinguishing between "the earth that then was" and "the earth that now is," we protest, on behalf of ourselves, and confidently on behalf of all that portion of mankind endowed with common sense, that any man may distinguish between the "ante-diluvian world" and "the post-diluvian world," without being understood to support the Penn-Fairholme hypothesis. So also as to the "declared intention" of the Almighty to "destroy the earth." The earth *was* destroyed, in every natural sense of the term, when the waters of the deluge were brought over it, without reference to the question of the emergence.

And now, at length, we come to direct our special attention to the work of our Indian Geologist, to whom we feel that we owe an apology for having seemed to neglect it so long. But in reality we have scarcely lost sight of Captain Hutton and his work throughout; on the contrary, we have all along been laying down principles that will be helpful to us in judging of the "Chronology of the creation." We believe we shall best be able to bring just so much of the subject before our readers, as we design to bring before them, (for even those who are disposed to complain of our tediousness hitherto, will admit that we have kept as clear as possible of extraneous matter, and have confined ourselves as strictly as possible to the question of the harmony of scripture with geological ascertainments as to the actual duration of the earth), by noticing our author's view of what happened before the commencement of the creation—the creation—the events between the creation and the deluge—the deluge—and the events subsequent to the deluge. We shall thus indeed pass unnoticed much interesting matter, and much that might well call for remark, in the work

before us ; but we shall thus also keep our article within moderate bounds.

With respect to the period that elapsed before the CREATION, our author is of opinion, that, at a certain period in the earth's history, the materials of which it is composed consisted of water, holding all the others in solution. He does not enquire whether this were the state, in which the materials of the earth were originally created, or whether this were the state into which they were reduced at a period subsequent to their original creation ; but he takes up the investigation at the point when the earth consisted of a fluid mass (we should rather say viscous) revolving round an axis, and holding in solution all the solid matter which is contained in our present globe. In connection with this part of his subject, he gives (what we regard as) a satisfactory refutation of the *nebular hypothesis*. Altogether, we believe that this part of his work is strictly accurate, as descriptive of the state in which the earth was at one period, after the materials thereof had been called into being, and previous to the arrangement of these materials in the six days of the Mosaic record ; but whether the earth continued in this state up to the time when the work of these six days began, or whether various organizations and dis-organizations had taken place before the period when the Mosaic detail commences, we leave for future consideration.

The second chapter of the work before us is one of the least satisfactory in the whole book, filled with reasoning which, we must confess, wears, to our thinking, much more the aspect of a desire to gain a victory over an opponent, than to ascertain the precise truth. The object of it is to prove, in opposition to the views of Chalmers, Buckland, Sedgwick, and so many others, that the earth was never in a habitable state, and was never inhabited, at any period between *the beginning* and the evening of the first day. The reasoning employed is to this effect. The animals, which are supposed to have inhabited the earth during this period, had eyes, and therefore they existed, not before, but after, the creation of light. But light was not created, or at least did not reach the earth, until the evening of the first day. But then, in answer to this, it may be said that while the scripture declares that there was darkness upon the face of the deep at the period immediately preceding the first day, it is nowhere stated that this darkness had existed throughout the whole period from the beginning ; and that it is both possible and highly probable that the darkness was only temporary, having been caused by the surcharging of the atmosphere with thick and impenetrable vapours. To this Captain

Hutton replies, in effect, as follows :—There could be no light available for the ordinary purposes of vision without an atmosphere. But if there were an atmosphere, the light could never be so obscured as to constitute that darkness which, according to all allowance, was upon the face of the deep at the period when the divine word was uttered—'Let there be light.' "If (says he) the atmosphere existed, as according to this author it did, previous to the first day, so likewise must the sun have existed, and therefore, however complete may have been the screen of clouds, mists, or vapours, which excluded that body itself from view, it would have been utterly impossible, as it is now, to prevent the effect of day-light, however dimmed; and consequently, no darkness, such as that to which the scripture alludes, could have enveloped the chaotic earth." We do not like to state in so many words how this reasoning strikes us. It is a principle in optics, that light, in passing through any medium not absolutely opaque, loses a certain proportion of its intensity, the amount differing according to the degree of transparency of the medium. Now, as no medium that we know is absolutely transparent, so it is probable that none is absolutely opaque; so that it is quite possible that, as no medium transmits the whole of the light that falls upon it, so no one perhaps may intercept the whole. It is upon this supposition that our author's argument is founded. But suppose we admit that some light passes through a whin-stone, if we had only eyes capable of perceiving it; and suppose we admit that no clouds or vapours, with which we are acquainted, do actually produce total darkness at noon-day; what authority has our author for asserting that the darkness which brooded on the face of the deep was absolute and entire darkness? This word—*darkness*, or its corresponding word in whatsoever language, is, of necessity, a relative term, seldom, or perhaps never, for aught we know, signifying absolutely a total absence of light, but generally a greater or less deprivation of light. Thus we speak of a "very dark day," while yet there is as much light, as when we speak of a "fine light night." And in this relative sense, the word is perpetually used in scripture, as any one may see who will take a *Concordance*, and refer to all the passages in which the term occurs. Now, short of *absolute* darkness, it is unquestionable that any amount whatever of lack of light might be caused by temporarily acting causes, without having recourse to the supposition of an actual darkening of the sun; a supposition, however, by the way, which is no ways unallowable. They who have witnessed, for it would scarcely be legitimate to say *seen*, a proper London fog, must have formed a tolerably large estimate of the powers

of our atmosphere to sustain obscurative matters; and we have only to suppose an encrease of the quantity of these, in order to furnish out an amount of obscuration sufficient to satisfy any reasonable demand.

We are afraid it may be thought that we have dwelt too long upon this argument; but we cannot leave this chapter without alluding to the account which our author gives of his notion as to the way in which light first reached our earth. We must give the passage at length :—

It is fully in accordance with the statements of holy writ, to believe that the heavenly bodies may have existed through ages, previous to the first day of Genesis, although they did not give light to our planet before that day. The text, it must be observed, insists upon nothing more than that light had not yet visited the earth; but it does not declare that the bodies from which that light was eventually to proceed, were not already in existence. The application, therefore, of evidence derived from astronomy, proves indubitably the great antiquity of those material elements from which this system was at length elaborated; and it will be perfectly consonant to reason, and in accordance with scripture, to believe that the creation of the material elements of the earth was contemporaneous with the creation of the elements of the heavenly bodies, and that all were left, under the guidance of certain natural laws, to progress towards that state which would eventually fit them to form our solar system, and for which they were evidently not prepared before the first day. Our planet, therefore, and the heavenly bodies, existed together through the undefined beginning, although not precisely in their present relation to each other, until such time as each had become prepared to assume its proper functions in the system, when, having been perfected, their light would then first have reached, or been intercepted by, the aqueous spheroid. That period, as the Bible and reason lead us to believe, was the particular point of time spoken of on the first day, when light was, as regarded on earth, to all intents and purposes, created. But while the light of Sirius is said to be six years and four months in reaching the earth, and while the light of the brilliant nebulæ is one million and nine hundred thousand years in reaching it, that of the Sun arrives in only eight minutes. If, therefore, no light reached the earth before the first day, when the effects of the sun became apparent, it must necessarily follow that all light had arrived at the same state of perfection on the first day, and consequently that the light and the heavenly bodies being simultaneously apparent on that day, must prove that if the elementary materials of the heaven and the earth were created at the same time, as the Bible and astronomy teach us to believe, the duration of the period styled "the beginning" must have been at least long enough to admit of the light of the nebulæ reaching the earth on the first day,—which will give to the strata, from the centre of the planet up to the highest of the *primary* rocks inclusive, an age of no less than 1,900,000 years before the first day began; and as throughout that period no organized beings could have inhabited it, there was evidently a time, as the Scripture and Geology disclose, when neither vegetable nor animal life had existence on the globe.

We have looked at this passage from every possible point of view, in the hope of being able to find that it is capable of some other interpretation than that which first occurred to us.

But it will not do. Despite of the occurrence of one or two expressions that seem inconsistent with the main drift of the passage, we are obliged to conclude the meaning of the whole to be this. The whole of the material elements of the heaven and earth were made at once, but all the bodies that are now luminous were then dark. However, they were made subject to certain laws, in virtue of whose operation they became luminous at certain periods; and these periods were so arranged, that the first ray of light that issued from each one of them, reached the earth at the same instant of time on the evening of the first day. But as we know that light occupies eight minutes in traversing the distance between the earth and the sun, and all possible lengths of time betwixt $6\frac{3}{4}$ years as a minimum, and 1,900,000 years as a maximum, in traversing the distance between the earth and the several fixed stars, it follows that the period when luminosity was imparted to the sun was 8 minutes, and that when it was imparted to Sirius $6\frac{3}{4}$ years, and to the most distant nebulæ 1,900,000 years, before the commencement of the first day; and that in general we shall find the precise point of time, when any body became luminous, by dividing the number of miles representing its distance from the earth, by the number representing the distance that light traverses in a year, and counting the result backwards from the evening of the first day. However, even on the supposition that the most distant individual of the starry family emitted his first ray at the instant of the common creation, there still must have been the above-mentioned period of 1,900,000 years elapsing between the creation of all the material elements of the universe and the commencement of the first day. Such being our author's view of the origin of light, we must just leave our readers to believe it,—if they can. For ourselves, we find it difficult to believe that the command—"Let there be light" meant absolutely nothing at all, since the light arrived, independently of the command, from so many millions of luminaries, each lighted at the precise instant which was necessary to enable its light to reach the earth at the precise instant when the useless command is represented to have been given. So much then for the period styled the beginning, or the period that elapsed before the commencement of the six days.

The creation itself, as we may call the work of the six days, is described by our author at considerable length. First of all, at a time shortly preceding the issue of the mandate for the arrival of light, the sun, which had from the *beginning* been endued with attractive energy, was gifted with the power of emitting

heat; the effect of this heat was to produce evaporation, and the vapours so raised being suspended in the air (with which it appears our author supposes the "aqueous spheroid" to have been surrounded, although he does not state whether it was so surrounded from *the beginning* or not) formed the atmosphere, capable of diffusing by refraction and reflection the light, which, as we have seen, reached it at this precise point of time, and so produced the effect of day-light.

The work of the second day was the making of the firmament, that is, the heating by the continued action of the sun's rays, and consequent expansion, of the aqueous vapours, so as to cause them to rise up to a distance above the earth, where they are sustained in the shape of clouds. "The operations of the second day (says our author) are not to be attributed to any especial or supernatural exertion of Almighty power in that period, but to the fact of the sun's having been made the source of light and heat on the preceding day." Thus the second command—"Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters" appears to have been as nugatory as the former. In fact, from the time when the material elements of the earth and the heavens were called into being, down to the close of the second day, we have no forth-putting of Divine power, except in the conservation of those laws that were impressed on all the matter of the universe at the *beginning*.

Our author's account of the former part of the third day's work, the separation of the dry land from the seas, is, to our thinking, one of the best parts of the work before us. Although we cannot agree with our author as to the time when the hills were elevated above the surface of the original earth, we have little doubt that the process itself of the elevation was substantially that which he describes. It is due to our author to let him describe this operation in his own words:—

It has * * * been suggested that during the long period which elapsed, while the mineral globe was in course of precipitation and deposition in the bosom of the deep, a chemical heat must have been engendered in the central heavy mass of metallic oxides, which, in all probability, formed the nucleus of the planet, and that, through the agency of this heat, the lower strata became gradually more and more compact and indurated, while cracks and fissures were the natural consequences of the expansion of the internal heated matters. The germs of volcanic action were thus engendered and kept alive in the interior of the earth, although its violence had not yet arrived at that degree of force which afterwards enabled it to disrupt and upbear the strata. In this state of progressively increasing power, it must have continued through the long period of years known as "*the beginning*;" but no sooner was the effect of heat felt upon the surface of the planet, through the active operation of the solar ray, causing the expansion of the newly-formed atmosphere, than the great weight of atmospheric pressure, superadded to that of the mineral strata, and of the

superincumbent ocean, which already pressed enormously upon the central mass, increased the power of the internal heat by condensation, to such a degree of intensity, that the expansion of the nucleus, causing the strata to split and swell up, gave passage to the waters of the ocean, which percolating to the incandescent centre, and acting upon the metallic bases, or intensely heated lava within, suddenly produced by their decomposition a vast amount of hydrogen; and the hitherto smouldering volcanic forces, now roused into terrific action, suddenly burst forth with irresistible vigour towards the surface, rending and upbearing in their progress the superior strata of the earth, whose surface from thenceforward became varied with hill and dale.

We have no doubt, as we have already intimated, that this was substantially the process by which the mountains were elevated, nor as to the fact that our author insists upon elsewhere, that the protrusion of a hill must have been accompanied with a corresponding "staving in," if we may use a familiar expression, of a corresponding portion of the earth's crust, so as to keep up the solidity of the spheroid,—although we do not quite see the necessity of the depression being always antipodal to the elevation. A vacuum being produced by the withdrawal of a certain amount of matter from the central regions of the earth, and the atmosphere and ocean pressing with mighty force all around the spheroid, the break would take place at the weakest part of the surface, and a depression would be formed, into which the waters would be collected. But it will scarcely escape the notice of our readers, that the *time* allowed for the process is far too small. Whatever may have been the state of the primitive strata, it is a matter of impossibility, we hesitate not to say, that the percolatory process should have taken place, as our author would represent it as having taken place, in the course of a single day.

As it is one of the best ascertained of all geological facts that the primitive rocks composing the present mountain chains broke through fossiliferous strata, and disrupted and displaced them, this fact would be fatal to our author's whole theory, were it admitted that the actually existing lands and mountains are those that were formed at this period; but the theory is saved by the partial adoption of the supposition to which we have already referred as that of Granville Penn, that the lands and mountains then upraised are now submerged under the bottom of the ocean. Captain Hutton does not at all agree with Mr. Penn as to the mode in which the deluge was effected; but he does agree with him in holding that many of the present hills are of post-diluvian formation. We shall have occasion to advert to this when we come to speak of the deluge; meanwhile we call attention to the fact that the theory is entirely dependent for its establishment upon the proof of the supposition of an in-

terchange (at least to a great extent) between the ocean-bed and the dry land of the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian worlds. If it cannot be proved that the mountains upheaved on the third day of creation are not the mountains that we now behold, then the whole theory will fall to the ground; for it is very certain that *these* mountains were formed after the deposit of the fossiliferous strata. We shall therefore have occasion to recur to this part of the subject at a later period of our discussion.

Here again, therefore, according to our author, there was no forth-putting of creative power in the proper sense; all was done in accordance with those laws which were impressed upon matter at the beginning, and to which it continues to be subject to this hour.* It was in the latter portion of this third day, that creation, by a special out-putting of the Divine power, may properly be said to have begun. Our author's account of the production of the vegetable kingdom might agree sufficiently well with the very brief account contained in the first chapter of Genesis, but we do not think that it harmonizes with the somewhat more detailed account in the second chapter. We freely admit that it militates sadly against the poetry of the subject, to suppose that the vegetable kingdom was produced in the form of a packet of ungerminated seeds, and, it may be, a heap of unsprung roots; but such really seems to us to be the intimation given in the second chapter by the inspired historian, when he tells us that "God made every herb of the field before it was in the earth, and every plant of the field before it grew." We should imagine that an "herb of the field before it is in the earth" is a seed; and that a "plant of the field before it grows" is a root. We know quite as well as we can be told, that God could as easily have made the vegetable world in a state of full development; but the sole question here is, whether it pleased him to do so:—"what says the scripture?"

The explanation that our author gives of the work of the fourth day, is essentially the same with that given by those who adopt the supposition of a long interval between the period when the creation of the matter of the earth was effected, and the period when the present arrangement of the cosmical elements was en-

* We candidly acknowledge that we do not regard this as necessarily fatal to our author's theory. We are so little capable of understanding the nature of the Divine operations, that throughout the Bible, and especially in the Old Testament, these operations are described to us in the only language that we can understand—language borrowed from analogous operations performed by ourselves. We are not therefore prepared positively to deny that the work which is represented as having been done by a positive *fiat* issued at a particular instant, *may have* been in reality effected by the operation of laws impressed upon matter long before. This observation is equally applicable to the remarks we have already made respecting the two first commands —"Let there be light," and "Let there be a firmament."

tered upon. Both they and our author admit that the sun, moon and stars were in existence long before the period in question, and they agree in thinking that they were actually giving light to the earth on the first, second and third of the Mosaic days; they therefore agree that the special work performed respecting them on the fourth day was the "appointment" of the sun and the moon to rule the day and the night respectively, and to be "for signs and for seasons, for days and for years." Nor has our author any special quarrel with the supposition that it was only on the fourth day that the sun became distinctly visible to the earth, by the further elevation of the clouds through the encreased temperature of the atmosphere, occasioned by the radiation of heat from the dry land. He is moreover greatly captivated by an ingenious conceit of Mr. Granville Penn's, that it was only on the fourth day, or, as we would say, the evening of the third day, that the moon would become visible, it being assumed that she was, at the commencement of the first day, in a state of conjunction. In other words it is supposed that it was new moon at that instant, and that it was only three days afterwards that the moon emerged from the sun's rays, and became visible as a delicate crescent. He argues at considerable length that it was only then, when the moon first became visible, that these luminaries could be properly said to be appointed to their functions. Be this so or not, we can hardly persuade ourselves that this view of the matter exhausts the meaning of the sacred text.

The work of the fifth day was the creation of the "feathered and aquatic tribes," and also, as we believe, the innumerable races of insects and reptiles; and that of the sixth, the creation of the mammalia, including man. In connexion with this the author introduces a discussion, evidently suggested by the perusal of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, of the question whether plants and animals were brought into existence by the operation of natural laws, or by the immediate forth-putting of Divine power. He evidently leans to the former supposition in respect of plants and the lower animals, while he strongly asserts the latter with respect to man. While we do not agree with him in the former supposition, we must distinctly acknowledge that he leans to it in a form wholly, or in great measure, divested of its hurtful qualities. He desires it not to derogate in the slightest degree from the honor of God as the actual creator of all things; nor do we disagree with him in the position that God is equally the creator of the organized beings of our earth, whether they came into existence in consequence of certain laws which he had impressed upon the material elements of which they are composed, or whether he formed them out

of those elements by a special *fiat* of Divine power. He admits that, if there were laws impressed upon matter, which led on the third day to the formation of vegetables, and on the fifth and sixth days to the formation of animals, these laws are not in operation now; the same God who originally impressed them having suspended their operation when they had fulfilled their purpose; but he seems to consider that they are in such a state of dormant vitality, that, for example, if a new continent were now formed by volcanic action, it would be clothed with vegetation produced by the action of these laws. Now we may say that it is well ascertained that this is not the fact; that the islands and continents that have been formed, whether by volcanic agency or by the process of coralline formations, instead of being furnished with vegetable life in the space of a single day by the simple operation of the laws of nature, have remained barren until seeds have been carried by birds, and winds and waves, and the hand of man. Thus, while our author steers clear of the dangerous and most unphilosophical doctrine of spontaneous generation, and while therefore we admit that his views are theologically harmless, we do not think that they are philosophically or historically sound. In fact it scarcely accords with our notion of a *law*, to speak of a *creating law*. However, this is, to a considerable extent, a mere matter of definition. Respecting the creation of animals, our author throws out one idea which seems to us to be valuable, and which we do not remember to have met with before. It is as to the number of individuals of each species that were originally created. The common idea is that every species of animals is sprung from a single pair of that species; and some, from the analogy of the re-peopling of the world after the deluge, have inferred that the clean beasts were created by sevens and the unclean by twos. But this is not said in the scriptures; and it seems very probable that the fact was otherwise. "The waters brought forth *abundantly* the living creature that had life"—*abundantly*, we think it not improbable, not only in respect of a multitude of species, but in respect also of a multitude of individuals belonging to each species. Our author indeed limits the former, and expands the latter. He believes that the whole world at this time enjoyed a high temperature, and that only those animals that were fitted to live in such a temperature were at this time created; and moreover that the predaceous animals were not created till a subsequent period. As this question will fall under our notice while examining our author's view of the deluge, we shall not at present say more about it.

We are always glad when we can agree with our author, and have much pleasure in expressing our entire concurrence with his chapter on the Lamarckian doctrine of progression and transmutation of species. This doctrine, which we had imagined to have been exploded long ago, was brought into momentary vogue a few years ago by the author of the *Vestiges*. It were difficult to say whether it is more effectually overthrown by the hard argumentation of Captain Hutton, or by the keen satire of Mr. Miller.

Thus we have the author's picture of the earth at the conclusion of the sixth day, The sun, moon and stars were shining as now upon an earth richly clothed with verdure, growing upon primitive rocks thrown up into hills and ridges, and curiously broken and distorted, *yet utterly destitute of soil;** an earth inhabited by races of beings living in harmony and peace upon those without-soil-produced vegetables, and ruled over by man as yet sinless, holy and happy—while the waters were peopled, as now, by the various races of fishes, including the predaceous, if indeed there be any fishes that are not, in part at least, predaceous. At this time, it is not unimportant to remark, our author conceives the dry land to have been confined to the equatoreal regions, with the exception of some small islets scattered up and down the northern hemisphere.

A few sentences will suffice to state our author's view of what took place between the creation and the deluge. We learn from the scriptures that our first parents, in their state of innocence, were in no need of clothing; and that after the fall, the garments they first wore were intended merely for decency, and not at all for warmth. But soon they were furnished by God himself with clothing suited to a colder climate than that in which they had previously lived. We have reason to believe therefore that, on the fall of man, the temperature of the earth was greatly lowered. But as we have no reason to believe that the relation of our planet to the sun was altered, this reduction of temperature must have taken place in consequence of some change in the earth or its atmosphere. Now such a reduction would be effected by the formation of additional lands in the circumpolar regions, which would allow the accumulation of snow and ice, and so lower the temperature over the whole globe. Such, according to our author, was the actual event. The islets that had hitherto studded the northern hemisphere were extended into continents, by the action of sub-marine volcanoes; and it

* We do not think we do our author any injustice in imputing this fatal defect to his system. We find nothing whatsoever in his whole work that will account for the formation of soil previously to the creation of the vegetable kingdom.

is to the action of these volcanoes, and the frightful commotions that they produced amongst the waters, that our author ascribes the formation of the transition and secondary strata, up to the termination of the carboniferous system. There is a considerable amount of ingenuity displayed in the way in which our author shews that a great length of time was not necessary for the deposition of these systems. But, to our thinking, one single fact is fatal altogether to the theory, that these systems were actually deposited at the period assigned to their deposition. For obvious reasons there is not any one of the formations in the earth's crust that has been so closely examined as the coal formation. Now we hold that, if this formation had originated at the period contended for by Captain Hutton, it must have contained the remains of mammalia; we hold further that, if such remains had existed in the coal formation, they must, ere now, have been detected. But it is a fact that there has not been found the slightest reason to believe that a single lung-breathing animal existed in the forests, which, it is admitted by Captain Hutton, were the nucleus of the coal formation. Now we think there is very good reason to believe that the formation of the carboniferous system was an essential preliminary to the existence of such animals. It seems to be all but proved by M. Brongniart (as quoted by several of the writers now on our table) that the enormous quantities of carbon now incorporated in the coal and carboniferous lime-stone, must have been derived from the atmosphere. Before the formation of the system in question, therefore, this carbon must have been diffused throughout the atmosphere in the shape of carbonic acid gas. Now the quantity of this gas that must have been then abstracted, in addition to the quantity now contained in the atmosphere, would certainly render it unfit for the respiration of any warm-blooded animal. Consequently it was only after it was absorbed by the gigantic vegetation now embedded in the coal-fields, and permanently shut in, so to speak, by the fossilization of this vegetation, that the atmosphere became respirable by such animals. This, to be sure, is theory, although it is, at the least, a theory to which there attaches much *vraisemblance;* but the fact we hold to be incontrovertible, that mammalia did not exist on the earth at the period of the formation of the carboniferous system; and this fact is utterly subversive of the whole theory of Captain Hutton. It is of no consequence for the argument, whether the reasoning, by which he seeks to establish that these formations were effected rapidly, be sound or not. The question is not *quamdiu*, but *quando;* not how long a time was occupied in the formation of the coal measures, but whether these measures were formed before or after the

creation of animals. According to either of the systems of explaining the first chapter of Genesis, between which we have acknowledged that we cannot make up our mind to a decision, the former question is left perfectly open; there is no contradiction between either of them, and all that Captain Hutton seeks to prove, respecting the length of time that was spent in the deposition of the strata. According to the one method of interpretation, the deposits must have been lodged in the course of the fifth day; according to the other, they must have been lodged in the course of that indefinite period which preceded the first day; but how long a portion of that indefinitely long fifth day in the one case, or of that indefinitely long period in the other, elapsed during the process of deposition, neither the one system nor the other is concerned to determine. With respect to this part of the subject we shall only notice at present, reserving it for fuller consideration immediately, that it was about the period of the fall, according to our author, that the predatory mammalia were first created.

The upper transition and lower secondary formations having been thus deposited, according to our author, in the course of the violent volcanic phenomena that immediately succeeded the fall of man, we understand him to teach that the remaining secondary formations were lodged during the period that elapsed between the fall and the flood; the Wealden and cretaceous system during the prevalence of the flood itself; and the tertiary since the flood.

Our author has all the argument on his side, when he is engaged in refuting the theory of a partial inundation. He leaves not Dr. Pye Smith "a leg to stand on;" and were it not that our article has already exceeded its proper limits, we should very gladly make some extracts from this portion of his work. Not less successful is he in demolishing Mr. Penn's theory of a total interchange of land and sea. Indeed it is characteristic of our author, as of many other writers, that his intellect is more of a "destructive" than a "constructive" character—more fitted, if we may borrow the language of his own craft, to tear up and disrupt and reduce to mere boulders and debris the unsound theories of others, than to lay a solid and compactly stratified theory of his own. We cannot read the Bible account of the deluge without being persuaded that it ought to be understood literally, as of a universal deluge, in which water enveloped the whole earth at one time, and gradually subsided, leaving virtually the same land that had been land before, and the same sea that had been sea before. Nor are we at all certain, (although Geologists, whether Mosaic or mineral, do not seem to have even hinted at such a supposition,) that there is not water enough in the clouds, and the seas, and diffused through the crust of the earth, to effect this envelopment. As to the quantity

of water usually contained in the clouds, and held in solution or mechanical suspension in the atmosphere, it is perhaps impossible to form an estimate. But as the rain fell uninterruptedly for forty days and forty nights—and, it is unquestionable, with vast violence—and as the evaporation into so moist an atmosphere must have been almost nothing, it cannot be doubted that a large quantity of water was derived from this source. Still less do we know of the quantity of water, that is actually contained within the crust of the earth. We speak not now of any imagined reservoir of water in the centre of the earth. Indeed we hold it proved that none such exists. But we speak of the ordinary water-courses, which we meet with on every occasion that we bore into the earth, and the ordinary moisture with which the earth is impregnated, certainly to a very considerable depth. Now, suppose for a moment, that by some means or other a great pressure had been exerted all over the earth's surface, the effect of this would have been to cause the earth to disgorge this water from every pore, like a squeezed sponge. In short, we should have a phenomenon, that we may be helped to the conception of by imagining millions of Artesian wells spouting up monstrous jets all over the earth's surface, from under the sea as well as on the surface of the dry ground. The compressing of the elastic strata of the earth would also considerably diminish its volume, and so aid in the raising of the level of the water above its surface. We throw out this suggestion as a mere hint, without dogmatizing, or asserting, (as the wont of the authors, with whom we have had to deal, is to far too great an extent), that this really *was* the mode in which the inundation was effected, or that this is what is meant by the "breaking up of the fountains of the deep." But we can see no reason to prevent our saying that it *may* have been; and the supposition seems to us to do less violence to the literality of the sacred record, than either Dr. Pye Smith's supposition of a partial deluge, Messrs. Penn and Fairholme's supposition of an inter-change of level between land and sea, or Captain Hutton's supposition of a subsidence of a great part of the land, and a subsequent elevation, partly of the same land that had been elevated before, and partly of new land that had been previously submerged.

We have already, in passing, noticed various flaws in Captain Hutton's system, which we regard as fatal to its integrity. But there is one point on which the whole essentially depends, to which we have already referred, but the consideration of which we have reserved till now. We mean his theory of "subsequent creations." We have stated that he considers that no predatory land animals existed up to the fall; that they were created subsequently to that event; and that, as new lands were gradually formed by volcanic action, they were stocked by a

fresh creation of animals and vegetables suited to their several climates. He also considers that no animals peculiar to cold climates, and no predatory animals, were preserved in the ark, and that the present races of these animals are descended from stocks created after the deluge. And moreover that all vegetation was destroyed by the deluge, and that its place was supplied by an act or process of creation, similar to that which effected the garniture of the earth on the third day of creation. Now we would remark, first of all, in reference to this matter, that it *seems* distinctly to contradict the statements of scripture. When man was created, it is declared that "God rested from all his works." "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and *all the hosts of them.*" And then at the flood we are certainly told very distinctly that Noah was directed to take with him into the ark (we know not what language could be framed to express universality unless it be expressed by the language of the sacred text in reference to this matter) "every clean beast by sevens, the male and his female, and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female; of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female."—*Gen.* vii. 2, 3. Again:—"Of clean beasts, and beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth."—v. 8. And again:—"Every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort: and they went in with Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him."—v. 14—16. Precisely similar language is employed in describing the exit of the varied crew.

From the very nature of the case it is not easy to prove by natural history that no new creation has taken place since the creation of man; but we may safely say that, except by reasoning in a circle, first assuming the truth of Captain Hutton's geological theory, or some similar theory, and then proving post-Adamic creation from its necessity to the establishment of that theory, it cannot be supported. We may here introduce what Mr. Miller says on the subject:—

So far as both the geologic and the scriptural evidence extends, no species or family of existences seems to have been introduced by creation into the present scene of being since the appearance of man. In scripture the formation of the human race is described as the terminal act of a series, "good" in all its previous stages, which became "very good" then; and Geologists, judging from the modicum of evidence which they have hitherto succeeded in collecting on the subject, evidence still meagre, but, so far as it goes, independent and distinct, pronounce 'post-Adamic creations,' at least "improbable." The Naturalist finds certain animal and vegetable species restricted to certain circles, and that in certain foci in these

circles they attain to their fullest development and their maximum number; and these foci he regards as the original centres of creation, whence, in each instance, in the process of increase and multiplication, the plant or creature propagated itself outwards in circular wavelets of life, that sank at each stage as they widened, till at length, at the circumference of the area, they wholly ceased. Now we find it argued by Professor Edward Forbes, that "since man's appearance, certain geological areas, both of land and water, have been formed, presenting such physical conditions as to entitle us to expect within their bounds, one, or in some instances, more than one, centre of creation, or, *point of maximum of a zoological or botanical province.* But a critical examination renders evident that, instead of showing distinct foci of creation, they have been, in all instances, peopled by colonization, *i. e.* by migration of species from pre-existing, and in every case pre-Adamic, provinces."

That this is only a negative argument we admit; yet it at least destroys the integrity of Captain Hutton's theory. It does not prove that there was no case, in which a post-Adamic formation of land was peopled by a post-Adamic creation of animals and vegetables; but it proves that this was not the case in *all* the instances, in which Captain Hutton would have it that it was. It proves that it was not so in some of the instances in which it might most of all have been expected; and thereby renders it in a high degree likely that it was not so in any instance. Now with this baseless hypothesis Captain Hutton's whole system stands or falls. If the animals, that now exist on the earth, have existed ever since the creation of Adam, then it is certain that the strata, which Captain Hutton supposes to have been deposited since that creation, must have contained the traces of their remains. But they do not contain such traces; therefore either the animals in question were created after Adam was created, or the strata in question were deposited before the creation of Adam. Now, the former branch of the alternative contradicts the plain language of scripture, and is at the very least wholly unsupported by any evidence from natural history; therefore the strata in question were deposited before the creation of Adam; and Captain Hutton's theory is refuted.

Captain Hutton cannot refuse the perilling of his case upon the stability of this hypothesis of post-Adamic creation; nor does he, we ought distinctly to say, refuse it. With an honesty worthy of all commendation, which, almost constantly displayed throughout his book, has won for him our sincere regard, he manfully sets himself to the establishment of it. We must say that there is not one of the arguments, that he adduces, that seems to us fit "to hold water." We cannot do more than simply particularise them, and indicate the mode in which, if we had space, we would deal with them. *First*—The change of temperature that is said to have taken place since the creation of man must have destroyed those animals that lived in the polar regions, when these enjoyed a tropical tempera-

ture, and have rendered necessary the creation of a set of animals suited to the habitation of these regions with their present temperature. To this it might be answered, that, granting the change of temperature, and granting also that it may have destroyed some of the races that then inhabited the polar regions, it cannot be proved that those, which now inhabit these regions, might not, for a little time, (and it is only for a very little time, namely, the period of man's continuance in a state of innocence, that it is necessary to account) have lived in a tropical temperature. *Second*—The fishes were not included in the ark; but the fresh-water fishes could not have existed during the flood, when salt or brackish water overspread all the earth; consequently they must have been created after the flood. *Answer.*—Supposing this to be true, their spawn might have been preserved. *Third*—"It would appear that if, according to the popular belief, some of *every species* had been taken into the ark, the recent (present?) and fossil races ought to be identical; whereas we find them to be in most cases totally distinct." *Answer*—This is mere reasoning in a circle. It is only Captain Hutton's and similar theories that require the identity of the present with the fossil species. According to our belief the fossil species had been wholly destroyed before the existing species were called into being. *Fourth*—The command to Noah to gather to him of all food that was eaten, could not include food for the predatory animals. *Answer*—(1) Required the proof. The scripture tells us that the animals to be preserved were brought by sevens and twos, because it was necessary that a certain specified number of them should be preserved; but there is nothing to prevent the supposition that a miscellaneous multitude might be trapped for the purpose of being preserved as live-stock, to afford food during the voyage, if we may so call it, to the carnivorous animals; (2) Noah might catch a daily supply of fish as he floated on the waters. *Fifth*—As the quantity of the land has encreased since the first creation, the animals must have been created, as the climates and countries which they now inhabit were from time to time produced. *Answer*—See answer to *first* argument, and the quotation given above from Professor Forbes. *Sixth*—This we must give in Captain Hutton's own words:—"We find this interpretation confirmed by that passage of Genesis, which declares that after the subsidence of the deluge, 'God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, and I, behold, I establish my covenant with you and with your seed after you; and with every living creature that is with you; *from all that go out of the ark to every beast of the earth!*' Is it not evident from this declaration that a marked distinction is made between the beasts that *went out of the ark,* and some other *beasts of the*

earth? And to what others can we refer, save to those which God had seen fitting to create, in order that the new climates which the late revolution had produced, and would still thereafter produce, might be stocked and replenished, in common with all other quarters and portions of the globe?" *Answer*—The *other beasts of the earth* were not any beasts then upon the earth, but the future progeny of the beasts that went out of the ark. Our author's reasoning, if applied to the former clause of the verse in precisely the same way that he applies it to the latter, would prove that Noah and his sons had certain *seed* then alive upon the earth. *Seventh*—"The text does not necessarily imply that Noah took with him into the ark *two of every* living species, but only two of every kind that the Almighty foresaw would *be able to live and thrive*, when the waters should have again subsided from off the earth." *Answer.*—The text not only necessarily implies, but expressly states, that pairs were preserved of *all wherein was the breath of life. Eighth*—We have examples that must be admitted of fresh creations, as in the *Pediculus Nigritarum*, or louse that infests the negro race, "which is specifically distinct from that which infests the white man; hence, as it is peculiar to the descendants of Ham, who are a post-diluvian race, so it is evident that their peculiar parasite is a post-diluvian creation." *Answer*—If it infests the descendants of Ham, it may have infested Ham himself, or his wife. *Ninth*—Those multitudes of creatures, such as the worms in the intestines, &c., that torment and prey upon man, could not exist before the fall, when it is admitted that man was free from suffering. *Answer*—It is not denied that the origin of these creatures is involved in great obscurity; but it is not unlikely that they are the infusoria contained in all the food that we eat, modified and changed by the circumstances in which they are placed, after they come to be swallowed. *Tenth*—If all the races of animals sprang from those that were preserved in the ark, how were they diffused over the world, and especially how would the savage races and vermin, whom man would never take along with him, reach their abodes? *Answer*—There is no part of the land in the world that is *very* far distant from some other land; so that it might be possible for animals to cross by swimming, or walking on ice, or floating on wreck, from the central spot where the ark rested, in the course of some centuries, to every place. Besides, it is very probable that countries, that are now separated by seas of great breadth, might formerly be joined by narrow isthmuses, that were soon washed away by the action of the waves; and we think it not improbable that this is the division of the earth that the scripture represents as having taken place in the days of Peleg. Gen. x. 25. *Eleventh*—The olive-tree, from which the dove plucked off the leaf, must

have been a new creation. *Answer*—Much more likely it was a seedling, sprung from an ante-diluvian olive. The smaller the tree was, the better evidence it would be to Noah of the complete subsidence of the waters.

At length we draw to a close. We have great confidence that, if our article should fall into Captain Hutton's hands, he will take our strictures in good part, and re-consider the wholes ubject. His work almost throughout bears the stamp of ingenuousness; and when he does use an argument which seems to us weak, we soon remember the influence of a favourite system in reconciling a man to that against which he would otherwise at once exclaim. We like the attitude which, in general, he maintains towards the scriptures. Fully persuaded ourselves that these scriptures are "given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and for instruction in righteousness," we cannot deem it of little moment to attain to a correct understanding of the bearing of every passage that they contain. We believe that Captain Hutton is sincerely desirous to attain to such an understanding; and, although we think he has failed, yet he has shewn powers of research, which may hereafter, under the Divine blessing, enable him to do good service both in the vindication and the elucidation of the records of our holy faith. As to the particular department of work that he has undertaken, he labors under a disadvantage that attaches, unfortunately, to all of us in Bengal. He has looked upon the geological phenomena rather with the eyes of others than with his own. We do not find in his whole book a single geological fact, that seems to be ascertained by his own observation. We doubt not that he has profited, to the full extent of its capability, by a geological library; but this never yet has made, and never in time coming will make, a first-rate Geologist Very far are we from wishing that he should relinquish his geological studies, or cease to make the best use he can of the observations of others; but we may hint to him,—what we have often felt with respect to ourselves during our residence in Bengal—that there are, in the lower provinces at least, insuperable difficulties in the way of an efficient study of this important branch of science. We are not aware where Captain Hutton is stationed; but, if he be any where in the Upper Provinces, we cannot too strongly urge upon him the importance of his setting himself to the task of diligently exploring the phenomena exhibited in these provinces. With his talents and acuteness, he would not fail to render a valuable service to his favourite science, while he would as little fail to attain far clearer and, as we believe, more correct views, than he now possesses.

Note by the Editor.—We may perhaps return to the consideration of Captain Hutton's theory from an altogether different point of view.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The Historical relations of Ancient Hindu with Greek Medicine, in connection with the study of modern Medical Science in India; being a General Introductory Lecture, delivered June 1850, *at the Calcutta Medical College, by Allan Webb, M. D., Author of the Pathologia Indica; Surgeon, Bengal Army; Professor of Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy: lately officiating Professor of Medicine and Clinical Medicine.*

Such is the formidable title of a discourse, with which we have been favoured for notice in the pages of our *Review*. So many introductory lectures have been published within the last twenty years, and there is so much sameness in the majority of them, as to repel rather than invite attention. There are, however, many facts of peculiar interest connected with the history of the introduction of European science in India, which places all papers relating to our Eastern Medical Schools beyond the pale of the ordinary rules relating to such subjects.

Few can have watched without interest the rapid progress of the Medical College, from its small and modest beginning in the neighbourhood of the Hindu College, to its present ample dimensions and extended organization. It is one of the best and most complete practical refutations extant of the rash and groundless fears usually entertained regarding the prejudices of the natives, and the bug-bear of interference with their religion, that are such powerful opponents to the many laudable efforts making in various directions for their improvement. They, who remember the predictions of failure, and the host of evils that were imagined to be contained in the attempt to introduce the practice of human dissection in this great city, can scarcely imagine they could by any possibility have had reference to an institution, in which practical anatomy, in the space of sixteen short years, is pursued to a greater extent than in any school of corresponding extent in Europe!

This should afford encouragement to Mr. Bethune in the introduction of Female Education, to which the opposition raised is not a tithe of that which threatened to extinguish and strangle the Medical College at its birth. The great mistake that is generally made, is to imagine the idle and impotent vapouring of a few Calcutta Babús to be an indication of the feelings of the bulk of the Hindu community, or a circumstance that should excite any feelings save those of contempt and pity for so unworthy and besotted an opposition. Unblushing, unscrupulous falsehoods, and the most senseless clamour, are the only weapons used by the old order of Calcutta

native orthodoxy in this great battle. But we return to the immediate subject of our notice.

The value of an introductory lecture depends in part upon the intrinsic merit and originality of its matter, and in some measure upon its suitability to the occasion of its delivery. When judged according to either of these standards, we fear that we cannot accord to Professor Webb the praise fairly due to his industry and good intentions. According to our notion, a *general* introductory lecture should never be devoted to a *special* subject, however interesting and valuable that may be in itself. Its real object is to take a general review of the various matters that will engage the attention of the students during the coming session, and to exhibit to all the existing working state of the school. It should point out to those about to commence the study of medicine, the preliminary knowledge and acquirements absolutely necessary to be possessed by all, who may reasonably hope to enter upon it with any chance of success. It should exhibit the value of a sound acquaintance with the ordinary branches of a liberal education, and particularly of the pure and exact sciences—the importance of which, as a means of cultivating the reasoning powers, and of rendering the pursuits of the speculative branches of physic more rigid and exact, has scarcely been estimated at its real value in the preliminary training of the disciples of Æsculapius. The application of the science of numbers, and of various formulæ and symbols, to the elucidation and classification of the vast number of new facts and observations almost daily added to the different departments of medicine, is, at length, beginning to reduce them to some degree of order and method, and to promise ere long to place some at least of its branches on the level of the exact sciences.

To the first and second-year students, it should afford an outline of the objects, uses, and advantages of the elementary subjects —the pure sciences of medicine—which they are required to study during the two first years of their college career.

The manifold wonders and numberless objects of interest belonging to the pursuit of Chemistry; the elegant and fascinating field of Botany, replete with charms of the highest order, and with a graceful interest and beauty of its own; and the awful contemplation of the anatomy of the human frame, the fearful and wonderful construction of which has afforded the sublimest proofs of design in the creation—in themselves afford ample scope for the eloquence and learning of a lecturer, without travelling into the regions of Greek tradition and Hindu fable.

Every subsequent period in the progress of the pupil should also be carefully noted, and its particular points of interest and importance clearly indicated, in order that the future dispensers of health and its countless blessings to the multitude of the sick and suffering, who will come under their care, may have some general idea of the art and science of medicine as a whole.

On some of these topics Professor Webb has made a few detached

remarks in a spirit of earnestness and piety, which make us regret his not having pursued them throughout. The following extract is honourable to him, and worthy of the occasion :—

But before proceeding further upon this subject, I will say a few words upon your own position and duties. There are, perhaps, no medical students at this moment in the world, to whom such great privileges are so fully and so freely given of mere sovereign bounty, as those which you receive at the hand of Government. This medical school, however regarded, as repects its Instructive Establishment, its Hospitals, its Museums, or the number of patients and students who benefit by it, is now equal to some of the most ancient schools of Europe ; yet, so far I know, it stands alone in this, that every advantage is freely given. Here no fees are paid ! The finest Medical education is freely offered gratis, to all comers—of whatever creed, of whatever caste, of whatever clime. No wonder, where all is thus freely given, that we find this goodly gathering of students, of all kindreds, and countries around us. From the Punjab to the Burman Empire, from Ceylon to the snowy mountains of the North, our young men assemble here ; without any other jealousy than that of professional honour, any other distinction than that of science. All are equally welcome, equally rewarded, equally respected, if they do well.

It has been said—" knowledge is power ;" but knowledge and well-doing are not always synonymous. We sometimes see young men, not behind their fellows in the race of intelligence, lost, confounded, and ruined ; having forgotten that man is not only an intelligent, but also a moral being. *Do to others as you would be done by*, is a grand rule for the medical student. Follow it out, and you *dare* not be idle here. To be so would stain your humanity, dishonour your profession, disgrace your College.

As Professor of Clinical Medicine, my guidance of your studies has been but short ; but it has afforded me additional reason to urge upon you this principle of *responsible humanity*. Watch over your patients with this principle true in your hearts, and your minds will seize, with powerful and tenacious grasp, the Clinical instruction of the Professor. It will become a sacred duty to record your cases accurately, to think of them earnestly. You will be the first students in the wards, and the last to leave ; your books will be read well, and well remembered, and understood.

It was said upon the occasion alluded to, of our first Graduates leaving the College —" Your duties are four-fold ; they concern the sick, the profession to which you belong, society at large, and the Government we all have the honor to serve. Of your duties to yourselves, I say nothing, deeming that they are self-evident to you. All these duties are based upon this very simple golden rule, to do to others as we would be done by. An inhuman, a dishonest, a licentious medical practitioner—is there not in the very expression something that jars upon the moral sense ? If a physician be wanting in honour, in humanity, and in rectitude of conduct, what possible security have society for the confidence reposed in him ? None ! And where are those on the face of the earth, men in whose discretion, honour, and goodness, such a large measure of confidence is placed, as in medical men ? If they want those qualities, then, I emphatically say, they want all : for the other qualities are naught without the moral ones. Scientific skill and experience are like the sword of the loyal and brave ; of use only when in the hands of the honest and true. Personal honour must be the loadstar of your conduct : without that, you will only be bringing a reproach upon the fair fame of our profession." *

You now see before you examples of what courage and conduct will do. Dwarkanath Bose was the first of our gallant band of medical pioneers, to return to us with the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons. He is now one of your teachers of Anatomy. Surjoo Coomar Chuckerbutty, just returned with the diploma of the London University, is Assistant Physician in our College Hospital. Drs.

* Report of Council of Medical College, Calcutta, 4th February 1839, p. 26.

Seal and Bose both held appointments in this City. It is not often that men pass at once from the schools to offices of such importance. In conferring these rewards upon such young men, the Government has strongly marked its interest in their welfare, and its desire to encourage you.

Remarks such as these are more to the purpose, and of greater interest to the native students of medicine, than all the laudation lavished upon Galen and the Greek Fathers of Physic, or than the blind enthusiasm which has attempted to extract from the matchless perfections of Grecian art evidence of an amount of early culture of human anatomy in Greece, for which there is no adequate authority in existence.

In regard to the selection of his subject, the learned Professor has, we opine, been equally unfortunate. We have, in vain, endeavored to imagine the reason, which could have induced Dr. Webb to have deemed Greek medicine a suitable subject for the edification of the Putuldungah neophytes, nor can we see what connection Galen has with the very anti-Galenical doctrines now taught and practised in the Calcutta College.

We freely confess to be of those, who are not "fond of picking up little bits of wisdom in great heaps of folly," and, with all possible deference for Galen, Plato, Hippocrates, and the galaxy of Greek worthies referred to in the discourse under review, we cannot help exclaiming with Prince Hal—"Oh! monstrous! but one-half penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." Moreover, we are sceptical enough to believe that the doctrine of Galen had, in the long and strong hold it maintained on medical opinions, as mischievous an influence on the progress of medicine, as the metaphysics of Aristotle exercised on the minds of men generally, until their dark delusions were dispelled, and for ever discarded by the bright light of the inductive method.

One of the wittiest, and not the least wise, of modern writers and philosophers has raised his voice against the practice of raking up the mouldy ruins of sciences. "If I were," said he, "to open this battery against medicine, I do not know where I should stop. Zengis Khan, when he was most crimsoned with blood, never slaughtered the human race, as they have been slaughtered by rash and erroneous theories of medicine." It is on this principle that we regret the selection of his subject by Dr. Webb, who, whether as the representative of medicine or anatomy, might have exercised his abilities, and exhibited his learning to better effect, than in occupying the very questionable field of debating the comparative claims to admiration of Greek and Hindu Medicine.

Neither time nor space permits us to analyze in detail the train of reasoning adopted by Dr. Webb. We do not share the contempt, with which he treats the "poking in a puddle at a putrid carcase," as exhibiting the meagre and superficial, as well as erroneous, knowledge of anatomy possessed by the Hindus. It is scarcely dignified or philosophical to dismiss so important a subject, in the

presence of a Hindu audience, with a sneer; or to imagine that an isolated error, albeit of the greatest dimensions, is an adequate test of a great and interesting department of human knowledge. As little do we consider the unfavourable comparison instituted between the "noble witnesses of the anatomical skill" of the Greeks, and the monsters disfiguring the walls of the Cave Temples of India, to be just, or to bear out the inferences, which the lecturer has attempted to deduce from it.

A more careful study of Hindu Chronology, imperfect as it is, must, we are much inclined to believe, have shown the Professor that no comparison could be fairly instituted between them, and that it would be almost as reasonable to judge the extraordinary monuments of an unknown era, found in Mexico and Peru, by the Greek standard.

We are disposed to regard the Cave Temples of India as Buddhistical, and not Brahminical remains; and, heterodox as the opinion is usually considered, we are inclined to believe that they are much older than any genuine Hindu relics of the Brahminical period of domination in Hindustan. We also regard them, as very long anterior to any Greek specimens of art that have come down to us. To compare things so essentially dissimilar, and produced in such different states of human society, would be very nearly akin to placing the Roman lady's tea-kettle in the scale against Watt's Steam Engine.

We believe, and consider our belief susceptible of proof, that human anatomy was studied, and practically too, notwithstanding its imperfections, by the Hindus, long before the Greeks overcame the prejudices connected with human dissection.

With some degree of inconsistency, but with more show of reason, Dr. Webb supposes that the "Greeks derived their systems of philosophy and medicine from the Hindus," and adduces arguments to show that the close analogy between them could not have been the result of accident, or of independent observation and research.

We regret the manner in which the Professor has treated the subject of Mesmerism; for, as we are firm believers in the existence of its influence, and of its wonderful power in controlling certain diseased states of the system, we are of opinion that any reference to it should have dwelt on what is certain, and carefully avoided the objections that are brought against it. The note, appended to Dr. Webb's lecture, is, on this account, especially objectionable.

The impostures of Cagliostro are not yet forgotten: and the whole history of human delusions, in its love for the marvellous, warns us that such subjects should be handled with the greatest caution. We were not then prepared to find that a Professor of the Medical College should introduce Mr. Alin in connection with any scientific fact, or notice with approval certain very suspicious allegations, which have brought much unmerited obloquy upon what is really

true and philosophical in regard to Mesmerism, so far as its facts and phenomena have yet been investigated.

In spite of the imperfections we have noticed, there is much that is good and excellent in Dr. Webb's lecture, and that will repay the trouble of perusal. He has apprehended in a right spirit the duties and responsibilities of his calling, and inculcates, with earnestness and truth, the moral qualifications necessary for their due performance. Dr. Webb is well known to the profession, as the learned and laborious author of the Pathologia Indica; and, although this introductory discourse will not add much to his well-earned reputation, all must respect and admire his unwearied zeal, untiring industry, and extended information.

Selections from the Vernacular Buddhist Literature of Burmah, by Lieut. T. Latter, 67th Regt. B. N. I. Maulmain. American Baptist Mission Press. 1850.

The immediate object of this *brochure* was to assist the officers of Government, serving in Arracan and the Tenasserim Provinces, in the study and acquisition of the Burmese language.

It consists, as we gather from the Preface, of three distinct treatises. The first is the *Thoodamma Tsarie*, a collection of tales and fables, illustrative of moral duties and obligations, and referring to scenes and sites in Hindustan, when Buddhism was the predominating religion there. It is now printed for the first time.

The second is called *Dhamma Pada*. It relates chiefly to the life and wanderings of Gaudama and his disciples, and embodies much of his doctrines in the form of oral discourses, apophthegms, and parables. It is a Burmese translation from the Pali.

The last treatise is entitled the *Pootsha Pagienaga*, or "Question and Answer:" and, as Lieut. Latter assures us, contains not only the exoteric and ceremonial tenets, but the very *arcana*, of the religion of Budh; so that it merits the title of the "Catechism of Buddhism."

We borrow from the Preface a specimen of its contents :—

The *Pootsha Pagienaga* is a mixture of all kinds of information on Buddhist history and ethics. Many of its apothegms are admirable and interesting. A few extracts taken at random will give some idea of the work.

1. Five persons are there who should not be consulted—The five are these. The fornicator; the adulterer; the drunkard; the quarrelsome person; and the fool.

2. By what five modes may great difficulties be overcome?—By the exercise of charms; by consulting men of wisdom; by speaking of good words; by presenting of gifts; and by making use of family connexions.

3. What are the eight characteristics of a great judge?—Much learning and information; observance of the sacred law and its obligations; energy and

exertion ; ability and power ; not coveting another's goods ; and finally comeliness of appearance.

4. The four good principles, by which to overcome a foe, are these—Truth ; wisdom ; diligence ; and liberality.

5. Eight persons are there, who should be firm as a pillar of stone—Judges ; priests ; witnesses ; warriors in array ; generals ; ambassadors ; umpires ; and women. These are they, whose steadfastness should be as a pillar of stone.

6. What are the four great things hard to resign ?—One's children ; one's wealth ; one's life ; and one's wife.

7. What are the four duties which become the wise and good ?—When they hear another's faults, to be as if they had no ears ; when they see another's sins, to be as if they had no eyes ; to other women than their own wives, to be as if they were dumb ; and not to bear another's transgressions in mind. These four become the wise and good.

8. What are the four that should be the components of conversation ?—*Good words ; loving words ; true words : and holy words .*

9. By what remembrances are an infant's disposition affected ?—An infant, if it have come from a region of torment, remembering the miseries it has endured, weeps and moans. An infant, if it have arrived from the regions of the blessed, calling to mind its former glorious existence, laughs and crows.

10. What are the four things far from one another ?—The one bound of the great sea is far from the other ; the rising is far from the setting sun ; the summit of the firmament is far from the earth ; but further still than these is the wicked from the righteous.

We regret that Lieut. Latter did not carry out his original intention, and favour the public with a translation of these very interesting treatises. Holding in his hand the key to unthought-of treasures, which may throw much light on the Ancient History of Hindustan, and perhaps give it an altogether new development, it is a duty, which his position imposes on him, to bring these treasures to the knowledge of the public. We confess that the rich mine, which Lieut. Latter indicates, was hitherto, by us at least, ignored and unsuspected. If it be any thing like, or even nearly like, what he represents it, he cannot confer a greater boon on oriental literature, than by setting to the work of translation vigorously, and at once ; and, we have no doubt, that he will be liberally assisted by Government, and the leading Oriental Literary Societies. We give his very interesting statement in his own words :—

The work, as it now stands, can interest only the Burmese student. To extend that interest, it had been the author's original intention to have accompanied it with a translation and notes. It is doubtful however whether this will ever be carried out. But he trusts that, in assisting his brother officers in the acquisition of the Burmese language, some of them will be induced to employ their intelligence and their leisure in illustrating and investigating the literature of Burmah. This literature affords vast stores of unexplored interest, and that interest by no means merely local. For the Buddhist literature of Burmah, said to contain 80,000 volumes, consists of translations of the Ancient Pali literature of Hindustan. When Buddhism was overthrown as a religion in Hindustan, the unceasing efforts of its conquerors were directed to destroying or altering its monuments and records. It is this fact which throws so much doubt and uncertainty on all researches into the actual domestic state of Ancient India. But in the meanwhile Buddhism had spread into India beyond the Ganges, carrying with it its vast records ; there, safe from persecution, it remains to the present day ; and, stored in the garner house of ages, it offers a rich and willing spoil to the enterprising student.

Perhaps there is no historical fact, of which so little is correctly known, as Buddhism ; and yet none, which has left such voluminous materials for its investigation. The first arises from the circumstance that these records are in dialects, which have as yet not drawn the attention of the literary world ; the second, from the fact of the foundation stone of Buddhism being its vernacularizing spirit. Its two great characteristics are, and ever have been, Proselytism and Toleration. And in carrying out the first no mode was left untried. We find therefore, in its history, the Sabbath readings in the temple, and the preachings by the highway. Whilst its more abstruse dogmas were preserved in books for the instruction of the esoteric, every means was adopted to bring its simple axioms, its current apothegms, and moral maxims to the notice and comprehension of the humblest peasant. They were embodied in familiar and popular stories, such as those given in the present work. They used to be fixed upon posts at the crossing of roads. They have come down to us graved in the living rock. How many must there have been scrawled by the hand of the zealous on the passing wall ! It is thus that Buddhism achieved for itself a wider extension than any other faith, so that even now, in the days of its decadence, it numbers perhaps as many votaries as all other religions put together. And it is in this that it affords so cheering and instructive an example to us, who have the greater advantage of possessing a still more glorious cause ; and it proves to us how inevitable must be our success in propagating that cause, if we will but make use of the same means ;—viz., in every manner possible, however simple or humble—vernacularizing.

We sincerely hope, that we shall soon have to notice Lieutenant Latter again.

Bengal Dysentery and its Statistics, with a notice of the use of large Enemata in that Disease, and of Quinine in Remittent Fever. By John Macpherson, M. D., 1st Assistant, Presidency General Hospital. Pp. 63.

It would be altogether foreign to the purposes of this *Review* to discuss professional questions, to attempt to reconcile discrepant theories of disease, or to canvass the relative merits of different plans of treatment, adopted in the management of tropical affections. Such topics, and such a manner of dealing with them, are suited only for the pages of a purely professional periodical ; but, as there is unfortunately at present no Medical Journal in Bengal to bring these matters to general notice, we feel bound to recommend to such of our readers, as take an interest in the subject, Dr. Macpherson's little pamphlet on the statistics of Bengal Dysentery.

The object of the author in laying the result of his observations and practice before the profession is not very apparent ; but, as all additions to our knowledge of such dreadful scourges as tropical Dysentery are interesting and valuable, we shall not, on this account, quarrel with Dr. Macpherson's " attempt to apply the numerical method to the subject." It is the means most likely to lead to improvements in practice, to dispel errors, to eradicate inefficient and erroneous plans of treatment, and to lead to sober rational

views. It is rather humiliating to find that the vast accumulated experience of the two last centuries regarding Dysentery has added so little to the efficacy of the means of treating this disease adopted by Sydenham and Helvetius. It still continues at times to devastate provinces, decimate fleets and armies, and cut off numerous victims in the prime of life and health, as it did in the old expedition to Carthagena, and in many more ancient and modern campaigns, decided by the fell destroyer, more than by the skill and strategy of the commanders.

The most valuable part of Dr. Macpherson's *brochure* is the section, headed "Pathological Facts," giving in clear well arranged tables, a brief epitome of the chief morbid appearances found in 160 cases of acute, and 55 of chronic, dysentery. A very cursory examination shows that the records of the General Hospital have not been particularly minutely kept; and that many points of interest and importance are either altogether overlooked, or treated with a sententious brevity, that much diminishes their utility and importance. Liver "large or small, soft or hard," is the sum total of information afforded respecting its abnormities in numerous instances; and this, we need scarcely say, throws very little light upon its actual morbid state, or its connection with dysentery. The expressions themselves are so very indefinite in the absence of all information as to the weight and measured dimensions of the organ, the length of time that elapsed between death and the examination of the body, and similar points of interest, as to render it very difficult to determine whether the organ were really diseased or not.

Again, the peculiar diseased state of that portion of the digestive tube, which is the seat of the disorder, is very imperfectly noted: the fact of ulceration is recorded, and in most instances nothing more.

For all these imperfections, however, we presume that the record, and not the observer, is to blame.

The following summary of the true description of the changes produced by the Bengal Dysentery is a favourable example of the style and manner of the author:—

It is not my intention to enter into any minute description of the state of the intestines, which has been faithfully described by both Twining and Raleigh, nor am I able to throw any fresh light on the nature of the dysenteric process. It has been compared to erysipelas by Siebert, and to the corrosion of mineral acids by Cruveilhier and Rokitansky. The mechanical theory of the irritation of scybala, or accumulation of fæces, acting on an inflamed surface, though generally abandoned, still finds some supporters. It has by many been attributed to the irritation of altered biliary secretion, or to its absence. Parkes considers it to be a process of ulceration, universally commencing in the solitary glands of the large intestine. Others, with Raleigh, consider it to be a simple inflammation of the mucous coat of the large intestine—(if it were simple, it would be more amenable to treatment). Whatever of truth or error there may be in these opinions, the appearance presented to us in simple Bengal dysentery is, that of an inflammation of the large intestine, which may be diffusive, ulcerative, purulent, hæmorrhagic, or gangrenous, according to circumstances. The disease in Europe and in India is essentially the same; and the best scientific

descriptions of Bengal dysentery are those given by Dr. Baly of London and Rokitansky of Vienna, although the latter has not met with the amount of ulceration, which is common here. As seen here, the process is very generally one of mortification and sloughing, not of simple ulceration ; *i. e.* the ulceration is often secondary, and occurs only after the sloughs are thrown off. Inflammation and ulceration of the solitary glands is very unusual, or has been very carelessly observed ; and I believe it may be stated generally, that in Bengal dysentery, they are not peculiarly or primarily diseased. It should be borne in mind that the state of the solitary glands, as observed by Murray and Parkes, exactly corresponds with their usual appearance in cholera, and that all Murray's, and most of Parkes's, cases occurred in dysenteric patients suddenly carried off by that disease.

Dr. Macpherson has furnished an appendix, on the use of large enemata in Dysentery, and of Quinine in "Remittent Fever," which, we regret to perceive, looks very like a covert attack upon an interesting experiment now in course of trial by Dr. Hare at the General Hospital. The proper time to canvass that gentleman's theory and practice will be when the results of his investigations are, as they doubtless will be, submitted to the criticism of the profession at large. From all we have heard on the subject, we are inclined to accord to Dr. Hare very great credit for the industry and zeal with which he has advocated his particular views: and whether they were previously known to, and adopted by, others, appears to us to be of very secondary importance. The largest amount of credit we hold to be due to him, who succeeds in procuring the general adoption of a successful plan of treatment, in the new discovery of which he may have been anticipated by centuries, during which it lay buried, forgotten, and of no service to the sufferers from the particular disease which it was intended to remove.

All such gentle onslaughts, as this appendix, we class in the same category with the attempts made to deprive Harvey of his immortal discovery, by hunting out obscure passages in Galen and older writers, to prove that a knowledge of the real course of the circulation was known to the Greeks; or the more modern endeavour to pluck the plumes of Bell and Marshall Hall, by a forced interpretation of certain shrewd guesses in the writings of Whytt and Prochaska. The cases are by no means parallel; it is the practice we wish to condemn. Dr. Hare may be altogether wrong, for aught that we know; and nothing is further from our intention than to express any opinion whatever on his plans. We only contend for the principle, that he should not be judged unheard, and that it is scarcely fair to prejudge and prejudice his experiment in public estimation, before its conclusion.

With the exception above noted, we esteem Dr. Macpherson's monograph, although it contains nothing new, to be a valuable paper, and one of considerable interest to the profession. We hope it is only one of a series to illustrate the pathology and treatment of the different endemic and epidemic scourges of Bengal, from the records of the Hospital to which he is attached.

Le Bhagavat Purana, ou, Histoire Poetique du Krishna; traduit et publié par M. Eugene Burnouf, Membre de l' Institut, Professeur de Sanskrit au College Royal de France. (The Bhagavat Purana, or, Poetical History of Krishna; translated and published by Eugene Burnouf, Member of the Institute, Professor of Sanskrit in the Royal College of France). Paris. 1840.

Professor Wilson has furnished us with a translation of the *Vishnu Purana*, which we have noticed before in this *Review*. It is now our pleasant task to recommend another valuable addition to the list of translations from the Sanskrit. Professor Wilson remarks that the *Bhagavat Purana* is of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people, than perhaps any other of the Puranas. The Sanskrit typography, and beauty of the printing of this work executed in Paris, are superior to that of any Sanskrit publications, we have seen issued from the English or Continental Press.

This Purana, along with Gorresio's translation of the Ramayan, pours a flood of light on what may be called the middle age history of Hinduism—the period when hero-worship flourished, and when the doctrines of the Vedas gave but a faint glimmer of light. The translator has a preface of 163 pages, which bears evident marks of the indefatigable research of the author of "Bouddhisme Indien," "Essai sur le Pali," &c. He points out that our duty is not so much to *speculate on*, as to *translate*, the Sanskrit texts. Among these the eighteen Puranas present objects of peculiar interest. Allusions to Puranic legends made in the Vedas, and Archæological researches shew the antiquity of the Puranas, which existed as legends in the times of the Ramayan and Mahabharat, were chaunted by bards, and were designed for the study of women and Sudras, as the Vedas were for the twice-born; they have indeed been called the fifth Veda. These Puranas, or ancient traditions, have undergone various modifications. They were at first chronicles and genealogical tables; but subsequently they were used to advocate sectarian tenets, being written under the guise of legends, and designed for those classes who were not allowed to study the Vedas.

Vopadeva, who flourished about the thirteenth century, lived at the court of Ramchandra of Daulatabad, and was the author of a celebrated Sanskrit Grammar, is considered to have been the compiler of the *Bhagavat Purana*, which ranks in the estimation of the natives along with the *Vishnu Purana*. These are the only two, out of the eighteen, which are ordinarily read by the Pandits. The *Bhagavat* is held in special honour by the followers of Chaitanya, and has been translated into the Tamul, Telugu, and Canarese; though not of such ancient date as some other Puranas, its publication is of importance.

Persons have either attributed an extravagant remoteness of antiquity to Hindu mythology, or have gone to the other extreme in assigning its origin to the Bactrian Greeks. But researches into the Pali—"the Italian of Sanskrit," and into the language of the Vedas, which corresponds almost entirely with that found on the most ancient monuments of the followers of Zoroaster, have thrown much light on this question. Similarly, with respect to the Puranas, investigation has evinced that, though the form and style of the Bhagavat is modern, the germ is ancient, and dates from the period of the Mahabharat, while the author quotes many passages from the Vedas, "in giving a new form to old materials." Bhagavat, who gives his name to this book, is Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu: and in the *Bhagavat Purana* are incorporated the ideas of the Vedas, the legends of the Mahabharat, and the philosophy of the Sankhya system, antagonistic to a revelation.

The eighteen Puranas contain the enormous amount of 1,600,000 lines: yet the greater part of them have been translated into the vernaculars of India, while copious analyses of different portions have been given by Vans Kennedy in his *Researches into Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, and by Professor Wilson. These extracts throw light on a warm controversy, which was carried on respecting the antiquity of the Puranas between Professor Wilson and Vans Kennedy—the former, in his Preface to the Vishnu Purana, having attributed a modern origin to the Puranas; however the majority of orientalists seem to be opposed to Wilson's views, on the ground that while the Vedas have been the sources of religious information for the learned classes, the Puranas from a very early period seem to have been regarded as the Bible of the common people, the record of their religious history, and the storehouse of their traditions. A class of bards formerly existed at the courts of Native Princes, whose sole business was to commit to memory the Puranas, or legendary chronicles of the Hindus, and to recite them to chiefs, when tired with the chace, or on festive occasions. A similar practice was adopted with respect to the Gaelic Poems in the castles of the Highland chiefs.

Among the works calculated to give an insight into the modes of thought and habits of the Hindus in modern times, there are few of more value than the Puranas. While the Vedas are of great use in throwing light on the state of society at the era of the Mahabharat and Ramayan, we must still look to the Puranas to give us a clue to the various curious customs, which at present exist in this country, and regarding the origin of which we in vain seek for information from the Pandits, who are (at least in Calcutta) as bad guides in legendary lore, as they are in grammatical studies. Were a Sir Walter Scott now to arise in Bengal, he would, we fear, derive but very scanty information from the Bhattachargyas and Bandapadhyas of the day. In fact the little interest taken by any class of Hindus in the operations of that noble institution, the

Asiatic Society, shows that the spirit of persevering oriental research has for the present taken its flight from the shores of the Ganges to the banks of the Rhine and the Seine.

In this dearth then of local information, we rejoice at the publication of Monsieur Burnouf's elaborate translation of the *Bhagavat Purana*. Professor Wilson had previously aided in the same cause by his edition of the *Vishnu Purana*, and his MSS. analysis of other Puranas, which now line the shelves of the Asiatic Society's library, instead of being published for general information. The Asiatic Society receive 6,000 Rupees per annum from the Court of Directors for publishing oriental texts and translations. We have one valuable result in the *Bibliothica Indica :* but only eighty pages a month are thus published. Could we not have an edition of some of the Puranas under the patronage of the same Society? We feel assured that there are able natives in Calcutta, who would gladly engage in such an undertaking, were encouragement held out to them.

The execution of this edition of the *Bhagavat Purana* is a magnificent memorial of the progress of the typographical art in France, and of the attention that is paid on the banks of the Seine to orientalism. The translation was commenced under the auspices of Louis Philippe, who, whatever political errors he committed, cannot certainly be denied the praise of having contributed very much, both by his purse and Government measures, to the development, not only of the industrial resources of France, but also of her artistic talents. England, though possessing such an Empire in the East, cannot boast of so finished a specimen of Sanskrit typography issuing from her Presses, as is presented by the work we have now noticed.

Satyárnab. Sea of Truth. Calcutta. Lepage and Co. D'Rozario and Co.

This is a monthly publication, in Bengali, of 16 pages, price six pice, and printed by Native Christians. We give the subjects of the articles in the first three numbers. *Editorial Introduction—Notes on the Prayer Book—Life of Lord Bacon—The Lex Loci—"Thou God seeest me"—On Cholera—News of the Month—Life of Lilávati—Notes on the Prayer Book—Account of an insincere Enquirer—A Shadow—Memoir of Dr. Buchanan—Ancient History—Life of Kali Dás—On Fever—Account of Snakes—Memoir of Dr. Buchanan—Faith in Christ.* The work is on the plan of the *Penny and Saturday Magazines*; and, we think, by its combining literary with religious articles, it will be acceptable to a wider class of readers. The circulation is said to have reached 500; and, we hope it may be higher, for such publications are of great value at the present time, when the Hindu mind is so much influenced by the staple of its Vernacular literature.

Sambád Sudhánsu, or Messenger of Nectar. Calcutta. D'Rozario and Co.

This is a weekly newspaper in Bengali, printed at the cheap rate of four pice a number, at the Encyclopædia Press, Cornwallis Square. It is conducted by Native Christians; and we are glad to see that, while it upholds European ideas, it has no sympathy with that unfortunate class of monkey imitators, yclept Young Bengal; nor does it repudiate the ancient literature of the country, as if the Hindus, like the Kaffirs of Africa, had been in a state of barbarism. The Editor gives a translation from the Mahabharat, respecting the deluge, and we hope he will furnish a regular series of papers on similar subjects. This newspaper embraces the news of the week, comments on events, correspondence, &c.

Satya Pradip, or Lamp of Truth. Serampur; Townsend, Calcutta; D'Rozario.

This is a paper in Bengali, issued every Saturday from the Serampur Press, and giving eight quarto pages for six rupees a year. Serampur has the high honour of having produced the first Vernacular newspaper in India,—the *Darpan*, which continued for twenty-two years, pouring a stream of useful information into the minds of the Native Community. The *Satya Pradip* comes from the same Press; and we are glad the Editor has issued it in Bengali only, as people are not willing to pay a double price for the *same* matter in alternate columns of English and Bengali. There is not a single periodical published on the latter plan now in Calcutta. The day for such a system is passed. A Musalman, a few years ago, started a paper in five different languages in parallel columns, but it only reached the second number.

Both the matter and typography are highly creditable to the Editors, who have taken the plan of the *Friend of India* for their model, comprising editorials on the events of the time, a digest of the week's news, correspondence from natives on the reforms required for the country, descriptions, &c. &c. The circulation has reached about 250, the greater part of the subscribers being natives; and Government has very liberally subscribed for thirty copies for the use of their Vernacular schools. We hope that there is no design of laying an anna-stamp on native newspapers, as the effect would be, that, so far from increasing the Post Office revenue, it would prove a complete extinguisher on the native newspapers, which, at the present time, circulate much general information among the Native Community, are contributing to form a good model of popular style in the Bengali language, and are gradually familiarizing the Hindus with the *Sádu Báshá*, or classical Bengali.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS., NO. 14, LOLL BAZAR.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

In returning our grateful acknowledgements for the valuable communications with which we continue to be favoured from all parts of India, it may be necessary to state, that we allow, as we have always done, considerable latitude of opinion to our contributors; and that this *Review* is open to every temperate, judicious, and well-considered statement, having for its object to expose and reform errors and abuses, to further the religious and intellectual progress of the people, to ameliorate the working of the Company's rule, to illustrate the history and condition, and to promote the stability and well-being, of our Indian Empire. We have a higher aim in view than mere Editorial consistency; and, though certain articles which have appeared, or may yet appear, in these pages, may consider minor (and yet important) questions from different, or even opposite points of view, we are persuaded that the truth will thus be more successfully elicited, than by the ablest one-sided advocacy.

To the leading principles, on which the *Review* has hitherto been conducted, we shall steadfastly adhere; endeavouring to make it more and more an impartial literary journal, and the honest and earnest advocate of every useful and practicable reform, affecting the polity and the moral and physical condition of the people of Hindustan.

Note on Art. 8, *No. XXVI.*—In our Notice of the Calcutta High School (No. XXVI. p. 458), we find that we have done unintentional injustice to Mr. Graves, who succeeded Mr. Macqueen in the Rectorship. It might seem, from our statement, that the school fell into disrepute in consequence of the removal of Mr. Macqueen; whereas the fact is, that the number of scholars continued to increase, and, during the greater portion of the eleven years during which Mr. Graves held the Rectorship, was considerably larger than it had ever been under Mr. Macqueen's very successful management.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Yad Namuh ; a Chapter of Oriental Life. London.* 1850.

2. *Ten Years in India; or, the Life of a Young Officer; by Captain Albert Hervey, 40th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry.* 3 *vols. London.* 1850.

3. *Sketches of Naval and Military Adventure; by one in the Service. Bath and London. No date.*

4. *Sir Charles Napier's Indian Baggage Corps; reply to Lieutenant-Colonel Burlton's attack; by Major Montagu McMurdo, late head of the Quarter Master General's Department in Scinde. London.* 1850.

EVER and anon a complaint reaches us to the effect, that in the general constitution of this *Review* there is discernible a want of light and amusing matter. There is really some justice in the charge; but we must plead "extenuating circumstances." It is, certainly, our first object to instruct the reader; but we rejoice greatly in an opportunity of amusing him. The opportunity, however, is just what we want. The table of the European reviewer is ever covered with light literature. He has only to take his choice. He may be as dainty as he likes; something is sure to please his taste. No possible subject is prohibited; no description of literature is tabooed. Poems, plays, novels, travels, essays, written in any language and published in any part of the world, come within his jurisdiction. It is very different with us. Our range of subjects is limited. Our opportunities are few. All we can say is, that if people will write amusing books about India, we will undertake to review them. As it is, we are often compelled to review books, which are not amusing. A batch of "light literature" does not always afford materials for a light article. A large number of the lighter works relating to India, which find their way into print, are neither good enough, nor bad enough, to suit the purpose of the reviewer. They are of a kind to forbid all emotion. They do not fill him with delight; they do not inspire him with anger. He cannot work himself into anything like an enthusiasm over them. The most that

it is permitted to him to do, is to gossip over their contents as familiarly as possible, and to ask the reader to be as tolerant and as good-natured as he is inclined to be himself.

The books now before us differ greatly from each other; but, inasmuch as they are all written by military men and relate mainly to military topics, they are grouped together without inconsistency in this article. *Yad Namuh* dates from the Oriental Club, and (as it purports to be the work of a man, who went out to India when the Duke of Wellington was a young Colonel, and Jonathan Duncan was Governor of Bombay) is written by one of the not most juvenile members of that not very juvenile congeries of Anglo-Indian life. It is not improbable that before long we shall have something to say about the cumbrous building in the corner of Hanover Square, and of the humanity that assembles within it. The Oriental Club were surely worth an article. Now, we purpose only to say briefly that we should not be sorry if the Club would send us forth a few more "chapters of Oriental Life." There are scores of idle men to be seen every day, lounging about the reading-room and library, or sauntering into the coffee-room to order their dinners and to recruit themselves, after the exertion, with a glass of sherry and a crust of bread, who, if they would only write down, with as little pretence of fine writing as possible, their own personal experiences during the last fifty years, could hardly fail to add some very interesting and suggestive volumes to our library of Anglo-Indian literature. The old Indians, who frequent the Oriental Club, complain of many disorders, and are doubtless afflicted with some—*ennui* not being the least: but the *cacoethes scribendi* is assuredly not one of them. It is hard to induce the greater number of them to write anything beyond a *chit*. Occasionally, in a paroxysm of energy, induced by the perusal of some stirring intelligence from India, one of them may rush to a writing-table, seize a pen, and endeavour to lay before the world, through the medium of the ubiquitous *Times* newspaper, his opinions of the manner in which a certain battle ought to have been fought, or certain political negociations conducted. But this is almost the extent of his literary industry. Even men, who in India, in the midst of incessant and burdensome official duties, found both time and inclination for literary pursuits, no sooner find themselves in England with absolutely nothing to do, than they protest their inability to write a line that is worth reading. There is something in British air, which seems prematurely to rust the minds of returned Indians, who often from active energetic men, possess-

ing first-rate abilities and eager to turn them to good account, sink suddenly into indolent listless drones, with scarcely a thought beyond their breakfasts and dinners, the play-house, the opera, and the races.

But we purpose to write of this another time; and, therefore, turn to the book before us. This stray gift from the Oriental Club is not to be much criticised. Adopting honest Sancho's maxim, we pray 'God bless the giver,' and do not much intend to look the gift-horse in the mouth. *Yad Namuh* is the autobiography of an Indian officer of the old school. In its pages, it will be difficult to recognise either events or characters, they are so transposed and compounded; which scrap of criticism (lest it should be alleged that we are incontinently departing from our intentions) we beg to say is nothing more than the writer's own account of his work. "In the following pages," he says in his preface, "it will be difficult to recognise either 'events or characters, they are so transposed and compounded; 'yet an experienced observer (or a living cotemporary, of which 'few remain) may, perhaps, detect lights and shades of Oriental 'life, such as it used to be in by-gone times." We must indeed acknowledge, that there is something rather hazy and obscure about the book. Even the professed novelist generally condescends to tell us where it is, that he lays the scene of his romance. But the author of *Yad Namuh*, which is not to be called a romance so much as a personal narrative, leaves the reader to discover for himself to which of the three Presidencies of India his anxious parents were pleased to ship him. They bundled him off very hastily without a day's notice; and, after spending a few days in London, and going through certain ceremonies at the India House, he makes his way to Portsmouth, and is soon on board the capacious vessel which is destined to carry him to the East. In those days a cadet swung his hammock, or had a standing berth, in the steerage. Captain Hervey complains that he was billeted with a chum, and recommends every young man to have a cabin to himself. In no respect has a greater change taken place in the customs of Anglo-Indian life, than in this matter of the *first start* of the adventurer. The author of *Yad Namuh* had most probably, not one chum, but a score or two. Cadets went out gregariously in those days, and roughed it throughout a long voyage, rendered endurable only by the occasional excitement of a pirate, a shark, or a storm. They had no notion of the extensive outfits supplied by the Silvers and Maynards of the present day: they were guiltless of all knowledge of the *magna caterva* of bullock trunks and packing-cases,

crowded with every conceivable description of articles, from absolute necessities to utter impossibilities, that the imagination of an outfitter can suggest. The goods and chattels of the young hopeful of *Yad Namuh* were all stowed away in a huge sea-chest. "At top," he says, "I found two long letters 'of advice, one of credit, very circumscribed indeed, several 'recommendatory epistles and other useless articles, a pair 'of hair curl-irons, a large quantity of hair-powder and poma-'tum—in short, every requisite for the decoration of the out-'side of the head, as well as the body, but not a book of any 'description, excepting a pocket *Johnson's Dictionary* and a 'new Bible, the latter intended, I suppose, to keep the devil 'out of the box, much in the same way as we put camphor 'and sandal-wood to scare away vermin. I, however, took the 'precaution of turning over the leaves of the Bible most care-'fully, having heard of bank-notes (the current coin of those 'days) being sometimes deposited in such places to detect 'lukewarm Christians." This is not very reverential. But we have heard of bibles and bank-notes put to these traditionary uses, though we cannot say that we ever knew any one who had happened to find any of the latter between the leaves of the former. In our time, bibles were more plentiful and bank-notes more rare. We remember, however, that thrifty people used to put the bible to other uses. It was no uncommon thing some years ago, and perhaps is no uncommon thing now, for the embryo civil or military officer, on paying his farewell visit to some relative or friend, to be saluted with the question, "Have you got a bible and prayer book?" and on returning the answer—there was sure to be only one answer—"Oh! yes, of course, I have;" to meet with the rejoinder, "I only asked, because I intended to give you one." We do not know how many intentions of this kind we did not carry with us to India. Fortunately, they did not take up much room in our cabin. If they had been more cumbrous, we should not have known where to stow them away; for the generosity of a wealthy guardian, who stood *in loco parentis*, the comprehensive imagination of an outfitter, and an incurable *bibliomania*, which beset us early in life and has not yet been suppressed, filled our eleven-feet square of ship-room with such a strange menagerie of dead-stock, from pots of jam to works on the human understanding, that we could not have held many additions to the store, until, in progress of time, the sure process of human consumption reduced some portion of our supplies to a fraction of their original bulk. We well remember how, about the time of eight-bells at noon, we discussed with one or two

chosen companions, orange marmalade, the Berkleyan theory, and the progress of the ship. Though we had rather an extensive supply of perfumery, we had more aids to the embellishment of the interior than the exterior of the head (such have been the inroads of the school-master since the days of the young hopeful of *Yad Namuh*), and we pomatumed our brains with such a mass of metaphysical rubbish, that it took years to comb it out again. We should have found much better reading in the one book, that the Cadet half-a-century ago discovered in his single sea-chest. We do not mean by this, that books are not good (perhaps the best) components of a Cadet's outfit. We only mean that they may be chosen unwisely. We should like to see every Cadet with a box full of them—the larger the better—and a cabin to himself to read them in. Libraries are to be bought cheaply in these days. You may buy for a shilling what once cost you a guinea, and find in a single volume the contents of half-a-dozen. At a cost of a few shillings may be purchased good reading for a voyage; and it will not take more room in one's cabin than a dozen pots of jam.

In due course, indeed, after an unusually short voyage for those days, young Hopeful is landed at a place, which the "experienced observer" is left to discover to be Bombay. What the inexperienced observer may make of it, it is hard to say. Upon reporting himself to the Town Major, he and his companions are conducted to Government House, "for the purpose 'of being exhibited to the Governor, while all the yellow-faced 'European settlers and the natives drew up, as we passed along 'the streets, to grin and stare at our fine fresh English com-'plexions." Arrived at the great house, they were shown into an open hall, and were beginning to gape about them and to wipe the perspiration from their foreheads, when there entered from an adjoining room "a little sallow shabby-looking person, rubbing his hands together, as if to keep himself warm." Upon this, the staff-officer cried "Attention, gentlemen! here is the Governor!" "This intimation," says the autobiographer, "occasioned a good deal of surprise amongst 'us, as from the appearance of a number of pompous and 'splendidly-dressed gentlemen, who were moving about, we 'had expected something more imposing than a striped pea-'green silk coat, white cotton vest, and inexpressibles. The 'disproportion of the Governor's head to his body was even 'more striking than the singular simplicity of his dress; 'indeed, he carried it a little on one side, as if he felt the 'weight of it oppressive." After this picture of the external

characteristics of the Governor, we have the following account of his moral and intellectual qualities:—

> This gentleman had been selected from among the Company's civil servants in India, where he had filled a number of important offices, and endeared himself to the natives by a kind and conciliatory demeanour, as well as by his extensive acquirements in Oriental languages and literature. In his private expenditure he was liberal, but in public matters he was parsimonious: and it was probably owing to this circumstance that the new school, which began to figure about this time, pronounced him to be unfit for his high station. They said he could not take a comprehensive view of any great political question—in short that he was a practical illustration of the saying, "Tel brille au second rang, qui s'eclipse au premier." I leave that to be settled by the Oriental historians, observing, at the same time, that it is a dangerous trial for a person, who has passed with *éclat* through a subordinate career, to be placed (as Governor) at the head of the community, among whom he commenced his noviciate. The example is rare of their succeeding. I can only recall one instance of the kind in the course of my experience; but then he was one of a thousand, or such as may not be met with again in a century.

The "experienced observer" will discover, without much trouble, though the author furnishes no other clue, that this is a portrait of Jonathan Duncan, who was Governor of Bombay at the commencement of the present century. Sir James Mackintosh called him a good specimen of a *Brahmanized* Anglo-Indian. His character is not badly sketched by Sir James in a few pregnant lines. "The Governor," he says, "who 'has been very civil to me, is an ingenious, intelligent man, not 'without capacity and disposition to speculate. Four and 'thirty years in this country have *Brahmanized* his mind and 'body. He is good-natured, inclined towards good, and indis-'posed to violence, but rather submissive to those who are 'otherwise." There were many men, "who were otherwise" in those days; and at the head of these were Lord Wellesley and Major Malcolm. Jonathan Duncan was not fast enough for politicians of the Wellesley-and-Malcolm school. He was not what is called a "vigorous statesman;" but he was a very benevolent one. His name is still held in veneration by the few surviving natives, who remember him at Benares and Bombay, and by the many, who have heard their fathers speak, with reverence and affection, of his paternal sovereignty among them. His fault, as a Governor, judged by the standard of 1800-1806, was that he had no natural taste for dragooning. He had some strange heterodox notions about the duty of governing India for the sake of the people—of doing the largest possible amount of good to those who had already become subject to British rule. He was a simple-minded, kind-hearted man, and

had not an idea of bullying any living creature. "The new school, which began to figure about this time," declared that he was too easily bullied. For example, when the Persian ambassador, Hadji Khulil Khan, was killed at Bombay in 1802, and Malcolm (at that time Acting Private Secretary to Lord Wellesley) was despatched on a special mission of explanation and reconciliation to the Western Presidency, and, afterwards, if necessary, to the Persian Gulph—he complained that Jonathan Duncan had in the meanwhile suffered himself to be bullied by the Ambassador's suite, who put forth pretensions, which Malcolm, in his more "vigorous" manner, very soon contrived to suppress.

The author of *Yad Namuh*, with his usual love of obscurity, tells us that he never knew but one Indian Governor, who, having been "placed at the head of a community, among whom he commenced his noviciate," fulfilled worthily the duties of his office; and *he* was "one in a thousand, *or such as may not be met with again in a century.*" This is either a fine example of the bathos, or an extraordinarily liberal expenditure of Governors, not at all in accordance with the tables either of Mr. Davis or Mr Neison. At the least it allows an expenditure of ten Governors a year. But, setting aside this consideration, we should like very much to know who, according to the writer's ideas of a really good Governor, this "one in a thousand" was. Was it Mountstuart Elphinstone—was it Thomas Munro—was it John Malcolm? Or, going back to a more remote date and a more extended sphere of action, was it Robert Clive, or Warren Hastings, or John Shore? Or adverting to our own times, was it Charles Metcalfe, or George Clerk, or Henry Pottinger? Our own ideas on this subject, already expressed, by no means tally with those of our author. The only argument ever adduced against the system of promoting men from the services to the chief controul, civil or military, of those very services, might, with equal cogency, be applied to every description of professional rise. It is not alleged in England that a man is unfit to be a Lord Chancellor, or a Chief Justice, because he has gone the circuit, and dined at the bar table, and been for years in a state of familiar intercourse with his brethren of the long robe, who will henceforth have to plead before the ermine of their old companion. A Bishop is appointed to exercise dominion over his old college chums—a general officer over his old companions in arms. Our own deliberate opinion is, that in every profession the highest prizes should be open to every member of it, and that, just as every young barrister feels that he may some day be Lord Chancellor, and every young deacon

that he may some day be Archbishop of Canterbury, we would have every young writer on the establishment feel that he may some day be Governor-General, and every young cadet, that, in due course, he may be appointed Commander-in-Chief.

Perhaps, the best example of all that might be cited in answer to our author's objections—the example, which indeed not improbably furnishes his one exceptional cause—is that of Sir Thomas Munro. Captain Hervey has supplied us with an anecdote in illustration of the reverence and affection with which Munro was regarded by the natives of Madras, which may stand instead of any remarks of our own on this most attractive subject:—

But mentioning Sir Thomas Munro's statue reminds me of a little anecdote in relation to it. I was one day driving by the monument, when I saw an old man in a red coat, with three chevrons on his right arm, standing leaning on his staff, and gazing silently on the exalted statue. He was evidently an old pensioner, not only from his dress, but from a certain degree of military carriage in his *tout ensemble*, which there was no mistaking. Out of curiosity I stopped my buggy, got out, and addressed the veteran. "What are you looking at, my fine old fellow?" enquired I. "Do you know who that is intended to represent?" "Who can have known the great Sir Thomas Munro," replied the old man, "without remembering him? And who can have known him without loving him? And how can I, who have served under him for many years, ever forget him?"

"Then you think that is a good likeness of our Governor—you recognize the face?" asked I.

"Yes, Sir," said he, "it is a good likeness, but we shall never again see any like him. He was indeed the friend of the Indian, whether a sepoy or a ryot at the plough. Madras will never again have a Governor like him." And raising his right hand to his head, he gave the old-fashioned salute, lifted up his bundle and walked off, mumbling to himself about the impropriety of crows being allowed to build their nests on the top, and to dirt over the head of the greatest man of his age.

But we are now, we believe, at Bombay, not at Madras, under the guidance of the author of *Yad Namuh*. Young Hopeful gets on rapidly, is invited to a dinner-party at a certain General's, and acquits himself there very honourably by singing a good song and getting immoderately drunk. Young military students, who have matriculated in this Napierian era, will, doubtless, be surprized to learn what was the result of this indiscretion:—

The next morning, I found myself in bed at Colonel Drinkwater's house in a most shameful condition, and fit to be exhibited as an example against drunkenness. I found also a note from Colonel Dragon, to know my reasons for being absent from parade that morning, which my friend the Colonel kindly undertook to answer for me, as I could not hold my head up, much less a pen. The reply he made was perfectly correct:—"The poor boy had been taken ill during the night, and was still in a raging fever."

A little mulligatawney about one o'clock so far restored me, that the Colonel ventured to joke with me.

"So, my young gentleman, you can't sing. Eh! faith, you astonished us all last night."

"I shall never forget it, Sir," said I, rubbing my aching forehead.

"I don't think you will," replied the Colonel; "it has got you an aide-de-camp-ship. I have just had a note from General Crotchet, saying he has recommended you to the Commander-in-Chief for the situation."

"I never heard before," said I, "of a man getting a post for getting drunk."

"But, my young friend," replied the Colonel, "you have only to get sober again. Do not look so very miserable, but try if you can get up and dress yourself to go with me and return thanks to the General himself."

In these days, instead of a staff appointment, a brisk dose of Napier's purge is the reward of such after-dinner achievements. The story as told by the author of *Yad Namuh* may look like an exaggeration; but we have, really, little difficulty in believing it. We are old enough ourselves to remember the days when gallantry at the mess-table was a characteristic of a young officer by no means lightly esteemed by veteran commandants; when to shirk the bottle was as great an offence as to shirk duty; and when staff-appointments, if not won by a single Bacchanalian *coup*, were sometimes obtained by a slower process of convivial graduation. Such indeed was the case of a very dear friend of ours, for whom, in his hot youth, some convivial excellencies of this kind, associated, however, with a happy faculty of "carrying his liquor discreetly," won the approbation and the patronage of his first commandant; and he was on the high road to a staff appointment, when the course of training, to which he was subjected under these distinguished auspices, was suddenly cut short by an intrusive fever, which sent him to England and well nigh to his grave. These were days when the small hours of the morning not unfrequently saw the "second supper" on the mess-table. Now, parties, which less than twenty years ago were often not broken up before *three* in the morning, are generally dispersed in the evening soon after *nine*.

We must pass over the history of young Hopeful's "aide-de-camp noviciate" and plunge him at once into the midst of active military life. Not, however, that we intend to follow him through his "hair-breadth escapes in the imminent deadly breach;"—these stories have been told too often. But there is a good deal of graver and more suggestive matter mixed up with the narrative portion of the work. Here is something regarding the multifarious duties of the officers of the Company's army, which is worth quoting:—

The East India Company's officers possess one great and incalculable advantage in the diversity of employments they are called upon to fill. They are, by turns, military, civil, and diplomatic; their ideas become

expanded; they lose that automaton-like impression, which is the result of passing almost a whole life in a barrack yard, or having the little brains, they may happen to be blessed with, spread over the surface of a Book of Regulations! Nothing can compensate for this: it deadens a man's intellects, converts him into a mere machine, and renders him perfectly useless for any more intellectual purpose than that of being shot at—a useful accomplishment in the army, no doubt, though obtained at an immense sacrifice to the individual.

The Duke of Wellington may be quoted as an instance of the great advantage to be derived from diversity of employment. His duties in India were diplomatic, civil and military, extending over an immense tract of country, and combining a variety of conflicting interests. It was the exercise of these, that developed the energies of his lofty genius, and prepared it (as it were) for the great European struggle, upon which he entered with advantages which none of his contemporaries had had opportunities of acquiring in the little predatory excursions, which (with the exception of the expedition to Egypt) were the only ones the Government of Great Britain had ventured upon. In all the laborious details of every department of the army in the Peninsula of Spain, and which the mass of the community have overlooked in the splendid military results, no person was so thoroughly conversant with them as the Duke of Wellington. In fact, he *formed* that army, from the Generals of divisions and brigades down to the very camp-followers; and he must have entertained the same contempt for the counsels and opinions of the home authorities of Great Britain, as the Duke of Marlborough did for the Dutch deputies, who, in like manner, impeded all his operations.

All this is pre-eminently true; but it hardly appears to us that the following is in keeping with it. It seems, indeed, to contradict the premises:—

I own it is frequently mortifying, when all the fag and drudgery of a campaign has fallen almost exclusively on the native troops, to see the whole credit of it reaped by His Majesty's officers; but it is the nature of our service. Company's general officers are always so superannuated, that I never wish to see one of them Commander-in-Chief. They leave England mere boys, know nothing of European life, nor have they in general proper notions of either discipline or subordination. They acquire liberal habits certainly, amounting to profusion, but all their views are colonial, and their predilections Asiatic. They make good political residents, and commandants of subsidiary forces; but where any thing great is to be undertaken against any other than a purely Asiatic enemy, give me a King's general officer of intelligence, who has all his native energies about him, and who can command the respect and implicit obedience of every one; not a nervous old man, like some of ours, ever anxious to conciliate, and so afraid to give offence, that he embroils his whole camp in petty jealousies and disputes.

We do not quite see the force of this. If the duties of the Indian service are of such a nature, as especially to qualify an officer for the command of an European army, it appears to us, that, *a fortiori*, they must qualify him for the command of an Indian army. The writer says—"That what Wellington learnt and did in India, eminently fitted him for the duties of high command in the Peninsula:" why then should not the Munros and Malcolms, who were associated with him, have equally qualified

themselves for Indian command? The superannuation argument is of no avail, at all events in these times; for the Queen's service supplies the Indian army with Commanders-in-Chief, not a year younger, or a bit more active, than the general officers of the Company's service. The Gomms and the Cottons are not younger or more active men than the Pollocks, the Littlers, and the Gilberts. And, in these days, nothing great "is to be undertaken against any other than a purely Asiatic enemy." There is not a Napoleon in the back-ground to scare us from our propriety. The Queen's service will not be able much longer to supply us with officers, who have distinguished themselves on the field of European warfare. Five and thirty years have now elapsed since the great "Sepoy General" broke the battalions of Napoleon Buonaparte on the plains of Waterloo, and restored peace to the European world. India has now become the "nursery of captains." Whatever experience of active warfare the future commanders of our Indian armies may have, must be simply Indian experience. Now, the experiences of the Company's officer are of a more extended and multifarious character than those of the Queen's officer, who has rarely or never an opportunity of employment beyond the narrow circle of regimental routine. Colonel Arthur Wellesley was a brother of the Governor-General, or he would not have been associated with Malcolm, Close and Munro in the Mysore commission. Recently the younger officers of the Royal service have had few, if any, opportunities, of proving the stuff of which they are made, in detached and responsible commands; whilst the Outrams, the Pottingers, the Lawrences, the Edwardeses, the Abbotts, the Nicholsons, and other Company's officers of the same stamp, have, early in life, earned for themselves high reputations, and proved their capacity for isolated command. There can be no better training, at the present time, than that of the Company's service; and every year will render more and more apparent the vicious absurdity of the system of exclusiveness, which shuts out Company's officers from the command of the armies which are mainly composed of Company's troops.

In these days, as we have said, we do not see an European invader ever looming largely in the distance. Even the *Russophobia* has very nearly died out. In Lord Wellesley's, and in Lord Minto's time, the Napoleon mania was very great, and, viewed through the vista of by-gone years, very amusing. What the author of *Yad Namuh* says about it, is worth recording:—

An epidemic broke out in India during Lord Wellesley's reign, and has continued to rage at intervals ever since. It was accompanied in my time with fits of the most inordinate ambition, and usually terminated in a sort

of Buonaparte mania. The persons affected with this malady were to be seen, ruminating on the banks of the Ganges, the Nerbudda, and the Tumbudra, in the attitudes, and likewise aping all the little peculiarities, attributed to the great Emperor of the Western Hemisphere. If Napoleon took snuff in inordinate quantities, or rode hard, or affected to despise all the natural boundaries of kingdoms and states, faith, our public functionaries were not behind hand. They snuffed most outrageously, and rode their hobbies most unmercifully; indeed they soared far above all their predecessors in the adoption of the great Emperor's more enlightened system, which fell like a thunder-bolt upon every poor devil of a native, whether prince, nabob or jaghirdar, whose territory happened to be contiguous and to be of a productive nature. None were spared, save such as owned nothing but barren wastes, and even these last were converted into tributaries. The practice of this new school never varied; and a succession of treaties of perpetual peace and amity, which were invariably broken upon some pretence or other, and wars also undertaken to resist the encroachments of our more ambitious and troublesome neighbours (a capital idea), kept our frontier continually progressing on all sides; till at last the small red specks, which I had formerly noticed in the map of India to denote the British possessions, had become one uninterrupted blaze of red. Indeed the British flag, wherever it was permitted to wave over an embassy to a native court, seemed to possess the baneful influence attributed to the upas tree, by blighting and destroying every thing around it.

An amusing article might be written on the *Gallo-phobia* of the Wellesley and Minto dynasties. It was very much moderated by the successes of the "Sepoy General" in the Spanish Peninsula; but, up to the period of the commencement of the triumphs of Wellington, it seemed gradually to reach its culminating point. Two amusing instances of the feeling, with which Napoleon was regarded by the native and European inhabitants, are to be found in the letters of Claudius Buchanan. In 1806, he wrote—"I have just been conversing with 'the Brahmins of this celebrated pagoda (Seringham, near 'Trichinopoly), and they have been enquiring about Buona-'parte. They have heard that, on his arrival, they are all to 'be made Christians." And in the following year he wrote—"This society anxiously anticipates the confirmation of the 'report that Lord Wellesley has been appointed a Secretary 'of State. I believe it would be as agreeable to them, as to hear 'that Buonaparte has lost a leg—which is also reported." In the official minutes of the early part of Lord Minto's administration, the coming of the French was spoken of as an event, the only question regarding which was a question of *time*. The great hero of the "new school," the practices of which are really not much exaggerated in the above passage, was John Malcolm, who went a-head even too fast for Lord Wellesley, and utterly astounded the sober understandings of such men as Jonathan Duncan, Sir George Barlow, and Lord Cornwallis.

The young Hopeful of *Yad Namuh*, now becomes old Major Hopeful, falls sick in due course, and determines to go home. He takes the overland route—in those days an accomplishment of some magnitude—a feat to be talked of—and reaches England in due course. There were many things there, that surprized him greatly. The march of improvement had been going on steadily during his absence:—

> I discovered new towns, new streets, new houses, surrounded by thriving plantations and cultivation, where I had left nothing but bleak common. I found improvement had extended to every thing. I stared in amazement even at the lowest of our female grades in their ringlets of a Sunday, with silks, shawls, and other finery, that used to appertain exclusively to the upper classes in the olden time. The roads and pavements were fast giving way to the hammer of MacAdam. The streets were lit up with gas, save an aristocratic oil-lamp here and there to point out the fading glories of our ancestors; all marine excursions too were made by steam, "at which the naval people were concerned." In short the march of intellect had been most wonderful, and I found it was dangerous to put questions either to boys or girls, who could not only reply to them, but confound you with others upon subjects that used formerly to be reckoned technical and abstruse. I was condemned to the silent system, until I had attended a course of lectures, and picked up a little "useful knowledge" for current purposes.

It is really very necessary for people freshly arrived from India to adopt "the silent system," if they are at all afraid of the natives sneering at their exclamations and enquiries. We well remember the tone of mingled wonderment and contempt, with which one of the sailors of the pilot-vessel, which conveyed us and some fellow passengers from the ship which brought us home, replied to the astonished exclamation of one of the party, that there were actually ladies walking about on the shore, "La! Mum; that's nothing!" It seemed to the returned Anglo-Indian very strange that English ladies should be walking about anywhere by themselves; but not half so strange as it seemed to the English boatman, that any living creature should express astonishment at a *phenomenon*, which he was contemplating all day long.

We may here leave the writer of *Yad Namuh*, with his *fifty* years' experience, to spend a little time with another, who only boasts of *ten*. Captain Hervey's *Ten years in India* is an amusing, gossiping book, which, we suspect, few people will take up without reading to the conclusion. There is very little pretence about it—no attempt at fine writing—nothing, indeed, *ultra crepidam*. Captain Hervey gives us the result of his own experiences, in a plain soldier-like manner. He writes of things, which have come within his own observation, and of which he is qualified by experience to discourse. The book is obviously

written by one with a high sense of the duties of sepoy-officers; and is altogether the work of a very conscientious, a very candid, and a very intelligent mind. There is a simplicity and *naiveté* in the book, which more than atone for the absence of artistic skill. Captain Hervey records the experiences of his griffinage in a very artless and truthful manner. He tells us without reserve how he walked through the streets of Madras without a chattah; how he went to the pay-office to get his money changed; how he fell in love, made a simpleton of himself, neglected his duty, and lost the command of his company. For our own parts, we almost wonder how he got on, as an unposted ensign, at all. If native companies were, in those days, placed under the command of boys, doing duty only with chance regiments, we trust that the system has been by this time altogether abolished.

Captain Hervey went out to India in 1833. He was at that time, he tells us, "a very little fellow indeed—so little that he was never expected to be bigger—so little that people looked on him with wonder and surprise, and exclaimed, "Is that child going to be an officer?"—so little that his guardians would not trust him with any larger sum of money than ten shillings, but gave ten pounds instead to the skipper to take care of for him." And there is really no exaggeration in this; our author was then so little and so very youthful-looking, that, remembering his fair face, his light hair, and his boyish figure, we find it difficult to persuade ourselves that he can be the same Albert Hervey, who is now addressing us in three volumes octavo, and talking, like a veteran, of his "young friends." On his voyage out to India, Captain Hervey shared a cabin with a young writer, who, among other pleasant companionable qualities, had a taste for dissecting and stuffing sea-fowl, and hanging the unsavoury curiosities about the walls of the cabin. He describes the voyage out as a season of unmixed wretchedness, which he cannot contemplate even in the retrospect without horror. We can easily imagine what it must have been under the circumstances which Captain Hervey so feelingly pourtrays. It is bad enough to have a nuisance of any kind in an adjoining cabin, but to have to bear it for four or five months in one's *own*, must be intolerable. This anatomical mania, which often afflicts young Assistant-Surgeons in a very alarming way, is one of the greatest nuisances on ship-board; but, perhaps, the musical mania, which sometimes breaks out in our sailing vessels, is more terribly distracting still. Even pleasant music after a time becomes an affliction, when there is no escaping from it. We well remember how, during a homeward voyage, slowly recovering from a

severe fever, our escape from which was a very miracle, we were so charmed with the tunes of a musical box, belonging to a lady in the next cabin—it was such a solace to us, during the long, long days, when we were forbidden to read or write, or even to converse, save for a few minutes at a time, that we could not help conveying an expression of gratitude to our fair neighbour—gratitude which, undisguisedly, partook somewhat largely of that imputed characteristic, "a lively hope of future favours." With true womanly kindness, the hint was taken. Fortunately for the box, it had no sense of weariness; for it was set to pour forth, almost continually for our delectation, its cheering and enlivening notes, until, instead of a joy and a solace to us, it became an agony and a distraction. What with our sufferings under the repetition of the same haunting tunes, our intense desire to be relieved from the tortures they inflicted upon us, and our misery at the thought of disturbing the belief of our kind-hearted neighbour that she was administering to our happiness and perhaps expediting our cure—we, in our weak and irritable condition, painfully nervous and sensitive from the effects of repeated attacks of fever of the worst type, were wrought into such a state, that we believe we were on the very verge of a relapse, which would, in all probability, have terminated our existence, if a friend had not undertaken to secure, in the most delicate manner, the cessation of the trouble that was destroying us. And this was really pleasant music; which, in moderation, had comforted us and delighted us. If we had been outward, instead of homeward, bound, the music, that would have assailed our ears, would, in all probability, have been the wretched flute-practice of some sentimental Assistant-Surgeon or Cadet, mangling old tunes in a fragmentary dyspeptic manner, and well nigh driving to the brink of insanity men in stout health, with unshaken nerves, and a stock of patience worthy of the proverbial patriarch himself.

But Captain Hervey's voyage out, like all other voyages, came to an end, and he was safely landed at Madras. A sergeant came on board the ship, took charge of him, and carried him off to the Cadets' barracks. Of these quarters he gives no very encouraging account; but, unless our own recollections are greatly at fault, he has in no way exaggerated the case:—

I found several old Addiscombe friends already arrived at the Cadet's quarters, all griffs as young and inexperienced as your humble servant. There was a mess kept for us, three meals a day, for which we had to pay most dreadfully; every thing to be had was bad; and knavery and cheating in the most glaring colours reigned supreme in this asylum—a place kept on purpose by Government, to give the poor inexperienced Cadet a home

on first arrival, superintended by an officer who was of no use whatsoever, and frequented by the greatest thieves and vagabonds in Madras, from the villain butler to the sweeper! The Cadet's quarters were intended, by those who had established them, to afford the friendless and ignorant young officers a home, and to prevent the possibility of their being imposed upon. The superintending officer's duty was to see that the rules of the establishment were strictly acted up to, and that the lads frequenting it had every thing that was required in consistency with the objects of its institution—economy and respectability. The feeding was execrable, the drink worse, the charges were enormous, and accommodation any thing but comfortable; the beds were swarming with vermin, the heat insufferable, and, from its situation, the building any thing but healthy. I never once saw the officer. The butler was paramount in authority, and I could compare him to nothing but the bull in the crockery-shop; for he had it all his own way, and a more consequential over-fed pariah rascal I never saw. I forget his name now; but the fellow, I recollect, had the insolence to show me his portrait (such as it was), as much as to say—"If I were not an honest man, do you think I would have had my likeness taken?" I greatly exasperated the old thief by telling him, that I thought the picture more like a *baboon* than a human being, and certainly very much resembling his butlership.

This discreditable institution has, we believe, been abolished. We remember that, in Captain Hervey's time, the Bengal Cadets were carried off to this atrocious den, as ruthlessly as the Madras griffins, in spite of their protests, their struggles to emancipate themselves, and, in some instances, their measureless indignation at the thought of being interfered with by a "subordinate Government." We well remember our own unwillingness to yield the point, until satisfied, at the Town Major's, by an unanswerable extract from standing orders, originating with the supreme Government itself. It appeared to us incredible that the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of a minor Presidency could possibly have any controul over so important a personage as a Bengal Cadet.

Our young Cadet is soon put in orders to do duty with a native regiment. Among other discoveries which he soon makes, is one to the effect that promotion is wretchedly slow; and that it is hard to say what, in process of time, must become of the army, if no steps are taken to get the old hands out of the way:—

Would that promotion were a little quicker in the Indian army than it now is! If it progresses so slowly as it does, when are we, of the present day, to become field-officers? What an old set of fellows we shall be by the time we arrive at the rank of Lieutenant-Colonels, or General Officers! Pity it is indeed that some arrangements are not made to clear off the numbers of superannuated officers at present on the retired list, enjoying their off-reckoning funds without doing any duty to deserve the benefit; such a riddance would give the Majors and Captains a better chance of being efficient men when they find themselves at the heads of their regiments. At the present rate, many of us can never expect to be Majors under thirty-

five years' service, and then what shall we be fit for? Nothing but the invalid or pension establishment. If our commanding officers of regiments were more effective, the army would be so also; but at present the class of men in general at the head of divisions, brigades, and regiments, are old and worn out, while the young and the effective are becoming non-effective from this slowness of promotion. The off-reckoning list could easily be done away with. Officers of a certain time of service should be made to retire upon some fixed salary, without burdening the gradation rolls to the detriment of the juniors, as is at present the case; and then only may we expect to get on; but, as we now stand, there is little or no hope whatever, except by purchasing out our seniors from our own resources. But into what a fearful amount of debt does this arrangement involve the whole army! There is scarcely a regiment but what is made to suffer very heavy stoppages in liquidation of loans, from houses of agency or the famous Agra Bank, of enormous sums borrowed to pay out some worn-out Major or disgusted Captain. And yet there is no alternative but to purchase out those above us, and, do what we will, we must borrow money, which places many in sad, sad difficulties, that they are unable to contend with. If we do not purchase, how are we to get on?

How, indeed? This mournful question it is easier to ask than to answer. We have elsewhere* laid before our readers some disheartening statistics illustrative of the future prospects of the Indian army. As to the loans of which Captain Hervey speaks, we are not sure that, in the long run, however severely they may press on young officers at the time, they are not advantageous to him. If the money be borrowed for the *bonâ fide* purchase of promotion, the investment, in spite of the heavy interest paid, is really an advantageous one. And if money is to be borrowed at all, surely it is better that it should be borrowed from a bank, than from a native usurer.

Captain Hervey's career has not been a very eventful one. Events are not very numerous or very exciting in the Madras Presidency. But he has something to say about two or three of the incidents of the last twenty years, which have caused the greatest excitement on the coast—for example the murder of Brigadier Coombs, and the peculations of Captain Douglas. Why the chief sufferer and the chief actor in these tales of murder and robbery should be *initialized*, it is hard to say. Surely their names are sufficiently notorious. They have become history. We protest, indeed, bitterly against the initializing system, when events of any public importance are under consideration. Why should Sir Peregrine Maitland, for example, figure as Sir P. M——? When small details of regimental life or mess gossip are to be dealt with, it is altogether another matter. But the murder of Brigadier Coombs is an historical event; and the names of all the parties, who were in any way associated with it, might have been given at

* *No.* 27. *Article*—"Bengal Military Fund."

full length without any violation of delicacy. It appears to us, however, that Captain Hervey has told this melancholy story in a very intelligible and very interesting manner. We have never met with so ample and so graphic an account of the murder, or such full particulars of the history of the murderer, and of the closing scenes of his life. Captain Hervey was present at the time, when the fatal shot was fired, and subsequently had charge of the prisoner on main guard. Emaum Ali was a pet man in his regiment. He had saved by his heroic gallantry in action, in the Malacca campaign, the life of one of the officers of his regiment—Lieutenant Wright. He had been promoted to the rank of havildar; the officers of his corps had presented him with a gold medal; and he was an especial favourite with the Brigadier, who, Captain Hervey says, "went so far as to have the man's portrait taken, and recommended that he should be promoted to the rank of jemadar, though his recommendation was not attended to." "Little," adds our author, "did the poor Brigadier think of what awaited him, at the time he was making so much of this man."

It was early in January 1834, that the General commanding the division visited Pulnomum on a tour of inspection. One evening the troops were brigaded; but, before the exercise had proceeded very long, the brief twilight of an Oriental winter was at an end; and the ball-practice was anything but good. "The darkness and the distance caused the firing to be irregular; and the brigadier galloped up and down apparently much annoyed, desiring the officers to keep the men steady and to aim better." We continue the narrative in Captain Hervey's words:—

In the mean time there was something wrong amongst the Rifles on the left. Their firing was any thing but satisfactory; and K—— found fault with the young havildar, Meer Emaum Ally (already mentioned), who was particularly unsteady and careless on that occasion, so different to his general behaviour. He was such a capital shot, that he was ever trying his best, and generally managed to beat every one; but, somehow or other, he fired very indifferently on this evening; and, when K—— observed it to him, he gave that officer an insolent reply. His demeanour was mutinous; and K—— reported him to the Major, as he rode up to that flank of the line. The Major directed the man to be brought to him the next day at orderly hour. The firing over, the brigade was broken into "*columns of sections*," it being so late that the Brigadier did not direct the usual precautionary measure being taken, of discharging the loaded muskets previously to returning home. He either thought it too late to do so, or he forgot it altogether. It was now quite dark; and, as we moved on, the progress of the brigade over broken ground was slow and irregular. The General drove away in his carriage; and the Brigadier directed officers to mount, and the column to *march at ease*. He was himself on horse-back, standing at an angle of the road, where the troops wheeled on towards the

cantonments, the *pivot* of each *section*, as it came up, resting at the point where he stood. As we passed him, T——n asked the Brigadier, if he would come to mess and take a glass of cold claret, which would do him good after all his exertions and the heat of the day. He excused himself, saying—"I have already dined, thank you, before coming down the hill, so should not be able to stand another dinner." The Brigadier was not at all in a good humour that evening, and was finding fault with every one. As I was riding by at the head of my company, he called out to me in a very angry tone of voice to *change flank*, as officers mounted had no business on the *pivots*. He was wrong there. However, it was no business of mine to argue the point with him at that moment; I was therefore just going over to the other side, when suddenly a shot was fired. I thought it was accidental; but, upon looking round, I saw the Brigadier staggering and falling off his horse. He had been struck by the ball. Then there were a scuffle and confusion, men vociferating and officers giving words of command. The Light and Rifle companies were immediately in rear of me; the Captain of the former gave the word *halt*, and faced his men about. Then there were a noise amongst the Rifles, and several persons shouted out —"Hold him fast!"—"Take his sword from him!"—"Secure the villain!" and so forth. I saw the Adjutant rush up to where the Brigadier had fallen, and raise him up in his arms. The whole brigade was presently halted, and there was no knowing what was to be done; some calling out to move on, and others to stand fast. I followed the example of the Light Company, and faced about also. I shortly after heard some one mention the Havildar, Meer Emaum Ali. I went up to where the confusion was, and, to my great horror, beheld the said Havildar seized hold of and pinioned by some Rifle-men, and marched off by a section of the Light Company under its Captain towards the main-guard. Presently the Major rode up, and I asked him what it was all about? He told me that the Havildar had shot the Brigadier. He struggled violently upon being seized, and tried hard to get out his sword; fortunately however one of the men had had the foresight to draw it out of its scabbard, the instant he was seized. When he found that his sword had been taken from him, he gave himself up without further resistance, but continued abusing and spitting at the men around him, as also at the Light Company Captain, calling him all the names under the sun in the Hindustani language. The poor Brigadier was in the mean time carried to his bungalow at the foot of the hill in his palanquin, which was there ready waiting to take him home. Upon being informed who it was that had shot him, he exclaimed—"Good God! what harm have I done him that he should murder me?" The medical man examined his wound. The ball had struck the bottom button of his coat, entered the stomach, and had gone out at his spine, making a frightful hole on each side. The wound was of course mortal; he survived in great agony for about five minutes, and then expired. Thus was a smart officer removed from the army by the hands of an assassin, who had experienced so much kindness from the very individual whose life he had so unjustly taken. In the mean time, the murderer was conveyed to the main-guard, and there put in irons, with strict orders to the officer in command relative to his safe keeping. When arrived in the cell, he behaved in the most frantic manner possible, throwing himself on the ground, gnashing his teeth, and beating his hand against the wall. He worked himself up to such a fearful state of frenzy, that any interference was considered dangerous, as he was a very powerful man. The doors of the cell were therefore closed upon him, and he was left alone. The cause of this dreadful crime was not immediately known.

Truth to say, the unfortunate man was at the time and for the whole of that day in a state of excitement from the effects of opium, to which (like most Moslems) he was much addicted; and, having been amongst the Malays, who indulge in smoking that drug to a great extent, he had acquired the same habit. I remember having seen him at a wedding in the lines, the night before he perpetrated the foul deed, when he appeared to me to be much excited, with that peculiar look, which men have when under the influence of opium—his eyes shining brightly, and his whole demeanour so different from what it generally appeared. I made the remark to a native officer sitting next to me. He replied that Meer Emaum always appeared so on such occasions, but that he was not addicted to opium-eating or smoking. This, of course, I was at liberty to credit or not as I pleased, but was convinced in my own mind that all was not right. The sequel proved that I was correct, and that this man must have been quite intoxicated during the whole of the day following, which added to the exposure to the sun, the firing, and above all the reprimand which he had received from a strange officer (which K—— was), must have worked him up to the point of madness; and I verily believe that at the moment he discharged the fatal shot, he could not possibly have been aware of what he was doing, or whom he was firing at. He might have shot me, for I was close to the Brigadier when he received his death-wound; and that he did not intend to shoot the Brigadier is a well-known fact, inasmuch as, when informed the following day of what he had done, he appeared overwhelmed, and exclaimed.—"What? have I really taken the life of one of my best and warmest friends? Alas! I am indeed unfortunate. However," added he, brightening up, "when I meet him in Paradise, I shall throw myself at his feet, and implore his pardon; and I am certain he will readily forgive me." He intended his shot for another, and that was his commanding officer, the Major; but, not meeting him, he fired at the Brigadier. The Major, therefore, had a narrow escape. He happened to be riding at the head of the column. The prisoner declared that he had made up his mind to shoot him, from the moment that he had ordered him to be brought to his quarters at orderly hour the next morning.

The wretched man was found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hanged. His conduct during his trial was such as to blunt the sympathies of all, who had regarded him with feelings of commiseration. He abused the witnesses, and afterwards acknowledged that he had intended to attack, in open court, with the irons on his wrist, his commanding officer (Major Winboldt), whom he had designed to shoot on the practice-ground. "Among the several witnesses, who crowded the 'court," says Captain Hervey, "was the Major of the Regiment, 'his intended victim. The Major was standing close to him, and 'he might very easily have rushed at him in spite of the 'sentry. I was also close to the Major, and heard a friendly 'whisper addressed to him on the propriety of his moving 'from where he stood, as the prisoner looked as if he meant 'mischief. The Major took the hint, and moved away. The 'prisoner was afterwards heard to say that it was well the 'Major had retired, for it was his intention to have attempted 'violence against him with the irons on his arms. His beha-

'viour in court showed great obduracy; and, had a feeling of 'pity existed in the breasts of any of the members, or the 'faintest wish to lean to the side of leniency, all this was done 'away with by his conduct. On the contrary, he assumed that 'species of bravado so peculiar to natives; and, instead of at-'tempting to excite the commiseration of the tribunal before which 'he was arraigned, or of showing by his subsequent behaviour 'that the act, he had committed, had been done in a moment 'of excitement, under the influence of a powerful drug to which 'he was addicted, he seemed to glory in his deed." Captain Hervey gives a detailed account of the execution of the unhappy man. His body was cut down in the evening, "and, being 'rolled up in wax-cloth, &c. was placed inside an iron cage 'made for that purpose; after which it was carried up the hill, 'and there suspended on a gibbet." The most astonishing part of the story is what follows. We are not surprized that Captain Hervey does not venture to say more than that he "remembers having heard" it told. The story is that an officer, stationed not many miles off, *i. e.* an Artillery officer at the mount, "took a strange fancy into his head of possessing himself of the skull of the murderer." "With this view," writes Captain Hervey, "he took a ladder, carried by his horse-keeper, and, 'armed with his gun, as if on a shooting excursion, sallied 'forth from the mount early one morning, before a soul was 'moving—in fact before the morning-gun was fired. The 'guard originally stationed over the gibbet had been removed 'some time previously; and the poor man's relations had con-'structed a sort of altar, on which incense was continually 'burned, decorated with chaplets; and a *fakir*, or religious 'devotee, was employed to watch the remains, and to say prayers 'in behalf of the deceased. The man of shot-and-shell proceed-'ed to the hill aforesaid, and, arriving at the foot of it, took 'the ladder from the horse-keeper, and climbed the ascent *solus*, 'leaving the man to hold the horse during his absence. 'Arrived at the gibbet, he planted his ladder, and began to 'mount. He had scarcely gone up two or three steps, when 'suddenly he heard voices of several men calling out to him 'to desist, and threatening him with instant death if he went 'further. This was an interruption as disagreeable as it was 'unexpected, and, not being looked for, made the skull-stealer 'the more surprized; so, down he came, and, taking the lad-'der on his shoulders, he ran as fast as his legs could carry 'him, tumbling and sprawling among the stones and bushes. 'At last reaching his horse, he galloped off, followed by the 'affrighted horse-keeper, carrying the ladder. He heard nothing

'more about the matter, and had every reason to congratulate 'himself that it ended where it did. He, however, made a similar 'attempt some weeks after, but without success; the horse-keeper 'on this occasion declaring that he heard the skeleton telling 'him not to approach." The skeleton finally escaped this and all other perils. The relatives of the deceased, it appears, kept continual watch over the remains of the murderer; and at last the bones were handed over to the father, and obtained Muhammadan sepulture.

The most valuable parts of Captain Hervey's book are those which contain his comments on the discipline of the Madras army and the general treatment of the sepoy—remarks, which appear to us to be sound and judicious, and conceived in a spirit of uniform kindness and generosity. It is an old complaint that, in the Madras Presidency, troops are moved in all weathers and at all seasons of the year—nay that there is rather a propensity, on the part of the Madras authorities, to select the most unpropitious seasons for such movements. On this important subject Captain Hervey remarks:—

It is an odd, and to me unaccountable, arrangement, that troops should be made to move at the seasons they do. They either march from one station to another in the rainy season, thereby rendering the journey one of discomfort, and engendering fevers and rheumatisms; or in the middle of the hot weather, which causes cholera and other destructive diseases. This remark may perhaps be looked upon as ill becoming so humble an individual as I am; but I do not make it, as if such movements were *always* occurring; the "*powers that be*" are supposed the best judges on these subjects, and, as soldiers, we must not grumble, but die like rotten sheep when ordered to do so, and say nothing! The miseries of a march in the rains are indescribable, and are known only to those who have experienced them. Our clothes are damp; our tents throw out a disagreeable smell from being constantly soaked; the ground under us is wet and cold; and our baggage and followers—the former destroyed, and the latter suffering from the effects of exposure. Every body in camp is grumbling and growling. We have the rain pouring upon us on the line of march; upon coming to a halt we have to wait for our baggage, which cannot proceed quickly on account of the state of the roads; and when it reaches the encamping ground, the tents are pitched often on a swamp; and into them we have to go miserable and discontented. There *are* seasons of the year, when troops might be moved without exposing them to the cold and rain, or to the heat and land winds; and really in these times, when disease and death are stalking with fierce strides throughout the country, carrying off thousands—scarcely a regiment marching without being attacked by cholera—it is a great pity that matters are not better managed than they are.

"Our Governors, our Commander-in-Chief, our Adjutant-'General," says Captain Hervey, in another part of his book, 'in fact the whole world, are astonished, thunder-struck, amazed 'and disheartened, at hearing the dismal, nay heart-rending

'accounts, which follow the movements now-a-days of our 'troops. Cholera is sure to break out in three regiments out 'of four!" We see no reason why any living creature should marvel at this, if our regiments are moved at seasons of the year, when they ought to be quietly in cantonments. We never could discover any intelligible motive for sacrificing the Madras troops in this manner. The Marquis of Tweeddale had a passion for destroying regiments in this wholesale style. It was something far beyond the power of human penetration to fathom; and we never could make it out.

Captain Hervey is of opinion, not only that the Madras troops are moved at the most unseasonable times, but that they are not stationed with due regard to the salubrity of the several localities adapted for their reception. He wonders, for example, why no better use is made of Cuddalore—one of the pleasantest and the heathiest stations in the whole of India. There is an European Pension Depôt there; but never more than a small detachment of native infantry. "Cuddalore," says Captain Hervey, "is indeed a delightful spot to live in: 'and, if my very humble opinion is worth anything, I may as 'well add, that, were it selected as one of our infantry stations, 'instead of some of those inland, the Government would do a 'very wise thing, and confer a boon which would be vastly be-'neficial to the army." We entirely concur in opinion with Captain Hervey. Cuddalore is a healthy station with a capital *maidan;* and there could hardly be a better place for troops. That *maidan* we remember as an unexceptionable cricket-ground, and one too which saw as much respectable play as any ground in Southern India. Captain Hervey, speaking of the lamentable condition of the pensioners, says—"I believe 'there is a circulating library for the soldiers, but few of them 'ever make use of it; the skittle-ground and arrack-shop are 'the places of general resort, and there they gamble, squab-'ble and fight, smoke and drink all day long, and either come, 'or are carried, home in a state of brutal drunkenness. There 'is also a *Cricket Club,* at which they play once or twice a 'week; but, as the ground is situated at a distance, very few of 'them take the trouble to attend." We remember when it was very different; when there was a strong muster always on cricket-days, and some excellent players in the pensioner ranks.* The civilians at the station turned out to a man; the

* It need hardly be observed that the interest taken by the pensioners, or any other similar body of men, in this or any other amusement, will always be in proportion to that manifested by the gentlemen of the station. That the intercourse thus engendered is always salutary in its effects, we have not the smallest doubt.

few officers attached to the native company and the depôt, or on sick leave at the station, were always ready for the fray; and there were more pensioners eager to be enrolled than could be brought within the legitimate number. There was never much apprehension of climate entertained at Cuddalore—shooting, fishing, riding, boating, cricket-playing, racket-playing, &c. going on at hours of the day and times of the year, which in Bengal would have sent men to their graves. Cuddalore is a favourite civil station; and it is probable that the civilians might not be especially delighted by seeing it converted into a large military cantonment; but we cannot help thinking that there is a vast deal of truth in what Captain Hervey says upon the subject; and, though we do not wish to throw much weight into our article, we must transfer to our pages a few more of his remarks on the general treatment of the Madras soldiery, with special reference to the subject of location:—

My ideas regarding health and efficiency may be erroneous; but when people take into consideration how much our troops suffer from sickness, be it on a common line of march, or in the field, or against the enemy, or in most of our garrisons and cantonments, they may probably be of the same opinion. If more attention were paid to the proper locating of our men; if better and more healthy stations were formed than those now held, and which are looked upon by them as so many yawning graves; if more consideration were paid to their personal comforts, and enjoyments; if wholesome air and exercise were afforded; if they had better feeding and were less worked; if the *exigencies of the service*, as this marching and countermarching, these escort duties, these harassing guards, these unceasing drills, and these back-breaking inspection parades—if all these irksome tedious duties were, in some measure, diminished, the service would be greatly benefited. If improvements of this nature were effected, I vouch for it, that the army, from right to left, and from flanks to centre, would be much more an army, in point of aptitude for the work for which it is intended than it now is. At present the men are worn out and dispirited by constant fretting and annoying, by paltry nonsensical parades and drill, which do more harm than good, (for I say that it is not the *frequency* of drilling that tends to make a corps perfect, but the way in which it is taught); nothing but altering and changing of accoutrements and appointments; nothing but going on guard over places which require no guarding; nothing but frequent stoppages for this, that, and every thing else; nothing but moving from one station to another; nothing but poverty and starvation in consequence; nothing but sickness and disease of all sorts, and in all shapes; and nothing but dying by tens and twenties a day, directly the least epidemic comes among them or in their neighbourhood. How can it be otherwise? Place our regiments in healthy stations, and they will get on well enough, and be better soldiers in the end. Keep them where they are, and they cannot help being inefficient.

We must here take our leave of Captain Hervey; and that we do so with much reluctance is the best proof of the pleasure his book has afforded. It contains a vast quantity of suggestive matter, which would supply us with texts innumerable for

much gossiping discourse, had we time and space at our command. But, unfortunately, we are sorely pressed for both; and, with some brief notice of the two remaining works on our table, must bring our article to a close.

Of the *Sketches of Naval and Military Adventure, by one in the Service,* we hardly know what to make. As one-half of the book is devoted to naval, and the other to military, adventure, it is not very easy to determine to what "Service" the "one" belongs. If we had read on the title page, "by *two* in the Services," the matter would have been plain enough. As it is, we cannot account for the fact of these varied experiences, even upon the hypothesis that the writer is that hybrid animal, called a *Marine.* The "one" was on board the *Northumberland,* which, in 1815, carried Napoleon to St. Helena, and was at Ferozepore in 1842, when the victorious armies of Pollock and Nott returned from Affghanistan. However, we have nothing to do with the naval experiences of the writer. We deal with the book, as though it were simply a volume of military adventure.

But even in this single point of view, we confess that it somewhat puzzles us. It is hard to say whether the book is written by an officer, or by one in the ranks. The judgment of the reader is kept in a constant state of oscillation. Now there is something that recals the barrack to his mind; now something that leads him in imagination to the mess-tent, or the officer's bungalow. The book has no pretension to be a good book. It is not scholarly, or refined, or informing, or suggestive; but it is readable. Every now and then it sets one's teeth on edge; but we manage to get through. The character of the book is anecdotical. The anecdotes are good, bad, and indifferent—some very old, and some surprisingly new. They may be divided into two classes, the *social* and the *historical.* Commencing our illustrations with an example of the former, we come upon the following strange story. The author is congratulating himself on having become "acquainted with the Hindustani language before reaching India;" though, from the samples given in the book, we suspect that the acquaintance must be very slight.

On the removal of the soup at a dinner-party in Calcutta, at which I was present, our host called to the servants in the native tongue "Lao ghost." One of our number, who had just arrived from Europe, and did not comprehend Hindustani, no sooner heard the words, than he sprang from the table and ran with the utmost expedition of which he was capable, out of the room. Finding he did not return, and thinking he might have been suddenly taken ill, two or three of us presently went in search of him; and after some time found him covered with perspiration, and shaking with

terror. On enquiring what was the matter with him, we found it difficult at first to elicit any reply, but at length discovered that he had fled from the spectre, which, he understood, Mr. F. (our entertainer) had seen and announced to the company, in the words, "Oh! a Ghost!" Laughing heartily at his mistake, and assuring him that he need not fear, we took him by the arm and led him back to the room, he had so unceremoniously left, where he was introduced to the object of his terror, in the shape of a goodly and substantial round of roast beef.

The adventurer declares that he was present on this occasion, or we should have said that somebody had been hoaxing him. As it is, we can only say that we really do not believe him.

But there is nothing so astonishing in the book, as the anecdotes of Lord William Bentinck. We have taken some pains to illustrate the character of this distinguished nobleman; but we now perceive how little we were acquainted with the personal incidents of his career. Here is a story, which we should certainly have transferred to our pages before, if we had been acquainted with it:—

Lord Bentinck was accustomed to go about Calcutta, as Alraschid did about the streets of Bagdad, in disguise, and frequently assumed the garb and manners of a military pensioner. On these occasions he would accost any one he happened to meet, whom he deemed suitable for his purpose, get into conversation, gradually introduce the subject of Government, and endeavor to elicit the opinion of his companion on His Lordship's own character and policy. He would also, under an assumed character, sometimes visit the public offices, seeking thus to discover abuses; and, where finding such, suspending or removing the parties implicated, and introducing a reform. On one of these occasions he entered the office of the Commissary-General in the tattered garb of a poor old soldier, and requested an interview with that personage on important public business. This the head clerk very haughtily denied him, demanded to know what he wanted, and, on his declining to communicate this, told him that his wishes could not be complied with, as the Commissary-General was out, and turned away without even offering him a chair, which, however, a more courteous understrapper brought, and requested him to be seated. After sitting some time unheeded, the supposed soldier solicited the clerk to favour him with pen, ink, and paper, as he wanted to step out, and would make his business known in writing to the Commissary-General, so that, in the event of that gentleman returning to the office, and again quitting it ere *he* came back, he might receive the communication and leave a written reply to it. With much difficulty he obtained writing materials, the same being pushed towards him in a most supercilious manner. The old soldier scribbled a few lines, intimating his wish to see the Commissary-General, and concluded by subscribing himself *Bentinck*. This done, he departed. Shortly after, the note was delivered by the clerk to his master (who had all this time been within). No sooner had the Commissary-General glanced over it, and seen the signature attached to it, than he sprang from his chair, and hastened into the office, but seeing no one there, enquired what had become of His Lordship. "Lordship, Sir!" exclaimed the clerk, "we have had no one here but a ragged old soldier, who wanted to see you, and, when I told him he couldn't, because I knew you were busy, he asked leave to write the note which I just now gave you." "Confusion! The old soldier, as you call

him, was the Governor-General. Ho, Buxoo, buggy lao, jilda! jilda! (Bring the buggy, quick, quick), shouted the officer, and in a moment sprang into his carriage, and drove off to Government-House, leaving the astonished clerk panic-stricken and aghast. In about half an hour the Commissary General returned, bringing with him an order for the immediate dismissal of the head clerk for inattention to public business, and the appointment of the polite understrapper (should he be qualified for the situation) to the vacancy.

This is not so bad; here is another story, almost as good, told by a different narrator:—

"That was pretty well," said Captain C. when the major had finished his story. "But though an enemy to the neglect of public business, His Lordship was fond of a joke, and could laugh as heartily as any other, even when it was directed against himself. You remember the sensation produced by His Lordship's introduction of the half-batta measure. He was abused most awfully for it, and held up in every possible way to ignominy and contempt. Among other effusions of the day, a song was composed about this concern, in which His Lordship, of course, figured prominently, and was capitally lampooned. This song Lord Bentinck saw. Shortly after its publication, the Governor-General happened to pass through the station, in which the officer, who had the credit of its authorship, was quartered. There His Lordship remained a day or two, and, the evening before leaving it, invited the officers of the different regiments to an entertainment. The Poet was of course asked, and of course attended. Supper being over, His Lordship called upon an officer near him for a song. This was given, and another was then called on, and so it went round till it came to the turn of the author of the lyric on the half-batta question. He tried hard to excuse himself, when asked to sing; but the Governor-General would take no excuse. 'Pray Mr——' said His Lordship, 'at least oblige us with one of your own songs.' 'My Lord?' 'We shall be happy to hear one of your own compositions. Come now, what say you to the song on the half-batta question?' Poor —— ! I shall never forget the consternation he evinced at that last question, or the almost-suffocating attempts made to repress the mirth, which his awkward situation excited on all sides. However, he could not help himself, and so at last he sung it; and really it was capital fun to see the good humour with which His Lordship bore each successive hit, while the poor vocalist sweated like an ox under the infliction, and seemed to tremble, lest His Lordship should get sore at the thwacks, with which he was obliged, most involuntarily, to belabour him. The song at last ended, Lord Bentinck burst into a hearty laugh, in which the rest of the company joined, and the whole house seemed to shake with our united cachinations. His Lordship soon after retired, and —— jumped into his palki unobserved and was off like a shot."

And here is a third of the same kind; but somewhat milder in degree:—

"I can readily credit the story, Captain," said our Colonel, when our merriment at this anecdote had a little subsided, "from a circumstance, which came to my own knowledge, while on a visit to Calcutta some years ago. A most abusive letter was written to Lord Bentinck by some one in the metropolis, who, as he did not belong to the service, and was moreover just about to return to England, cared not a straw for His Lordship, and had the impudence, accordingly, to sign it with his own name, and to send it to the

Government House by one of his own messengers. It was delivered to the Governor-General, who, being at leisure, at once perused it, and ordered that the person, who had brought it, should be called in. When the messenger made his appearance, His Lordship presented him with five rupees, and requested him to give his salaam to his master."

We subjoin one more of the adventurer's stories before we close the book :—

A remarkable series of alliances, *à la Hymen*, took place at Cawnpore in the year 1842. H. M.—— regiment —— had, on the formation of the North Western Expedition, marched into Affghanistan, leaving, as usual, its depot, which consisted of about two dozen sick soldiers, half a dozen non-commissioned, and two or three commissioned, officers, and about three hundred women behind it. Some time after its departure, another regiment, composed almost entirely of young and unmarried men, arrived. This corps had been but a short time there, when tidings of the disastrous retreat of our troops from Cabul were received. It was found that the regiment, first alluded to, had been cut up nearly to a man. This was sad news for all, but more especially for the families of the deceased soldiers, whose wives were thus, all at once, left widows, and their children orphans. Tears, crape, and lamentations became with " the ladies " the order of the *day*, but not, as in England, of the *year!* They were too wise to think of prolonging *their* grief for such a period. On the second Sunday after the receipt of the " black dispatches," the banns of some fifteen or twenty couples were read in our hearing at Church. This was followed up week after week for a considerable time, with a continual increase in the number, so that at the expiration of a quarter of a year, out of the three hundred " bereaved ones," only a few remained in a state of widowhood.

This can hardly have been written by an officer in the Queen's service. The only Queen's regiment cut to pieces on the retreat from Cabul was the 44th, and that regiment, we need scarcely say, did not form part of the original " expedition to the North West."

These extracts will suffice to give our readers a just conception of the kind of anecdotes, that are written for home consumption. They are almost worthy of that Mr. Addison, who, some time ago, published in one of the London magazines a series of brief stories illustrative of Indian society, which perfectly astounded the common-place understandings of residents in this part of the world.

Major McMurdo's performance is of a very different kind; but it is written in even worse taste. The great baggage question is really a very important one. It is one that every well-wisher to India would wish to see freely discussed. Certainly, the controversy has hitherto had the benefit of great names. We wish that it had also the benefit of good temper. We do not remember any controversy, within our time, that has been conducted with such wretched taste and such wretched temper. Major McMurdo seems to have striven after the at-

tainment of a climax of bad taste, such as, perhaps, has never been reached by a British officer before. Not content with the wordy weapons within his reach, he has betaken himself to the pictorial. He has embellished his "Reply to Lieutenant-Colonel Burlton's attack," with a frontispiece, in the shape of a wretched caricature, that would disgrace the walls of a canteen. It represents the Frog and the Ox in the fable—Sir Charles Napier, with his spectacles and his beard, figuring as the latter, and Colonel Burlton, with an inflated white waistcoat and a masonic apron, enacting the part of the former. Nothing can be more unseemly, or more injurious, than this manner of debating a great question intimately connected with the efficiency of the entire Indian army. A controversy of such vital importance ought not to be so degraded.

The dedication to Sir Charles Napier of Major McMurdo's pamphlet is not in much better taste than the frontispiece. "As your Excellency's follower," says the gallant author, "and 'as the late head of the Quarter Master General's Depart-'ment in Scinde under your orders, and therefore having seen 'the formation and working of the Camel Baggage-corps, 'I could not read a pamphlet, pretending to be an answer to 'yours on the Camel Baggage-corps, and written by *one* 'Lieut.-Colonel Burlton, C. B., of the Company's service, without 'contradicting the direct errors and mis-statements contained 'in his few brief comments on your Excellency's letter to 'Sir John Hobhouse, *arising on his part from an apparent 'ignorance of his profession—if indeed, a Commissary may be 'called a soldier, belonging as he does to the civil branch of the 'army, and hated as he is by all that is military.*" This is merely ridiculous. The affected contempt of *one* Lieut.-Colonel Burlton of the Company's service, who writes C. B. after his name, which it appears that Major McMurdo does not; the expression of a doubt as to whether a Commissary is a soldier; the assertion that he belongs to the civil branch of the army, and is hated (it ought to have been said *envied*) by all the fighting part of the army—are simply things to be laughed at; and we confess that we do not find it much less difficult to be angry with the insinuation, that Sir Charles Napier's Baggage-corps was attacked by the Commissariat, because "the confusion, that 'Sir Charles put an end to, was congenial to the large fortunes 'made in the Department." When it comes to this, we may be sure that argument is greatly lacking. For men who are not soldiers, the Commissariat officers have received some tolerably hard knocks during the recent wars. For example, in the battle of Jugdulluck, fought by General Pollock in September

1842, the only officer killed was Captain Nugent of the Commissariat.

We have no intention to re-open the Baggage-question in this place. Enough has been said upon the subject in the pages of this journal. But there are some interesting and suggestive facts mentioned in Major McMurdo's pamphlet, which are worth detaching from their context. Here is a passage relative to Sikh tactics, which we have marked for quotation :—

The magnificent *materiel* of our army is the same as of yore; its valour is the same; but its discipline is impaired; while our enemies have acquired discipline, in which they were formerly entirely deficient. A gallant officer, who was prisoner in the late campaign, told me that the march of the Sikh army, from the neighbourhood of Chillianwallah to Guzerat, was one of the best-executed and most magnificent manœuvres he ever witnessed. Drawn up in order of battle, facing the British camp, Shere Sing first passed his baggage well to the reverse flank of his intended march. He then commenced his march, preserving his order of battle, every battalion keeping its place and alignment for a distance of twenty miles! So perfectly was the order of battle preserved, that the British captive believed our army must have been marching close and parallel to that of the Sikhs, instead of being, as it was on that day, quietly in camp at Chillianwallah! On approaching Guzerat, the Sikh army halted, re-formed line, facing to the rear, and remained in this attitude, till the baggage had passed to the front, and the camp was pitched. Now when 60,000 men, with sixty pieces of cannon, can be manœuvred in front of a British army in this fashion, it is time for us to rouse ourselves, renew our former discipline, and shake off the unwieldy encumbrances, that clog our movements in the field—the very sight of which, on the march, is sufficient to appal the ablest commander; for (as Colonel Burlton acknowledges) "it is no wonder that a general stands aghast, and fervently hopes his enemy may not detach any light horse to double round his flanks, and fall upon his rear."

"Let us profit," adds Major McMurdo, "by the warning the 'late campaigns in India have given us—profit also by the 'warning which the new era in India will give us; I allude to 'the introduction of railways. I cannot separate from my mind 'the conviction, that, however beneficial to the mercantile and 'social communities of India the development of this grand 'scheme may be, railways will have the effect, ere long, of 'bringing together the different races in India, from Cape 'Comorin to the Himalayas. They will know each other's 'sentiments for the first time, and for the first time understand 'the meaning of combination. There is nothing to fear, if we 'are prepared; but *every thing* to fear, if we are unprepared." We honestly confess that this had not struck us before. The danger may be very great; but we cannot help saying, that we shall be glad to give the different races such an opportunity of combining against us. Our only fear is that the opportunity is as yet very remote. We wish it were a little nearer. When

we have constructed a line of railway from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, we shall be prepared to weigh the cost, and abide the consequences, of bringing the southern and the northern races into contact with each other. With one more brief extract from Major McMurdo's pamphlet we must bring this rambling article to a close:—

> The *hordes* of people, of all classes and denominations, who are permitted to follow our armies in India, are not to be conceived! I am told that the bazars after Chillianwallah, and throughout the late campaign, were little short of those at Calcutta! Every description of merchant, mechanic, and profligate were there located, carrying on their different callings and pursuits, as in a great town, and seeming utterly indifferent to the circumstance of a powerful and ruthless enemy being in their immediate vicinity. Indeed I am told that an active correspondence was kept up with the enemy by the merchants in our own bazars: and it is natural to suppose that tobacco and grain were not the only commodities which were conveyed to the camp of the enemy, that Shere Sing was kept informed of every thing that went on, and that not a detachment moved without his knowledge.

We conclude, as we commenced, by saying that, with every inclination to impart something of a more vivacious and sparkling character to our journal—for we have various tastes to consult, and we are anxious to seduce even the thoughtless reader into the perusal of our more solid and instructive matter, by setting before him occasional offerings of a lighter and more attractive kind—we have rarely those opportunities enjoyed by the European critic, who, every week—nay, every day—has some new poem, or romance, or book of travels placed unsought upon his library-table. It is our duty to notice such books, whether published in India or in England, as relate to Indian affairs, and we seldom pass over any that yield materials, either singly or conjointly with others, for a readable article. We might wish the poetry, that comes before us, to be a little better, or a little worse; and we may sometimes desire our prose-writers to be a little more brilliant, or a little more blundering; but we do our best with what is set before us, and are thankful for what we can get.

ART. II.—*A Review of the Operations of the British Force at Cabul, during the outbreak in November* 1841, *and during the retreat of the above Force in January* 1842. *By William Hough, Major, Bengal Establishment. Englishman Press. Calcutta.* 1850.

WE doubt if Cæsar, whether asleep or awake, were much of a dreamer. At all events, with a convenient treaty just concluded with Cassivellaunus, the British hostages all safe in the Roman camp, the ships, such as they were, ready for the embarkation of the wearied legionaries, and, above all, the channel sea flatteringly smooth for the occasion, his slumbers on the eve of departure from our rough coast were likely enough to be sound; or, if disturbed at all, visions of the already-rumoured Gallic revolts were more likely to haunt his imagination than the array of England's future greatness. Had he been granted a spectral glimpse of the regions of the earth to be peopled or won by the future races of the misty storm-beaten land he was so gladly leaving, we may suppose that, as America, Australia, and India were shadowed forth to his sleeping thoughts, the empire-loving Cæsar would have sprung to his feet, and sworn that, hap what hap, England must be won and kept for Rome. His second invasion of Britain had, as it was, already endangered Gaul; and, with a clear perception of his military position in both countries, Cæsar (barely in time however) threw up the one to keep the other, and hastened to where the war-storm was brewing. To the present day we feel the thrilling force of that description, where he relates the slaughter of the legion under Titurius, and the gallant stand of that under Q. Cicero. Ages have since elapsed, yet the narrative of those events, be the reader who he may, is vivid with deep interest. What then must have been the emotion, with which the "*pauci ex prælio elapsi*" perused this record? What the sorrow of the friends of Titurius, and what the grief, albeit a proud grief, of the friends of Cotta? If we can suppose that a single one of those bold right-thinking soldiers, who, in the council of war, had given it as their opinion "*quid esse levius aut turpius, quam, auctore hoste, de summis rebus capere consilium,*" outlived that night, when "*ad unum omnes, desperata salute, se ipsi interficiunt,*"—and that, having outlived it, he reached the winter quarters of Labienus, how must his blood have boiled in after times, when Cæsar's page brought back to his mind the weakness, which had blighted the honor of a Roman legion, and ignominiously swept it from the face of the earth! The future general historian, with

a circumscribed page and much to cram into it, may indeed often content himself with such a summary account, as "*Consul, fuso exercitu, captus est*, or, *Consul cum exercitu cæsus est;*" but the contemporary narrator of such dire events scarce ever dismisses them in this manner, for he knows that many a heart amongst the living remembers them, and, whether with grief or pride, beats with emotion at their recollection. Father, brother, or friend, fought and fell then and there.

However sufficient such motives for dwelling on remarkable reverses, there is yet a higher and more important one. Tacitus, contemplating the series of war-disasters, which had occurred to Rome since her foundation, with the view of comparing them with those inflicted by the German nations, uses the expression, "*Ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere.*" They are indeed admonitions—and of a kind to which it behoves a nation, its statesmen, and its commanders to advert. Pride may disrelish the contemplation of humiliating events, but such "admonitions" (we thank Tacitus for the application of this word) are meant by the Ruler of events to humble pride, teach wisdom, impress justice, and to warn the strong arm of one stronger and mightier, which needs but to be stretched out in retribution, when the power of armies withers into mean and pitiable weakness. We think, we need offer no excuse to the readers of this journal, whether among our English or our Indian friends, for again touching on events, which, to many of them, must have a deep and melancholy interest. The work at the head of this article has recalled our thoughts to a subject, which must ever remain a warning and example to our rulers, and upon which we looked for much more to be said, than we have found in the pages of Major Hough's compendium. Its close, and the quotation from Arnold, bore us back to the time of youth, when the deeds of an Arminius, or of an Ambiorix, were matters of stirring story only, and when sad experience had as yet to make them to the man in some respects apposite parallels.

Cæsar in Gaul and Varus in Germany were, however, differently circumstanced from the British Generals in Affghanistan; and, in proceeding to pass a few remarks on Major Hough's little volume, we must commence by adverting to that, which, not only the writer, but his authorities, treat very inadequately—the causes of the outbreak. Before entering upon these, we have, however, a few words to say on a much (and rather bitterly) contested subject. On this matter our remarks shall be as concise as possible.

The civil administration of India forms the rich patrimony of the Directors of the East India Company, and affords affluent provision for their sons, immediate relatives, and the few

having most interest with that body. The name—Civil Service—was well chosen ; for though Bentham styles the epithet, ' Civil,' one of the most unmeaning Protean terms in all jurisprudence, yet, it is so consonant with English constitutional ideas to strengthen to the uttermost the civil power, and jealously to weaken and subordinate the military, that, although in reality there was little or no analogy between a free and a conquered country, yet, provided the patrimonial branch bore the honoured, though vague, designation of " Civil," the Court of Directors ran no risk of having the tendency of the rules and orders, by which all officers of power and emolument in India are restricted to that line, called in question. Governor-Generals, free from parental solicitude for the interests of the Civil Service, and actuated by a desire to insure success and the efficient performance of duty, have often been constrained by accidental circumstances to employ military men in posts of power and influence: and, accordingly, some of the most distinguished servants of the Company have been officers of their army ; but it has always been in spite of the injunctions and precautions of the Court of Directors for their exclusion, that such men have risen to eminence and fame. As a general rule, the civilian stands no risk from the competition of the military man ; power and emolument are his by virtue of his favoured service ; whilst the military competitor, if he rise at all, must do so in contravention of the rules and orders of the Court of Directors. In the purely civil administration of the Company's provinces in India, no objection (provided that the wants of the people were fully met at no overwhelming cost) could reasonably be raised to this arrangement. But the Civil Service has never been content with such restriction to its pre-eminence. It is so accustomed to regard the monopoly of power and emolument as its right, that where a Governor-General is weak enough to permit it, and makes no stand against the class-interest, which immediately surrounds him, its members will be thrust into places, where common sense and the experience of all ages show that their employment must be productive of confusion, ridicule, or disaster. Accordingly, whether it be to set up such a puppet-king as Shah Shuja, or to pat on the head a boy Maharajah, and make him go through the farce of signing away the Punjab already taken, we find a Civil Servant put forward on the occasion, in order that he may win his spurs, and become a belted knight.

If Leadenhall Street and its influences are in part responsible for such a system, the Home Government and the Horse Guards can by no means be exempted from each bearing their own share as part originators, or at least promoters, of a baneful source of error :—and error is defeat in military affairs.

A Governor-General of India is seldom invested with the authority of Commander-in-Chief. The constitutional jealousy of uniting in one hand the highest civil and political, with the highest military, authority of a great empire, and the unwillingness of ministers to forego the patronage of two such prizes, as the several offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, have constantly operated against their being conferred upon one person. In peaceful times, there is advantage from the arrangement, as a Governor-General's attention can be concentrated on measures for the general improvement of the countries under his rule; but in times of war there has frequently resulted much inconvenience. We shall not enter upon a detail of these embarrassments; for at present we have only to lay before the reader one of the consequences of the severance of the highest political from the highest military authority, when armies are in the field. Although virtually the Governor-General plans and determines all great military operations, yet, when not Commander-in-Chief, the voice of the latter must necessarily have weight in the selection of the officers to whom important commands are to be entrusted; and, as such selection more frequently under these circumstances depends on the accidental rank of individuals, rather than on their general skill and ability, a Governor-General is often tempted to aim at securing the complete execution of his political and strategetical measures by the employment of a man of his own choice, to whom, under the title of Envoy, or some other civil or political designation, controlling authority is in fact given. The attempt indeed to separate the conduct of political affairs in a military expedition from that of the army is futile; the two are essentially conjoined, and do not admit of severance, because one man is styled Envoy, and the other Commander-in-Chief, or General. The distinction between strategetical and tactical operations is well known to every tyro in the military profession. The distinction however is one of the *science* of war, where classification is as necessary for a distinct apprehension of the subject-matter, as in any other branch of science: there is in the *practice* of war no such positive, absolute separation. The strategetical measures are the preliminary steps by which a certain amount of force is best brought into tactical operation against an enemy—in other words, thrown into immediate conflict in the best order, and under the most favourable circumstances. If the connection between the strategetical and the tactical be close, that between the political and the strategetical is, in the East, fully more so. Where a single military mis-hap may entail consequences very difficult to estimate or foresee, it is imperatively

necessary that the commander be thoroughly conversant with every piece and every move upon his chess-board; no sane person can expect him to take up the game and to play it well, at a moment's notice and without a pause, from the hands of one who has thoroughly embroiled it. In support of this separation of the political and strategetical from the merely tactical came the additional fact, that the officers in command of armies and divisions, belonging most frequently to the royal army, were held debarred from the exercise of political functions by their inacquaintance with the general policy of the Government, and their ignorance of the languages, feelings and habits of the people of India and its neighbouring countries.

Various therefore were the influences, besides the ambition of the individual, which placed a Macnaghten at Cabul; and it must be allowed, that however objectionable might be the system above adverted to, a Cotton and an Elphinstone were not calculated, either by their mental or their physical capacities, to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs in Affghanistan. Men of a higher order of intellect were essential for such a command; and, along with intellect, physical energy was indispensable. Men of this stamp were not wanting, had there been either the will or the ability to select them: and such reasons and motives, as have been alleged, must be considered a very insufficient apology for shackling a military commander in Affghanistan with a civil Commander in-Chief, influenced by similar motives to those which lead Governor-Generals to employ envoys and agents. Macnaghten, in order systematically to keep the thread of events under his own cognizance, and to maintain the exercise of general supervision and controul, was forced to have a large staff of subordinate political functionaries, to whom, as his lieutenants, the guidance of such operations, as he could not himself superintend, were to be entrusted. These deputies were for the most part young men, zealous indeed, but ignorant of the country and the people, and having yet to purchase that experience in men and practical wisdom in affairs, which, moderating the thirst for personal distinction and enlarging comprehensiveness of view, can alone mature into safe instruments the political servants of a Government. They have been much blamed; but the system, rather than the agents, was at fault; and some of them were not only very able men, but did important service in the line prescribed for their exertions.

The remoter causes of the insurrection trace back to an early date in the occupation of Affghanistan; and, before entering upon the more immediate and proximate causes, it is essential for

a right and fair comprehension of the subject to carry the mind back to the time of the Shah's entry into Cabul. This period is chosen, not because the events, which had preceded, should be altogether cast out of a review of the remote causes of the outbreak, but because in order to bring them to bear with their own proper weight and influence, a comprehensive summary of our general policy, and of its effects upon the minds and apprehensions of the people of Central Asia, would be indispensable. But such a retrospect would demand more space than we can afford; and, as the recovery of his throne by Shah Shuja was, after the repulse of the Russians from Herat, the ostensible object of the march of our army into Affghanistan, the attainment of that object forms a real epoch in the policy pursued, and is both a natural and convenient point, from which to consider the nature and character of our measures.

The Shah having been re-seated on his throne, though not (as had been prognosticated by the Governor-General) by his own subjects and adherents, a very grave and important question presented itself for the consideration and decision of Macnaghten, upon whose advice the Anglo-Indian Government was dependant. The objects of the British Government had been attained: for, in the words of Lord Ellenborough," the Government of India had directed its army to pass the Indus in order to expel from Affghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects." Both had been effected; and the question to be decided was, whether the moment contemplated by the Governor-General had arrived: for Lord Auckland's manifesto had promised that " when once he (Shah Shuja) shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn." The promise, thus vaguely worded and qualified, admitted of fulfilment by the adoption of one of two very different courses. Macnaghten had the option, either to take advantage of the favourable juncture when the British army could be withdrawn with the honour and the fame of entire success, and to devolve upon Shah Shuja, holding with the contingent (upon whose fidelity he could rely) the main points of Cabul, Ghuzni and Candahar, the *onus*, not only of maintaining military hold of the country, but also, unshackled by the unpopular tutelage of a British Envoy and with the civil administration in his own hands, that of establishing the royal authority throughout the less accessible districts, and of reconciling by adroit management their turbulent chiefs to his sway:—or, it was open

to Macnaghten, mistrusting the Shah's power and ability thus to maintain himself, to continue the military occupation of Affghanistan by the British troops, and to govern in Shah Shujah's name, on the plea that the engagement was not alone to place him on the throne, but also to secure his power, and to establish the independence and integrity of Affghanistan. Had our policy been truthful and honest, every thing combined to favour the first proposition. Macnaghten avowed himself convinced of the popularity of the Shah, whose reception he had represented as being on the part of the Affghans "with feelings nearly amounting to adoration." The Shah was known to be by no means deficient in ability; Macnaghten himself described him to Rawlinson, as a shrewd, cool, sensible, calculating character. His courage was of a doubtful hue; but this alleged natural timidity could not fail of receiving assurance from the presence of a disciplined body of foreign mercenaries—the contingent—well armed and well officered; whilst the occupation of the key points of his country would, at small cost, have enabled the Shah to maintain with the aid of the contingent such a grip of Cabul, Ghuzni, and Candahar, that nothing but an army well provided with battering guns could have shaken his hold on these important points. Shah Shuja might possibly, with such a bit in the mouths of the people and with conciliatory conduct towards the chiefs, for whose restless but petty ambition he could have found scope in the Civil and Military Service of the State, soon have been in a position to brave the return of Dost Mahomed. Freed from the dictation of a British Envoy and from the domineering presence of a British army, provided that his financial measures had proved judicious, his popularity would have increased. He would have had the winter, which, from its severity, imposes rest and peace, as a season in which to consolidate his administration, and during which he would have had leisure to work on the characters and wishes of the chiefs, and to raise an influential party favourable to his reign. A person, sincere in his conviction of the Shah's popularity, and having a clear perception of our position in Affghanistan, would have seen that it was a critical moment in the Shah's career. We know that the Envoy's representations of the Shah's popularity were the creations of his own imagination; and that it is extremely doubtful whether the Shah, given the opportunity above contemplated, would have had either the tact, or the firmness, essential to success in his position. It is certain that his failure would have proved the hollowness, if not the falsehood, of our policy, and would

have given a denial to the bold assertions advanced in his behalf and that of the course pursued by the British authorities. We suspect therefore that the Envoy was rather the dupe of his own wishes, and of those which he knew to be entertained by the Governor-General, than of any real misapprehension of the exact degree of the Shah's popularity and influence. Certain it is that, inconsistently with his avowed and often-repeated persuasion of the Shah's favour in the hearts of his chiefs and people, the Envoy permitted himself to be influenced by Shah Shuja's fears, whose timidity could not rest so long as Dost Mahomed roamed at large, and who therefore deprecated the immediate withdrawal of the British troops. Macnaghten was also affected, only in a less degree than Burnes, with a dread of the onward march of Russian battalions and of the progress of the Czar's influence in Central Asia. Instead of keeping clearly in sight the primal interests of his Government, and in lieu of seizing the favourable moment for honourably and at once disembarrassing it from a position which every one saw to be both false and faulty, Macnaghten allowed minor motives, present importunities, and phantasms of a remote danger, to warp his judgment from a perception of his country's real honour and advantage; and, by adopting the second proposition, tarnished the one, compromised the other, and wrapped the close of Lord Auckland's Indian career in gloom and consternation. "*Quinctili Vare, legiones redde!*" (Varus! give me back my legions), did not indeed break vehemently forth from that sorrow-stricken amiable nobleman: but who, that saw him, will forget his deportment, both at the council-table and in private, during the last months of his rule in India?

The objections to the course which was adopted were many and incontrovertible. The number of troops requisite for the efficient military occupation of such a country as Affghanistan was far greater than India, threatened with disturbances in the Punjab, could spare; the cost of their maintenance was excessive; the difficulty of communicating with an army, so far removed from the British frontier, was great; all convoys of provisions and munitions of war must traverse the interposed states of doubtful allies, thread long and dangerous mountain defiles beset with wild, lawless, plundering tribes, and be exposed to a multiplicity of risks, before they could reach the isolated army; the civil administration, leaning from the first upon the strong arm of a British force and influenced by a British Envoy, acting through a puppet-king, could not be expected to mould itself to the habits and feelings of the people, and must therefore necessarily be disliked by them; and, worst of

all, there was no prospect that such a system could possibly terminate in a period when the Shah, dispensing with his leading strings and British bayonets, could be left to rule alone: for, under such a system, nothing native to the soil and people could arise, upon which to base his power and authority. A mock king; a civil administration, hated because under foreign dictation, and dissonant from the feelings of the Affghans; an Envoy, the real king, ruling by gleam of British bayonets, and thus enabled to impose his measures, however crude or unpalatable; a large army, raising by its consumption the price of provision, and preying on the resources of a very poor country;—these were the inevitable concomitants of having shrunk from withdrawing at once, in good faith and sound policy, the British army, while the moral impression made by its entire success was fresh and deep upon the Affghan mind, and would for some time have been an element of strength to the Shah, had he been left to establish his own throne.

In order that the reader may better understand the foregoing remarks, and may also trace the connection between the policy at first adopted, and the condition and circumstances under which the insurrection found us, we must devote a page or two to the illustration of Macnaghten's initial measures.

Shortly after the first occupation of Cabul, Macnaghten heard from Pottinger at Herat, that a Russian force, destined for Khiva, was assembling at Orenberg, and that Stoddart was still a prisoner at Bokhara, and anticipated being kept there, unless rescued by an English army. This information was coupled with the recommendation that the army, or at least one brigade, should immediately move on Balkh; the advice was coupled with the assurance, that a single brigade would be quite sufficient, there being no posts on the route to cause delay or give trouble, and no troops that could oppose the march of the brigade. Outram's return from his unsuccessful pursuit of Dost Mahomed, and the escape of the latter to the regions of the Oxus, combined with Pottinger's report, immediately filled the Envoy's breast with apprehensions of Russian enterprize upon that famed river, and strengthened him in his resolution not to part with the British army, but to retain as large a portion of it, as he could induce Keane to leave, or Lord Auckland to sanction; and with this view he at once wrote to Keane in a tone of alarm at the march of Russian battalions upon Khiva, and their occupation of the banks of the Oxus. Keane, who had seen enough in Affghanistan to satisfy him that the Russian expedition from Orenberg might, with equal safety and propriety, be left to exhaust itself in overcoming the

difficulties of its route, replied with good-humoured pleasantry that "the only banks, he now thought of, were the banks of the Thames;" and he discountenanced indulgence in such a dread of Russian battalions, as invested them with a spectral facility of traversing long tracts of difficult and ill-explored countries. The Envoy's apprehensions were not however to be thus allayed; and he sent for Keane's perusal a letter addressed to Lord Auckland, the tenor of which was to acquaint the Governor-General, that the Bombay troops were to return by Kelat; that one brigade was to occupy Cabul; and that a force had moved against Bokhara without awaiting the Governor-General's approval to such an extension of the objects of the expedition, inasmuch as the lateness of the season precluded the delay of a reference to India. This proposal to push a small force across the Hindu Kúsh into the heart of countries, of which little was known, against a State, with which we had no ground for war, with the vague intention of liberating Stoddart, pursuing Dost Mahomed, and forestalling on the Oxus Russian battalions, surprised Keane, who, not trusting himself to write upon a project so Quixotic, sent back Macnaghten's letter by the hands of one of his aid-de-camps, with the verbal message, that he could not in any way join Macnaghten in forwarding such a letter to the Governor-General. For the present, therefore, Keane's good sense caused this dreamy enterprize to be abandoned; but Macnaghten, urged by the fears of Shah Shuja, and loath altogether to forego an expedition, which had flattered his imagination, resolved on making a demonstration to the westward. For this purpose a regiment of Gurkha infantry and a troop of horse artillery were despatched from Cabul with instructions to march to Bamían by the Kullú and Irak Passes, which Burnes declared to be perfectly practicable for artillery. In the event of Dr. Lord's failing to cross over by the more northerly Passes of the Hindu Kúsh, he was to join the detachment at Bamían; and it was to act under his orders.

To form a conception of this *coup d'essai* by the Envoy in military movements, the stupendous character of the Passes to be surmounted must be borne in mind. The most practicable are upwards of 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and present such difficulties, that the chief engineer, having examined them, stated as his opinion that the Kullú Pass alone would retard an army with a respectable battering train at least ten days. The winter was fast approaching, when these lofty mountain ranges are covered with snow; yet the detachment was to winter at Bamían, depending on Cabul

for its supplies--Macnaghten being of opinion that the Passes were open for the transport of provisions during the whole winter season. An officer venturing to suggest that it might be as well to delay the march of the troops for two days, within which time the chief engineer would have returned, and be able to give accurate information as to the character of the route, met with the rebuff that the Envoy did not like difficulties being made. The detachment accordingly marched; and, as might have been anticipated, took a month in surmounting the difficulties of the route, in order, after much toil and labour to the infantry, to lodge an excellent battery of horse artillery in a position, where it could neither act, nor be of any use. In the mean time, Dr. Lord started upon his journey to the Hindu Kúsh; but he did not go further than thirty-six miles from Cabul, when, to the astonishment of Macnaghten, he suddenly returned, reporting that the country within forty miles of Cabul was in open rebellion; that Dost Mahomed, established at Kúndúz, was drawing the whole country to the west of the Hindu Kúsh together; and that all Turkistan was pouring forward, to join the ex-chief in expelling Shah Shuja, and recovering Cabul.

Macnaghten hereupon immediately made a requisition that the whole of the first division of the Bengal army should remain in Affghanistan—a request with which Keane, though very sceptical as to Lord's alarming report, complied. It soon became known that Lord's sudden retreat to Cabul was the subject of merriment amongst the Affghans; who said "that it was in no way surprising for Shah Shuja to run away, that being his custom; but that it was not expected that an Englishman would run so soon, or so easily." Snow had fallen on the mountains; and the sight of their white-capped heads disinclined the Affghans, who formed Lord's escort, to attempt the passage of the Hindu Kúsh at a season when inclement weather and an early winter seemed setting in. They therefore caused various reports of the occupation of Kúndúz by Dost Mahomed to be brought, in order to try and deter Lord from prosecuting a disagreeable journey. Finding him hesitate upon these rumours, whether or not to proceed, they were encouraged to dupe him still further by intelligence that a rebellion was raging around him, upon which in hot haste he rode back to Cabul. Macnaghten, after a few days, finding that the rebellion was a fiction, was not altogether pleased with his own participation in needless alarm, though well satisfied that the occasion had been afforded him of making the requisition with which Keane had complied. Dost Mahomed was meanwhile a fugitive, unable to maintain the

few dependents who had followed him, and viewed with suspicion and distrust wherever he went. No better opportunity could therefore have presented itself for the entire withdrawal of the British army; but unfortunately Lord Auckland had left the decision, as to the retention of troops from the army of the Indus in the Affghan territories, entirely to the local knowledge and experience of Lord Keane and Sir W. Macnaghten, with the injunction only, that he would much rather have them keep too many, than too few, troops, for some time after the close of the campaign. Macnaghten, who in the same breath was calling for troops and avowing the Shah's great popularity, was only too well inclined to follow the line of policy marked out by the Governor-General: and the alleged menacing attitude of Dost Mahomed Khan on the Khúlum and Kúndúz frontier, and the ghost of a rebellion of Lord's incantation, opportunely enabled the Envoy to demand, and Lord Auckland to accede to, the remaining of a large body of troops under the command of Sir W. Cotton.

Occupied with the reception of Shah Zada Timúr, with the foregoing expeditions and detachments, and with the establishment of the Shah's court and of his civil administration, Macnaghten for some time neglected to consider how the troops, which he kept at Cabul, were to be lodged. The question was one demanding instant decision, as the winter of 1839 was rapidly approaching, and there was no suitable cover for troops. Though pressed upon this subject, as soon as it was decided that a portion of the British army was to remain, it was not until the end of August that any steps were taken in this important matter; and then they consented in sending an engineer officer, Lieutenant Durand, accompanied by Mohun Lal, to examine three small forts, which Burnes had reported as affording a suitable position for the troops. These diminutive forts were west of Cabul several miles; and, having neither cover, space, water, nor in fact any other requisite for the convenience of the troops, and being, in a military point of view, ill placed as a position for the force, were at once rejected by the engineer, who considered that it was essential to have military possession of the Bala Hissar; and that it was the proper place, under every point of view, both with reference to the present and the future, for lodging the troops. The Shah upon various pretences opposed this measure of precaution, and Macnaghten yielded to objections, which he felt and acknowledged to be ridiculous. Sale was to be left in command at Cabul; and he had therefore a voice in the selection of the locality for the cantonment of his force. The engineer, however, stated that it was

impossible, before the winter set in, that is, in the course of six weeks, to build barracks, hospitals, sheds and stables for a brigade and its attached cavalry and guns, outside the Bala Hissar—building material having as yet to be made and collected; whereas, inside the Bala Hissar, by taking advantage of what already existed, it was possible to obtain good and sufficient cover. Thus circumstanced, a reluctant consent was extracted from the Shah, and the pioneers of the force were immediately set to work with the view of rendering the citadel a strong work with cover for its garrison, stores, and ammunition. The Shah no sooner learned that the work was seriously commenced, than he renewed strenuously his objections, urging that the citadel overlooked his own palace and the city; that its occupation would make him unpopular, as the feelings of the inhabitants would be hurt; and that he had already received strong remonstrances against the measure. Macnaghten, with fatal weakness, yielded; and peremptory orders were issued for the discontinuance of the work. Foiled in his avowed purpose of rendering the citadel a post, which, with a thousand men, a few guns, and proper provisions, might be held against all that Affghanistan could bring before it, the Engineer was forced to content himself with keeping such hold of the Bala Hissar, as admitted of its citadel being occupied at any moment, by lodging the troops in hastily-prepared accommodation at its base. It seemed indeed, that, the troops being once in military possession of the Bala Hissar, the evacuation of that stronghold in future was an event as improbable as it would be impolitic, and that the occupation of the citadel and the repair of its works would in time inevitably follow. Macnaghten could not but coincide with the engineer and those who succeeded him and held similar views; and, as the cost would have been trifling in comparison with the sums thrown away in Affghanistan upon objects to which political importance was attached, the Envoy for some time contemplated following up the project. But the Shah and the Kuzzilbash party, as well as the Affghans, were very averse to a measure, which, so long as the British troops remained in Affghanistan, would keep Cabul subject to their effectual controul; and Macnaghten, being in the false position of having to reconcile the declared intention of the Government to withdraw the army from Affghanistan with its present actual military occupation in force, wavered on the adoption of necessary measures of precaution, which might countenance the suspicion of a purpose on the part of the British Government permanently to hold the country; and, ultimately, in an evil hour for himself and his country's arms, not only entirely neglected such salu-

tary precaution, but gave up the barracks constructed in the Bala Hissar to the Shah as accommodation for his Harem, evacuated the fort, and thought no more, until too late, of strengthening himself therein.

At the very time that Macnaghten, endeavouring to unite irreconcileable objects, was thus led to a wavering course in respect to precautionary measures of graver moment than he at that juncture apprehended, he launched boldly upon a revolutionary experiment, which was absolutely incompatible with the merely temporary occupation of the country—being in direct antagonism to the feelings of the people, the influence and pride of the chiefs, and the form of Government, to which for ages both had been accustomed. Rulers in Affghanistan had ever maintained their sway by a politic management of the chiefs, and, through them, of their tribes. The feuds and rivalries of the chiefs offered great facility for balancing their almost independent powers; and, by tact and judgment, the preponderance of the ruler was secured, and his measures carried out, through the support and aid of the Affghan nobles. In fact therefore the Government approached more nearly to an aristocratic, than to an autocratic, form, and feelings of independence and pride were strong in the breasts of the nobles. Dost Mahomed had maintained himself at Cabul as the head of this aristocracy with some difficulty; but, by a mixture of adroitness and well timed daring, he had succeeded in keeping his position. It was evident that the Shah, who replaced him, could only rule in one of two ways; either by courting, conciliating, and managing the chiefs, as his predecessors had done; or, by destroying their power and influence. To attempt the latter, demanded the permanent occupation of the country in great strength by the British troops, and held out the prospect of a long struggle, from the difficulties of a strong mountain country and a bold people attached to their chiefs. Yet, Macnaghten, professing merely the temporary occupation of Affghanistan, entered upon this hazardous experiment; and as a first and an important step towards the accomplishment of his object, began to raise levies of Khyberis, Jazailchis, Kohistanis, and Janbaz corps, who, looking to the royal treasury for payment and being under the supervision of British officers, it was supposed, would prove devoted to the Shah's cause, and curb the power and pride of the chiefs. The nobles were quick to perceive the blow thus struck at their influence; and feelings of resentment, ill suppressed through present dread of the British force, broke forth in remarks, which betokened that the step taken was fatal to the

Shah's popularity amongst his nobles. The measure alienated the chiefs without having the effect of attaching the very men who enrolled themselves and received the Shah's pay; for the Affghans are fickle, impatient of controul, naturally averse to the restraints of discipline, and, however they might admire the gallant bearing of the British officer when the hour of danger called him to their front, yet he was an infidel in their eyes, connected with them by no ties of clan, religion, or common country, ignorant of their feelings, language, and habits, and, with the strict notions of a British soldier, quite unable to soften their rigour by that community of sentiment and tongue, which goes far to alleviate the pressure and irksomeness of military rule. The experiment was in short thoroughly anti-national; and the chiefs were active from the first in doing all in their power to render the service unpopular—no difficult task, as it was palpable that the Shah's standing army must be paid, and that the burden of payment must fall on the people.

If Macnaghten's course in military affairs was at starting dubious and inconsistent, that, which he pursued in the administration of the Government of the country, was of the same character. The Envoy deemed it possible to reconcile the assumption by himself of the main powers of sovereignty with the treatment of Shah Shuja as an independent monarch, and sought to effect this by leaving the administration of civil and criminal justice, the settlement and collection of the revenue, and its irresponsible appropriation, entirely in the hands of Shah Shuja, precluding him however from any controul in measures concerning the external relations of his Government, or those having reference to independent or to revolting tribes. Although allowed to make grants to his favourites, and to authorize aggressions and usurpations, when these could be effected without troops, the Shah had no voice in deciding on the employment of force in support of his own, or the Envoy's, measures. The Shah had thus much power for evil, and could commit the Government to measures, the odium of supporting which must fall on Macnaghten, who alone ordered expeditions, settled the strength of detachments, gave instructions to their commanders, and pointed out the objects to be attained and the mode of accomplishment. It was a vain hope, by thus incurring the opprobrium of all harsh and violent measures, and by leaving to the misrule of the Shah's greedy favourites the credit of evoking them, to dream of blinding the nobles and the people to the really servile condition of their king. The farce was too broad and too cuttingly insulting. From the first

it was pregnant with danger; and Keane, immediately before his departure, remarked to an officer, who was to accompany him—"I wished you to remain in Affghanistan for the good of the public service; but, since circumstances have rendered that impossible, I cannot but congratulate you on quitting the country: for, mark my words, it will not be long before there is here some signal catastrophe."

No such foreboding found place in the minds of the Envoy, or of the Shah. The former sent for Lady Macnaghten; and the Shah, without compunction, gave away to British officers and others the houses of chiefs who had withdrawn from Cabul, as if their property was confiscated and no door open to conciliation. The first mission to Cabul had established for the British moral character an ill reputation: and, as the conduct of some individuals, whom it is needless to particularize, was not calculated to remove this unfavourable impression, the consequence was that, even before Keane marched from Cabul, officers searching for residencies in the city, with the desire of purchasing them from the owners, heard their guides execrated by the neighbourhood for bringing licentious infidels into the vicinity.

Let us now proceed, by as concise a review as the subject admits, to connect the normal errors, which have been noticed, with the chain of events which really linked them to the insurrection, more immediately the subject of present contemplation. The general unanimous revolt of a people, composed of a great variety of mountain tribes, often hostile among themselves, is not the work of a moment, or of a single measure; before old feuds can be staunched, and cordial co-operation have place, the minds and hearts of men must be wrought into sympathy and deep hate of a common object of execration by a widely ramified series of events, embracing the length and breadth of the land, and bringing home to the hearths of all the imperative need of allaying local animosities and of wreaking vengeance on the common foe.

Among the first, we may almost say the immediate, results of the anomalous Government, established at Cabul by Macnaghten, was the rising of the Khyber tribes. They had motives for viewing with favour the establishment of Shah Shuja on the throne of his ancestors; for they might reasonably hope for a grateful return from the monarch, whom they had received, concealed, and faithfully protected, when formerly driven from his throne and deserted by his dependents. These hopes had been countenanced by Wade, who, whilst skirmishing with the Khyberis, was also treating with their chiefs, and as-

suring them of the confirmation by Shah Shuja of their ancient privileges. Shah Shuja had not forgotten their generous conduct, of which he never spoke without warmth and emotion; and, sensible of the extreme value to the British troops in Affghanistan of a free passage of the defile for their convoys, he had not hesitated, as one of his first acts, to gratify his own inclinations, and to evince good will to the staunch friends of his adversity, by promising to the Khyberis, unknown to Macnaghten, the annual subsidy, which, in former times, they had been accustomed to receive. During the troubled sway of Dost Mahomed, this black mail had dwindled down to 12,000 rupees, but was again raised by him to 20,000—a sum far less, however, than the amounts paid in former days by the kings of Cabul; and it was to these higher scales that Shah Shuja was held to have referred.

Wade, on his return from Cabul, being entrusted with no power to treat with the Khyberis, but having to pass their defile, finessed, and got through without obstruction; but left matters in such a state, that when Mackeson, who was empowered to treat, arrived, he found affairs thoroughly embroiled, and the chiefs in no humour to be quickly or easily appeased. They had attacked Ali Musjid; and, though they had failed to carry the fort, they had destroyed a corps of Nujibs entrenched in the valley below the fort, and had only withdrawn on the news of Keane's approach with the troops returning to India; these they erroneously over-estimated; and, awed by what they deemed the vicinity of an army, opened negociations with Mackeson. But Macnaghten's terms were less liberal than the chiefs had been led to expect by the Shah, and the payment of the subsidy offered, shackled with conditions novel to the Khyberis, entirely superseding their authority and influence in the defile. The proffered terms were consequently very unpalatable; and, as Keane was through, and his infantry was known to be insignificant in strength, the tribes re-assembled to infest Ali Musjid and to close the Pass. Keane indeed threw provision and ammunition into the fort, sending them back from Peshawur; but, through mis-management, the detachment on its return lost between four and five hundred camels: and the Khyberis could boast, not only of having cut off a battalion of Nujibs, but of having worsted a strong detachment of regular troops, British and Sikh, and of having taken the cattle of the convoy. We shall not attempt a detail of Mackeson's negociations, and of Wheeler's march into the Pass and occupation of a post at Ali Musjid. Wheeler was indeed saved the trouble of attacking, as he had threatened, by the conclusion of a treaty, which was announced by Macke-

son to have opened the Pass, and according to which an annual subsidy of £8,000 was to be paid : but the detachment, which marched, ably protected by Wheeler, with 2,000 camels towards Keane's camp, soon had practical experience of their new allies and the security of the Pass. Though they failed in their attempt to carry off the convoy, the Khyberis celebrated the conclusion of Mackeson's treaty with a rough farewell to Keane's returning detachments.

Whilst Keane had been thus delayed at Peshawur, in consequence of the rising of the Khyber tribes, Macnaghten's alarm on account of Russian battalions had received a fresh spur, from the information which reached him of the advance from Orenberg, and the alleged capture of Khiva; he wrote therefore, expressing his wish that the Bombay column, marching on Kelat, should be detained in Affghanistan. Keane ridiculed such fears; and even Lord Auckland's patience and credulity were wearied by these repeated requisitions for additional troops, evidently and avowedly founded on an uncalculating dread of a far distant and scarce rival power.

Wiltshire marched and took Kelat. For former hospitality and for protection from sanguinary pursuers, the gratitude of Shah Shuja, under British influence, awarded to Mehrab Khan the loss of his poor capital and a soldier's death in its defence. After his fall, documents were found, which proved the manner in which the Khan had been betrayed, and his endeavours to negociate frustrated; nevertheless it was thought advisable to consummate the threat formerly made to the Khan, and to place Shah Nawaz Khan, to the exclusion of the son of the fallen man, upon the musnud of Kelat.

Whilst the Khyber and Kelat, the northern and the southern lines of access to Affghanistan from India, were the scenes of the foregoing events, Dr. Lord, having arrived at Bamían, lost no time in making the north-western (or Usbeg) frontier of Affghanistan, the field of petty aggressive operations. The Syghan valley, which lay between himself and Khúlúm, to which place Dost Mahomed had in the first instance fled, had been tributary both to the rulers of Cabul and to those of Kúndúz, according as the strength of either enabled them temporarily to assert and enforce their supremacy. Latterly, in consequence of the ruler of Kúndúz being weakened by the revolt of Khúlúm and its adjacent districts, Dost Mahomed's son, Mír Akram Khan, had taken Syghan and Kamurd, and had marched as far as Khúlúm. Syghan was in fact debateable territory, and exposed not only to the antagonistic claims and raids of Cabul and Khúndúz, but also to a subordinate struggle between

two petty chiefs for the possession of local rule and authority. The weaker of these contending chiefs applied to Khúlúm for aid; and, as the ruler of that petty place was desirous of extending his authority and of strengthening himself in his newly-acquired independence, he so far complied with his request, as to send a detachment of Usbegs, who beleaguered his successful rival in the chief fort of the valley, Sar-i-Sung, proposing to subject Syghan to Khúlúm. The opportunity was favourable to Dr. Lord for proving alike the necessity and importance of his mission, and his ability to fulfil its objects. The connection of this purely Usbeg attempt on Sar-i-Sung with the influence of Dost Mahomed, and the assumption that it had been made at his instigation, were matters of no difficulty to Dr. Lord, who determined to march to the aid of the beleaguered chief, and to drive back the Usbegs. The valley of the Syghan river is separated from that of Bamían by lofty mountains; and intercommunication in winter is difficult. In engaging to secure the ascendancy of an insignificant chief, supposed to have usurped power by the murder of his rival's father and uncle, and in making a hostile attack upon a race, with whom neither the British nor the Shah's authorities could pretend a cause of quarrel, Dr. Lord had not even the excuse that the security of the troops was threatened. The aggression, purely arbitrary, was wholly indefensible, both in point of principle and of expediency. Dr. Lord's protégée was established in the Syghan valley; and the Doctor himself returned to Bamían, ingeniously to devise and quash embryo insurrections, and to intrench the troops, in the depth of winter, to their very teeth, for fear of being overwhelmed by the march of Dost Mahomed from Bokhara with a large army! We will not proceed with a detail of Dr. Lord's further doings, for to lay them before the reader in their full absurdity would require too much space: but well might Lord Auckland bemoan the inattention to his wishes, and Lord Keane ridicule the despatches, when the report of such vagaries reached them. These proceedings, however, merited marked disapproval; for they bore out Dost Mahomed's assertions of the danger, which threatened the countries on the Oxus from the advance of the Anglo-Indian power to the sources of that river, and from the British occupation of Affghanistan. The Khan of Bokhara, foiled in designs which he knew to be fathomed by the astute fugitive who had fled to him for protection, avenged himself for being outwitted by casting Dost Mahomed into confinement, accompanied by threats of a speedy termination to its continuance by a violent death; but Dr. Lord's measures to the west of the Hindu

Kúsh procured his liberation. The policy, which Dr. Lord pursued, had created alarm throughout the neighbouring countries, the rulers of which naturally began to entertain apprehensions of the ulterior designs of the Anglo-Indian power, and to regard with favour the victim (for such to them he appeared) of British aggression. Hence the Khan of Kokan not only remonstrated with the Bokhara ruler against the line of policy he was pursuing, but also moved a force from the banks of the Jaxartes to compel attention to demands in behalf of a Moslem ruler, expelled by unbelievers from his territory, and oppressed by the person, from whom he sought asylum, protection, and support. The irritating aggressions of Dr. Lord thus raised up a friend for Dost Mahomed, where he otherwise would have found none, and, instead of disturbing our occupation of Affghanistan, might only have ultimately obtained deliverance through British interference and diplomacy.

The reader will think that having carried him to Bokhara viâ Bamían, he need scarcely be carried thither viâ Herat; but we should fail in enabling him to explore all the springs of action connected with the insurrection, were advertence to the scene of Todd's labours omitted. Sometimes designated the outwork of India, at others styled the frontier of Affghanistan, Macnaghten had accustomed himself and his subordinates to regard that place as of vital importance to our dominion in India and our sway in Affghanistan. Jealous of a fortress to which he attached such great importance, and not concealing his dissatisfaction with Pottinger's proceedings, the Envoy had, when Keane's army was at Candahar, despatched Todd from thence to Herat upon a special mission, the main objects of which were to draw Shah Kamran into closer and more cordial alliance with the British, and to examine and place in a state of defence the works of the fortress. This avowed object was to be secured by the negociation of a treaty of friendship and alliance between the British Government and Shah Kamran, guaranteeing the independence of the Herat state, stipulating that the slave dealing, which had justified the advance of Persia, should be abolished, and that the Herat Government would abstain from correspondence with foreign powers without the knowledge and consent of the British authorities. Todd found some difficulty in concluding a treaty upon these terms: but, by pledging the British Government to the payment of a fixed monthly stipend, equal to the original revenues of the country, for the maintenance of Kamran's Government, and the exemption of the people from all taxation until after the harvest of 1840,

and by making large advances, to enable the cultivators to resume their long-interrupted labours, and trade to re-open its channels and activity, he succeeded in winning, from the avarice of Kamran and his minister, an unwilling assent to the articles of the proposed treaty.

Macnaghten, bent on counteracting Russian influence, had determined to spread the web of his ever-radiating diplomacy to the shores of the Aral and the Caspian. Todd therefore, shortly after his arrival at Herat, sent a letter to the Khan of Khiva, with the tender of British friendship and alliance. The Khan was at the time under the dread of Russian invasion; and he consequently received favourably the advances of the British authorities, and deputed an ambassador to Todd, with a reply, and propositions, to which he desired the assent of the British Government: but they were of a nature which Todd could not countenance; and he therefore alleged his inability to entertain them without a reference to Macnaghten and the orders of his Government.

Kamran and his unscrupulous minister, Yar Mahomed, with the example of the military occupation of Affghanistan before their eyes, had viewed with keen suspicion the eager interest displayed to acquire a thorough knowledge of the strength of the place and the resources of the Herat territory. Their apprehensions were not allayed by the diplomatic activity, which sought to form alliances with the states on the Oxus, and thus threatened to envelop Herat in a mesh inimical to its independence and importance. The British agent was liberal of money, and Kamran's necessities and love of lucre, combined with the fear of incurring the hostility of the British power, did not permit him to break with Todd; nevertheless, he knew that such profusion was not disinterested, and he apprehended that the wide expansion of diplomatic relations was only the forerunner of a proportionate extension of military activity, as soon as the state of Affghanistan admitted of the diversion of a part of the troops to the regions of Herat and its vicinity. Such an advance had been the subject of repeated discussion; and the desire of Macnaghten was well known to Yar Mahomed and his master. The fear of Persia now became secondary to that of a foreign and infidel yoke; communications were consequently re-opened with the Shah of Persia; and the expulsion of the British power from the countries to the west of the Indus became the topic of correspondence. Yar Mahomed never seriously anticipated such a result; but he sought to counter-balance the preponderating influence of the British power, about to ally itself with the countries on the Oxus, by

initiating a friendly understanding with Persia, and rousing her jealousy against the sweeping ramifications of British negociation and intrigue.

Yar Mahomed did not confine his communications to Persia. When he drove Stoddart from Herat, he had done his utmost to excite the apprehensions of the Bokhara ruler, who was so far acted upon, that he cast Stoddart into confinement. As the measures of Macnaghten became more developed, Yar Mahomed, pointing to the activity of the British agents at the heads and near the mouth of the Oxus, sought to kindle the Bokhara ruler's jealousy, who, although not deeming the danger to himself imminent, could not but view with distrust the march of the Envoy's exertions. In a similar manner, Yar Mahomed endeavored to counteract the negociations, which Todd had opened with Khiva, and sought, by intrigue, by misrepresentation, and by palpable and undeniable truths, to instil into the Khiva Khan the same spirit of wakeful suspicion and hostility to British influence, which animated his own breast. To the Khan, however, the Russian advance from Orenberg had been a positive and a pressing danger, and the alleged ambitious machinations of the British power were a less definite and more remote source of alarm; their scope was evidently and avowedly antagonistic to those of his older and nearer foes, the Russians; and their tendency was therefore rather advantageous than the reverse to Khiva, which, separated by six hundred miles of barren wastes from Herat, and by about the same extent of difficult country from Khúlúm, felt that British desire for territorial aggrandisement had to appropriate vast and unproductive regions, before it could think of absorbing the Khiva State. Its ruler was accordingly not unwilling to derive any benefit, which might accrue from the countenance of the Anglo-Indian Government, and still less averse to share in that lavish expenditure of money, for which the British political agents were famed throughout Central Asia. The Khan of Khiva therefore received Abbott, whom Todd sent from Herat in the end of December 1839, if not very cordially, still with more of consideration and attention than the malevolent representations of the Herat minister, and the exaggerated rumours of British aggression on Khúlúm and of ulterior designs on the line of the Oxus, were likely, but for Russian operations on the Yembah, to have secured for Todd's deputy.

Fortunately, also, Abbott was a man of temper; and, though not qualified for his mission by acquaintance with the languages of the country, and therefore labouring under sore disadvantage, he made himself respected by a conduct alike creditable to

him as a Christian gentleman and a resolute officer. He had been sent, on the spur of the moment, without even credentials from his Government, and found that the seeds of distrust and suspicion had been sown by Yar Mahomed, in order to frustrate the objects of his mission. These indeed were not very clearly defined; for, with proffers of friendship and alliance in his mouth, Abbott was powerless to incur engagements, or to accept and encourage any of the demands, which the Khan of Khiva, with practical notions of international compacts, naturally made. The Khan remarked, almost in the same words which Dost Mahomed had once addressed to Burnes—"What then *have* you come hither for? If you will grant none of our demands, of what use is it to call yourselves our allies?" Abbott and Burnes were two very different men; and, though nothing could well seem more hopeless or chimerical than Abbott's extemporized mission, at a time when the regions of the Oxus and Jaxartes were rife with alarm, and the Moslem rulers seemed menaced with conquest either by the Russians from the Caspian, or the Anglo-Indian army from the Hindu Kúsh, yet the patient, truthful, and pious lieutenant of artillery won the confidence of the Khivan ruler, and ultimately became his ambassador on a message of peace and of restitution of captive slaves to the Czar of Russia.

Todd had discovered Yar Mahomed's correspondence with the Persian Assuf Ud Dowlah at Meshed in October, and had acquainted his Government with the fact; but Lord Auckland, perceiving that it was attributable to the jealousy and apprehension caused by the diplomatic measures of Macnaghten and his subordinates, and that it was neither practicable nor expedient to take serious notice of this early infraction of the treaty, forgave the minister of Herat: and, foreseeing that such breach of faith would probably not be the only one brought to light, and that the political agents on the spot, angered and excited by the irritating conduct of Kamran and his minister, might attach undue importance to such events, and seriously compromise the British Government by a breach, which would still further embroil and embarrass the Trans-Indus affairs, extended his pardon to every such offence, which might have occurred previous to the receipt of the Governor-General's letter. Being received in February 1840, this pardon embraced the communications made to Persia in the preceding January, on which occasion Kamran addressed his late besieger to the effect—"that he, Kamran, merely tolerated the presence of the English Envoy from motives of expediency, and from the necessity in which he and his people stood of the money liberally

provided by the English Envoy ; but that his hopes centred in the aid and favour of the Shah of Persia." The advances to the people and Government of Herat at this time amounted to £100,000—a sum, in respect to the country, about equivalent to the subsidy of a million to a petty German State. It had saved ruler, chiefs, and people from starvation, and had moreover replenished the ruler's coffers ; but the instinct of power, dreading British encroachment, was too sensitive to allow such munificence to outweigh the fear, which our political measures and the military occupation of Affghanistan had called into being.

The Shah, accompanied by Macnaghten, quitted Cabul early in November and marched to Jellalabad, there to pass the winter. The capital and its fort had disappointed his expectations. He often sat at a window of the palace, wiling away time, his eye wandering over the different objects which the city and its plain offered. On one of these occasions, after a long silent pause, Shah Shuja made the remark—" that everything appeared to him shrunk, small, and miserable; and that the Cabul of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabul of his youth." He was glad therefore to escape from the severity of the winter of a place, the ideal charms of which age and the experience of the reality had banished. Jellalabad, though a still more wretched town, enjoys, from its lower altitude above the sea level, a warmer climate, and the winter is far less severe.

After the fall of Kelat and the conclusion of negociations with the Khyberis, the setting in of the winter season caused a lull in Affghanistan : and Macnaghten and the Shah for a time flattered themselves with the hope that affairs would settle into order and quiet. There was boundless activity over the whole field of diplomacy, which, extending from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Indus, effectually alarmed and unsettled the minds of rulers and people : but for the moment the British soldier had rest. That rest however was not to be of long continuance : for the presence of a considerable body of troops at Jellalabad encouraged Macnaghten to assert the authority of Shah Shuja over the surrounding districts, the petty chiefs of which, awed by the British force, gave in their adherence, and submitted to the Shah's supremacy. The Chief of Kúner was an exception; and the Envoy was under the necessity of sending a detachment under the command of Colonel Orchard, with the view of making the contumacy of this refractory chieftain an example, and of replacing him by one more subservient to the Shah's interests. The failure of the *coup de*

main attempted upon Kúner we shall not enter upon in detail; but the event was so far unfortunate, that it gave the Affghans an early lesson, that British troops could be opposed with success; and subsequently, in the neighbouring district of Bajore, it was shown that the lesson had not been thrown away. For the moment, the occurrence was only a trifling break to the lull of winter. More stirring events were however at hand: and the Shah, accompanied by the main body of the British troops from Jellalabad, had no sooner returned to Cabul in April, than it became evident that the repose of Affghanistan was to be of short continuance, and that with the spring came rebellion.

The Ghiljies are a fine muscular race, characterized by an untamed ferocity of disposition, the result of ages of habitual rapine, and of constant petty warfare. Ever jealous of their wild independence, and for a short time once supreme in Affghanistan, they have never failed to prove the most obstinate opponents to invaders, whether from the east or the west; and have, when themselves the aggressors, recorded their prowess on the plains of India by many a sanguinary contest. Hardy, confident and expert in the use of musket, sword and knife, they are, to a man, at the beck of their chiefs, for any expedition which affords a prospect of booty. The Chiefs had never submitted to the authority of the Cabul and Candahar rulers; for, although Dost Mahomed had made tributary a portion of the Suliman Khel Ghiljies, holding districts to the east of Ghuzni, and though the Andari Ghiljies were his subjects, yet these formed but an inconsiderable part of the tribes, who, in a mass, disowned all submission or obedience to the Amir or his brothers, and, despising *their* retainers and followers of other Affghan tribes, continued, with perfect impunity, the long-established system of Ghiljie transit fees and plunder.

The advance of Keane from Candahar by the line of the Turnuk had, as is well known, excited the hostility of the Ghiljies, who, jealous of independence, and mistrustful of the Shah and the formidable power, which had seated him on the throne, rejected Macnaghten's advances and proposals. The ill-timed attack by the Suliman Khel Ghiljies on the British camp, the day before Ghuzni was taken; the fall of this strong hold; Outram's subsequent raid through a part of their country; and the setting in of the winter—curbed for a while any overt acts of habitual resistance to the Cabul and Candahar authorities. But it was impossible for the Ghiljies to view with patience the apparent consolidation of a power, which threatened entirely to annihilate their authority on the highways between Candahar, Cabul, and Jellalabad, and therefore to strip them of the fee

and plunder, which both Chiefs and people regarded as a right. Every detachment that marched, every convoy that traversed their country, was a source of irritation, exciting the avidity and hurting the pride of the Ghiljies and their leaders. As spring set in, and the weather became more favourable, the Ghiljie discontent took new life; and disturbances arose, which showed that the tribes were afoot, and that measures must be taken to crush rebellion before it had time to become formidable.

Accordingly, from the side of Candahar, Anderson was sent forth by Nott to read them a lesson, which he did in a short, sharp combat, very creditable to the courage of the Ghiljies, who, though superior in numbers, were without artillery. The result somewhat disheartened them. Nott occupied Kelat-i-Ghiljie, and secured the communication between Candahar and Ghuzni; Macnaghten took measures to conciliate the Chiefs, who consented to abstain from infesting the highways, on the condition of being paid by the Shah an annual stipend of £3000. Upon these easy, though perhaps not very honourable, terms, communications lying along the Cabul and Turnuk rivers were exempted from a guerilla interruption, always harassing, and not unaccompanied by loss of men, cattle, and munitions. It was a moderate price to pay for the pacific conduct of Chiefs swaying tribes, which, when combined, could bring 40,000 combatants into the field; and which, but for the difficulty of uniting them in co-operation for a common purpose, were the most powerful and formidable in Affghanistan.

The communications between Candahar and Cabul were thus temporarily freed from Ghiljie interruption; but those between Candahar and Shikarpur became suddenly endangered by the occurrence of unforeseen events at Kelat-Quetta and in Upper Scinde.

We have not space to enter minutely into the grave error of occupying, in the month of May, the isolated post of Kahun. It cost the entire loss of Clarke's detachment and convoy, and kindled a flame, which spread throughout Beluchistan, where our political measures had prepared material enough for combustion. The adherents of Mehrab Khan's son rejoiced at the intelligence, and were soon actively devising measures for the deposition of Shah Nawaz Khan, who, without influence amongst the Brahuis, and leaning on the unpopular political agent, Loveday, was equally powerless and disliked by his subjects. The Kahurs too heard of the triumph of their old antagonists, the Murris, with satisfaction; for the hatred of British supremacy exceeded even the bitterness of a

blood feud of long standing, and a rivalry of ages in acts of rapine. They knew that Bean calculated upon the strength of these feelings as a sure bond of union between the Kahurs and the British interests; and, by encouraging this idea, they lulled Bean's vigilance, and were nearly enabled to compass his destruction and that of the small force at Quetta. Nott and Leach saved him. We wish it could be added that, when perfectly in his power, he had saved Loveday by following up the insurgent Chiefs, who broke up from before Quetta, shaken in confidence and suspicious of treachery amongst themselves. This he neglected, and Loveday was sacrificed.

Whilst these events were taking place amongst the Beluchis above the Bolan Pass, those below obtained a signal triumph. Clarke's disaster was followed by still graver, and more dishonorable losses: the Pass of Nuffush was again to witness Murri success and British discomfiture. Clibborne's defeat was a serious calamity; and a military commission condemned him, and all the superior officers who had ordered and provided for his expedition. Errors of detail there doubtless were on the part of Clibborne, and of those, who organised the expedition: but by far the most blame-worthy were they, who had led to the necessity for any such expedition at all, by thrusting Brown with a hundred and forty men into a position, where he was useless, except to risk the detachment sent for the purpose of providing him with what was needful for the maintenance of this strangely-selected post.

We pass rapidly over Bean's futile negociations; the arrest of Masson; the descent into Cutch of the insurgent Beluchis, with the view of acting in co-operation with the Murris upon the line of communication between Shikarpur and Candahar, their check at Dadur, and retreat before Boscawen, leaving on the ground of the Beluch encampment the warm, still bleeding, body of the murdered Loveday—the first victim of the rapidly-growing hate towards the political agents of our Government—followed by Marshall's successful blow, which again sent Nussib Khan a fugitive into the wild country around Kelat, and re-established at the moment the integrity of Nott's line of communication with his base. We glance at these events, because it must be borne in mind how widely-spread was the spirit of revolt, and that on every side our measures were raising an implacable spirit of hostility. Temporary success might here and there partially quell its ebullitions: but this only made it work more secretly, more deeply, and pervade the masses more entirely, until one feeling beat in every Moslem heart to the west of the Indus.

We would willingly pass over Dr. Lord's unhealthy activity without any further allusion: but, as may be recollected by many of our Indian readers, spring had no sooner smiled upon the wintry summits of the Hindu Kúsh than the troops under his orders found occupation. Before winter was well ended, the capture of an Hazareh fortlet and the destruction of its defenders, under circumstances of a most painful nature, spread a feeling of hatred among an innocent and (at our hands) a well-deserving race. This act was the consequence of Macnaghten's sending a troop of horse artillery to Bamian, without inquiry or preparation, and therefore without advertence to the difficulty of procuring forage for them during the winter months. Once in its mountain position, it became essential to procure sustenance for the horses of the troop; and the only available resource was the small quantities of dried lucerne and straw, which the Hazarehs habitually store for the support of their live-stock during the severities of a protracted winter. To obtain this partial supply of forage from owners, to whom it was most valuable, the influence and exertions of the political agent, backed by a free expenditure of cash, were necessary. Practically, notwithstanding the price paid, this was an oppressive exaction, although for a time unaccompanied by any overt disaffection; considering the locality the demand was too great, and the exaction, though well remunerated, and therefore at first borne without number, became vexatious and injurious in proportion as it was unavoidably extended. The Hazareh impatience broke out on the occasion of a quarrel with some Affghans of Dr. Lord's detachment; supplies of forage were refused; and the political agent, having failed in his attempts at pacific negociation, marched with a force against the contumacious Hazareh fortlet. The troops forced an entrance into it, and made prisoners a portion of the garrison; but part, having taken post in a tower, refused to surrender, and fired upon the troops; the latter fired the fodder straw on the ground floor of the tower, and its ill-fated defenders were all slain either by shot or flame. Such success was of course bought at the expense of the good-will of the neighbourhood: and the Hazarehs and other tribes only awaited a favourable moment to evince their hostile feelings. After the spring set in Dr. Lord's measures soon produced one.

Jubbar Khan, in charge of Dost Mahomed's family, was some time at Khúlúm, where he maintained himself and his charge, by levying the transit duties of the place—a supply, which the Khúlúm chief, partly through fear and partly through better

motives, assigned for the provision of a party still too numerous and well armed to be treated with disrespect. Macnaghten, anxious to have hostages as a check on Dost Mahomed's designs, endeavored to induce Jubbar Khan to submit himself and his charge to British protection and generosity. The subtile Chief was doubtful of the intentions of the Khan of Bokhara and of the ultimate fate of Dost Mahomed, and felt also the insecurity of his own position on sufferance at Khúlúm. He was not disinclined, therefore, to the only course which held out a certainty of security and liberal provision. Dr. Lord, on the other hand, was anxious to be doing, and to hint to Jubbar Khan that his residence at Khúlúm was within reach of the British troops. Accordingly a reconnoissance to the northward was determined, and the officers, weary of their winter's confinement, were eager for so amusing and interesting an expedition. In the course of its progress, an offer was made of the fortlet of Bajgah, which is situated at the mouth of the defile beyond Kamurd, and is considered by the natives of the country a stronghold of some importance. The offer of the Chief, if not suggested, was the result of apprehension, and not of good-will or policy; nevertheless, it was, without hesitation, accepted, and a small party of infantry lodged in the post. Dr. Lord, if he had not planned the offer, evinced as great readiness as his reconnoitering officers to take advantage of it, and wrote to Macnaghten and Cotton, urging the expediency of garrisoning Bajgah, and making it a frontier post. The Envoy acceded; and Dr. Lord, having his force increased by three hundred men of Hopkins's Affghan corps, pushed forward five companies of Gurkhas to Bajgah, occupying Syghan with two companies, and retaining one at Bamian. The rumour of these forward movements had hastened Jubbar Khan's decision, and, on the 3rd July, he reached Bamian with his brother's family, and proceeded onwards to place himself and them under British protection. This advantage was more than counter-balanced by the effect, which the occupation of Bajgah produced upon the surrounding countries. It was regarded as the first step towards ulterior operations; and a strong feeling of hostility was at once engendered amongst those, who anticipated that a struggle with the British power was imminent. The Walli of Khúlúm in particular, as most threatened, was most alarmed; and Dr Lord thus prepared a cordial ally for Dost Mahomed, where hitherto he had usually encountered jealous enmity.

Bajgah was an ill-chosen post, and the engineer, Sturt, at once condemned it: but both Dr. Lord's political consistency

and military genius would have been compromised by a withdrawal from a position, which he had pronounced excellent and imposing; and he therefore disregarded the engineer's objections.

We could, with great pleasure, follow the thread of narrative through the sequence of events—and the more willingly, as it would give us the opportunity of doing justice to the very gallant conduct of the non-commissioned officer, Douglas, and his band of Gurkhas; but, referring our readers to the military accounts of these matters, we can only allude to Hay's sickness; his call for a European officer from Syghan; the detachment under Douglas to meet and strengthen the coming officer; their disappointment; the unsuspecting bivouac under the fort of Kamurd; the fire from the forts, which told of treachery, and made the Gurkhas spring to their arms; the charge of the Usbeg horse calculating on easy victory, but checked by the Gurkha fire before they charged home; the unequal contest kept up for miles by Douglas, making good his way steadily, in order, leaving no wounded, flinging the arms and ammunition of his slain into the deep river which edged the road; the many wounded; the ammunition of all nearly expended; the destruction of the gallant Gurkhas at hand; when suddenly the engineer, Sturt, with two companies, hastening to save their comrades, broke into view, checked the ardour of the Usbegs and Hajaris, saved Douglas and his band from their impending fate, and enabled them again to reach Bajgah. The affair was full of honour and credit to Douglas and Sturt; but the Usbegs and the neighbouring hill tribes, regarding it as the defeat of a body of British troops, hailed it as a triumph;—so that Dost Mahomed, who was then in the field to reap the full advantage of the spirit evoked by Lord's proceedings, not only found the Walli of Khúlúm a staunch ally, but his subjects and the tribes of the hill countries eager to espouse his cause. Then came his advance, the withdrawal from Bajgah of our troops, and the first remarkable disaffection of an Affghan levy, Hopkins's corps.

Macnaghten, apprised of disturbances on the Bamian frontier, had at first considered them unimportant, rightly ascribing to them a local origin; but, finding that time did not allay them, that Dost Mahomed, escaped from Bokhara, was on the frontier, profiting by the spirit which pervaded all tribes and classes, that Bajgah had been threatened, that the Affghan levies had been tampered with, and could not be trusted, and that the troops had fallen back on Bamian, he reinforced them with a regiment of native infantry, sending up Dennie to command.

The recovery of Kelat by the son of Mehrab Khan; the un-

certain state of Nott's communications with Upper Scinde ; the Murri successes ; the insurrection in Bajore, accompanied by the loss of a gun and the discomfiture of a party of the Shah's troops ; the near approach of Dost Mahomed, which not only operated to disturb the Bamian frontier, but likewise kindled the hopes and the activity of the disaffected in the Kohistan and in Cabul—foreboded little peace to the Shah's rule in Affghanistan. Fortunately the Khyberis, as also the Ghiljies, who had shortly before been granted an annual subsidy of 30,000 rupees, seemed to prefer British tribute to British grape-shot and musquetry. Provided the Punjab remained friendly, Macnaghten's communication with Ferozepore might be considered for the time secure. But rapid changes were taking place : the Government of Lahore and the Seikh feudatories at Peshawur were in active correspondence with Dost Mahomed, and were sedulously fomenting disaffection to the Shah, and fear and hatred towards the British power. Dost Mahomed's two sons, who had escaped from Ghuzni, were at large in Zurmut and the neighbouring districts, seeking the means and the opportunity of furthering their father's cause. The general aspect of affairs was therefore extremely sombre.

Then followed Dennie's victory : but Macnaghten's difficulties were but partially relieved by Dennie's action, which, in fact, only restored matters to the same footing on which Dr. Lord had found them, and therefore contented the Walli of Khúlúm, whose only anxiety was on account of British encroachment, and who, in reality, cared little for Dost Mahomed's cause, provided the British troops were withdrawn from the advanced posts into which Dr. Lord had so unwisely thrust them. The events at Bamian had rather added to Macnaghten's perplexities ; for it was no longer doubtful whether reliance should be placed on the Affghan levies, and the Envoy, now convinced of the futility of the measure by which he had alienated the good-will of the Chiefs, pointed out to the Governor-General that the hope of raising a loyal Affghan army must be relinquished, and, that unless the Bengal troops were instantly strengthened, the country could not be held. Alarmed by Seikh intrigues, the Envoy also at this time became alive to the capital error of Lord Auckland's operations beyond the Indus, with the unsubdued power of the Punjab between the army engaged in Affghanistan and its reserves in Northern India ; and, irritated by the machinations of the Seikh agents to excite revolt and to feed it with supplies of money, he pressed the Governor-General to break with the ruler of the Punjab. Lord Auckland however felt that the crisis, which Macnaghten depicted in Affghanistan, was

not the moment to select for opening serious hostilities with a formidable State ; and that, to maintain a hold of Affghanistan and furnish the reinforcements so urgently demanded, a temporizing policy with the court of Lahore and a prolongation of peaceable relations were essential.

Meanwhile, Macnaghten, in order to strengthen himself at Cabul, recalled Dennie, with the battery of horse artillery and the 35th native infantry, from Bamían. Dost Mahomed's intrigues were actively carried on, not only in the Kohistan, but in the city of Cabul itself; his two sons were busy in Zurmut; the Seikh feudatories were doing all in their power to raise the country between Peshawur and Cabul, and to make it pronounce in favour of Dost Mahomed against the Shah. Look where he would, Macnaghten found no stay for the support of the Shah's authority, but the British guns and bayonets at his disposal.

The Kohistan chiefs, when summoned to the capital, had obeyed the call, made obeisance to the Shah, and sworn allegiance. Their simulated submission was intended the better to cover deep treachery and a fixed resolve to overthrow Shah Shuja's rule: and they returned to their forts, banded together by solemn engagements, and encouraged by the knowledge they had acquired of the smallness of the force at Cabul. Neither the Envoy nor the Shah were blinded by the readiness, with which allegiance had been tendered: for, the letters of the Chiefs being intercepted, their schemes and temper were disclosed; and Macnaghten, uncertain of Dost Mahomed's movements, sent Sir A. Burnes, with a force under Sale's orders, to punish the hostile Chiefs of Kohistan, and to oppose the entrance of the Amir into districts ripe for insurrection. Dennie's action at Bamían, followed by the escape of Dost Mahomed, by no means diminished the necessity of this measure.

Sale's short operations, finishing with the affair of Purwan Durrah and Dost Mahomed's surrender, are too well known to require notice. This voluntary surrender at once altered the whole state of affairs. Macnaghten and the Shah, in possession of Dost Mahomed and the greater part of his family, were now at liberty to indulge in the hope that their difficulties were at an end, and that the Shah's authority could be established. The step thus taken by the Amir must be regarded as evincing a strange pusillanimity, and was dissonant from the expectations formed of his character. The hasty resolution was probably the result of a movement of weariness at the life which, for months, he had been leading, and of the fear that the Kohistanis, who only hated him a degree less than the British, might find it more

convenient to betray him, and thus obtain peace and the large reward set upon his head, than to maintain hostilities, which cost them forts, villages, and vineyards, and threatened to render their country hopelessly desolate.

Macnaghten had written to the Governor-General—"No mercy should be shown to the man, who is the author of all the evils that are now distracting the country: but, should we be so fortunate as to secure the person of Dost Mahomed, I shall request His Majesty not to execute him, till I can ascertain His Lordship's sentiments." Shortly after the voluntary surrender of the Amir, the Envoy wrote—"I trust that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared to that of Shah Shuja; and I have seen it argued that he should not be treated more handsomely than His Majesty was; but surely the cases are not parallel. The Shah had no claim on us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." As the latter view, ingenuously truthful and correct, ill corresponded with the sanguinary cast of the former, the Governor-General, probably acquainted with Vattel's chapter "of the sovereign who wages an unjust war," abstained from expressing his sentiments on a question, admitting such contrariety of personal application, as that of the execution of "the author of all the evils" then distracting the country; and Macnaghten, overjoyed at the unexpected issue of events, not only frankly urged the truth in favour of his prisoner, but treated him from the first with the attention and consideration, which the English gentleman has ever shown to those, whom the chances of war may throw into his power.

The expedient leniency of Lord Auckland to Kamran and his minister, Yar Mahomed, did not, as may have been surmised, produce a permanently favourable effect upon the counsels and acts of the Herat authorities. At first indeed Yar Mahomed seemed earnestly desirous of giving proof, that his gratitude was sincere, and his attachment to the British Government not confined to mere profession. Accordingly he proposed the expulsion of the Persians from the fortress of Ghorian, possession of which they still retained. The bait took. Todd, aware that Macnaghten and the Indian Government were anxious that the Persians should retire to a greater distance from Herat, credulously put faith in Yar Mahomed's avowed intention of capturing Ghorian; and advanced, on the strength of his promises, upwards of two lacs of rupees to aid in equipping the force, with which this stroke of policy was to be accomplished.

Pretended penitence for perfidy having secured so liberal a largess, Yar Mahomed, surprised with his own success, wrote to the governor of Ghorian to allay the fears, which the vaunt of contemplated operations against that fortress might have excited, and to assure the Persians, that the machinations of the British agent might be despised, and reliance be placed on the friendly disposition of the Herat authorities. Todd, at length convinced that he had been grossly duped, discontinued all further advances for the alleged preparations against Ghorian, and, about August 1840, reduced the monthly subsidy paid to Kamran and his minister to 25,000 rupees. The measure was a source of disappointment to the ruler of Herat: but his minister, nothing abashed, determined to change his game, and to play after another fashion upon the credulity and facility of the British agent. Communications with the Persian minister for foreign affairs were actively renewed, and finally arrangements made for a conference at Ghorian between accredited Envoys from the Persian court and from Herat. The Persian minister quitted Meshed, and, with the view of attending the conference, marched towards Ghorian; but Yar Mahomed, having brought affairs to this pass, thought he had at disposal a political secret sure to command a good price. Accordingly, making great merit of revealing his own device, he claimed from Todd a reward corresponding in magnitude to the importance of the secret. Upwards of £200,000 had however been, by this time, thrown away at Herat, and the patient credulity of the British authorities had been taxed beyond further endurance. Yar Mahomed's scheme for adding to the hoards won by his duplicity therefore failed.

Baffled in what he had considered very skilful finesse, the minister's ingenuity was nevertheless but a short time at fault. Avarice has no shame. When therefore, in October 1840, the state of affairs in Affghanistan became known at Herat, Yar Mahomed, thinking the moment favourable for intimidating Todd into compliance, again urgently demanded money. The successes of the Murris in Upper Scinde, the attacks on Quetta, the capture of Kelat by the son of Mehrab Khan, and the advance of Dost Mahomed upon Cabul, formed a combination of circumstances sufficiently unfavourable to Shah Shuja's authority. By receiving communications from disaffected persons in Affghanistan, and by threatening to march on Candahar, Yar Mahomed thought that the dread of such additional countenance and support for the insurgents would compel Todd to purchase the forbearance of Herat by a further heavy subsidy. These hopes were not without real foundation; but they were

suddenly blasted by the surrender of Dost Mahomed, and the complete re-establishment of security on the line of communications between Shikarpore and Quetta. Todd, re-assured in his position at Herat by the favourable turn of affairs towards the close of the year 1840, refused these demands, and continued to limit the expenditure to the monthly stipend before mentioned. In the course of one year an outlay of upwards of £150,000 had been incurred by Todd at Herat; and the expenditure, initiated by Pottinger, instead of being diminished, had been carried to an extravagant excess without any resulting advantage. Indeed, so far from British influence being thereby strengthened, Macnaghten, alarmed by the reports received from Todd, had repeatedly urged the necessity of moving British troops to Herat; and the Governor-General, though averse to such an operation, had so far yielded as to have been led to contemplate the movement as a possible event; and a battering train, sent from Bombay, was in preparation at Sukkur, and under orders to be held in readiness for a march to Candahar, in case of being wanted for the fore-mentioned distant expedition. The events of November allayed the apprehensions of the British authorities in Affghanistan; and, producing temporarily an effect at Herat, the advance of a force to that fortress was, for the time, not pressed.

The lull in Yar Mahomed's intrigues was not of long continuance; for the events, which have now to be alluded to, no sooner began, than Kamran's minister engaged with great activity in correspondence and intrigue with the Dúrani insurgents of Zemindawar.

The Dúrani Chiefs, whatever their hopes when Shah Shuja was first placed upon the throne, were rapidly undeceived in their expectations of attaining power and influence under the sway of their Dúrani master. All real power was in the hands of the British functionaries, who, ignorant of the country, the people, and the Chiefs, and naturally jealous of the influence of the latter, were peculiarly liable to err in the selection of subordinates, where the nomination of these was entrusted to them. Political agents were also frequently compromised by the necessity of acting in official connection with persons deriving their dignities and charges from the appointment of the Shah. Mulla Shúkúr, his first minister, had been a faithful follower of his exile, but possessed no other qualification for so important a post; and was alike ignorant of the spirit which pervaded the people and the Chiefs, with whom he was therefore unpopular. His influence was great: and the Shah, placing confidence in his minister's judgment and inten-

tions, overlooked the fact that, in choosing the men to be placed around Prince Timour at Candahar, the fitness of the individuals for the duties to be devolved upon them was made an entirely minor consideration to the qualification of old companionship. Accordingly Timour's counsellors were the minister's old Ludiana fellow-exiles. These men and their satellites were eager to seize the golden opportunity of enriching themselves at the expence of the province; and, knowing that they could safely calculate upon the weakness and connivance of the minister, they had no hesitation in committing acts of oppressive injustice in the collection of revenue from the people, and in the interception of royal bounty from the Dúrani Chiefs. The latter haughtily resented the bearing of greedy upstarts, whose only merit was long exile from the country they now plundered: and the Chiefs soon found that they could rely on the sympathy of the common people, who were equally disgusted, and animated by a deep feeling of hostility towards the instruments of misrule, and the power which supported them.

It has been noted that the intrigues of Kamran's minister were busy in exciting and encouraging the disaffected; and there came, in aid of the projects of the discontented Chiefs, a rumour, which, whether well or ill founded, was widely circulated, that Shah Shuja, jealous of British supremacy and impatient of the subjection in which he was kept, desired to free himself and the Affghans from a galling yoke, and only awaited a favourable result to any revolt which might shake the British Power, in order to declare himself openly, and cordially to aid in the expulsion of allies, whose presence overshadowed the authority of the throne. Foremost amongst the discontented Chiefs was Uktur Khan, a bold, designing man, disappointed by not obtaining charge of Zemindawar, and otherwise angered by the Shah's Candahar authorities. He raised the standard of rebellion, and, on the 29th December, routed Mahomed Allum Khan, took his guns, and drove the royalist followers from the field. Nott had dispatched a regiment of native infantry, cavalry, and guns, to disperse the insurgents: but Mahomed Allum Khan was beaten before Farrington and his detachment could arrive. He, however, followed up the successful enemy, crossed the Helmund at Girishk, and, on the morning of the 3rd January, came up with them at Sundi Nowah; where to the amount of 1,500 horse and foot, Uktur Khan had drawn up his force, ensconced amongst sand-hills, to screen it from the dreaded fire of the British artillery. Farrington attacked them, and drove Uktar Khan from his position, capturing a standard, and pursuing the fugitives for some distance. This smart affair, in which the enemy left

sixty killed upon the field, was a partial check to the spirit of revolt, and somewhat disheartened the insurgents. The weather being severe, they dispersed; and the detachment was withdrawn from Zemindawar.

Two men were now at Candahar, who had a clear perception of the real state of affairs in Affghanistan—General Nott and Captain Rawlinson,—both men of talent and both good soldiers; the one an able, high-minded commander, whose strong feeling and military pride had been most undeservedly wounded by repeated and unjustifiable supercession; the other, a man, who added to the qualities of a good officer those of an accomplished eastern scholar, and was in the political department an active and intelligent agent. The General, compelled by accident to remain in Affghanistan, now began to anticipate, that, although others had reaped laurels at Ghuzni and Kelat, a sterner struggle was at hand, and that he might have to strike a blow for his country's honour and the fame of her arms. By careful attention to the *morale* and the discipline of his troops, and by a considerate conduct towards the Affghans, he sought to allay the passions and prejudices of the latter and to gain their respect and good-will, coupled with a well-founded dread of the formidable, but orderly, force under his controul. The civil being separate from the military authority, and in other hands, Nott could only watch the progress of misrule and embroilment, and prepare, as best he could, for the storm which he saw approaching, and which he knew, though not raised by him, must of necessity burst upon himself and his men. Rawlinson, entrusted with examining the revenue accounts of the province, and reporting upon the expenditure of six lacs of rupees (£60,000), at a place where there was no expense of a court to keep up, and also with enquiring into and ascertaining the origin of the late disturbances, quickly perceived the false position of the British in Affghanistan, and, early and repeatedly, endeavoured to impress Macnaghten with a sense of the danger attending that position. These warnings were accompanied by expressions, which implicated Shah Shuja as having countenanced the revolt of Uktur Khan, and intimated the existence of intrigues of a dangerous and little-suspected character. Macnaghten entirely discredited such machinations, and acquainted the Shah with all he heard from Rawlinson. The monarch either was, or pretended to be, "well nigh frantic;" and, ascribing such rumours to the creatures of his lately-deposed minister, Mulla Shukur, threatened to send for the officials the latter had placed around Timour at Candahar, and, "having ripped up their bellies, to hang them up as food for the

"crows." The Shah had reasonable ground of anger against these functionaries, as one of them had directly charged him with having made a communication by letter, hostile in tone to his British allies. Macnaghten would not doubt the Shah's sincerity, and wrote to Rawlinson—"I think you should sift these atrocious rumours to their head as diligently as possible. You have had a troublesome task lately, and have been doubtless without leisure to weigh probabilities; but it may make the consideration of all questions more simple, if you will hereafter take for granted that as regards us 'The king can do no wrong.' He is not so disposed, and if he were, this is not the time".—(23rd January, 1841). Rawlinson, however, was neither so assured of the Shah's sincerity, nor so sanguine as was Macnaghten of the probable facility of effectually tranquillizing the province, except resort were had to—what he naively termed—"the arrest and forcible removal to India of at least fifty or sixty of the most powerful and turbulent of the Dúrani Khans;" a project, which Macnaghten could not entertain, observing that "Government would never tolerate for a 'moment the notion of such wholesale expatriation." Having deposed the minister, Mulla Shukur, the Envoy and the Shah founded their hopes of restoring to order the province of Candahar by the removal, and despatch to Cabul, of the minister's creatures, who had abetted Timour in acts of violence, profited by exactions which had discontented the people, and had succeeded in rendering the British power, themselves, and the Shah, obnoxious to the Chiefs and their numerous followers. This measure and a contemplated visit to his Dúrani capital in the autumn by the Shah, when he hoped to conciliate the Chiefs, who were invited in the mean time to lay their grievances before him by petition, were the means through which the Envoy trusted to restore confidence and good-will.

The removal of the culpable functionaries produced a very transient effect. The evil lay deeper; and the spirit of disaffection to the Shah and hatred to the British power from day to day acquired strength, and began more and more to move the hearts of the people. The universal venality of the public officers and the authorized exactions of former Governments may have been occasionally—what Macnaghten, when contrasting them with existing circumstances, represented them—hardly credible. But they were so only, when there was the power to coerce, and that, owing to the disordered state of the country, was not often. Amidst the struggles for dominant authority, official rapacity was effectually kept in check by the independent spirit of the people, by the readiness with which they flew to arms in order to resent op-

pression or oppose exaction, and by the dread of thus strengthening political adversaries. Under the two-fold government of the Shah and the Envoy, the misdeeds of the native collectors had no compensating reaction to fear. The political agents were, however well intentioned, unable to cope with the interested duplicity of their subordinates; and the latter knew that the strong arm of the British force was ever at hand to strike down rebellion and enforce the payments of revenue. Amid much that was anarchical in consequence of the oscillations of superior power, the people had for years enjoyed a wild freedom and an immunity from heavy taxation, which made them impatient of a condition, such as that which was suddenly imposed upon them. The system was the more severe from the practice of paying the Shah's levies by assignments on the revenues of particular districts. These levies were larger and of a more permanent character than those heretofore entertained; and the collectors quartered themselves on the assigned districts, at the living cost of the inhabitants, until the latter liquidated the prescribed contribution. Macnaghten, aware that such a custom must alienate the people and render them as hostile to the Shah as to his British allies, instructed the new minister, Usman Khan, to abolish the system of assignments and to re-place it by one less oppressive and unpopular. But the wants of the Shah were urgent; the Indian Government, meeting the enormous outlay in Affghanistan with reluctance, was unwilling to increase it; and the minister, surrounded with difficulties, could not, in the midst of disorder and rebellion, introduce ameliorations in the fiscal system of the country. Matters, therefore, necessarily continued much upon their old footing; and the prospect was remote of radical improvement.

Macnaghten, no longer able to shut his eyes to a fact against which he had long contended—the Shah's unpopularity—was nevertheless resolved to view affairs in a favourable light; and he combatted the opinion that the position of the British power in Affghanistan was a false one, and that either it should take the Government of the country into its own hands, or relinquish all military occupation of it. "If either 'McNeill or Sir J. Hobhouse should entertain a similar opi-'nion, I have little doubt that it has originated in the atroci-'ously false reports, that have been circulated regarding his 'Majesty's personal character. In common honesty we can 'neither take the country, nor withdraw our troops, so long as 'His Majesty is sincere in his alliance. If we are to take coun-'tries on account of the misgovernment of their rulers, why 'should we not begin with Lucknow, Hydrabad, &c.? Surely our

'unfortunate Shah ought not to be the only victim, and condemned without trial. He has incurred the odium, that 'attaches to him from his alliance with us; and it would be an 'act of downright dishonesty to desert him, before he has 'found the means of taking root in the soil to which we have 'transplanted him." After denouncing either alternative as impolitic and impracticable, and urging that "we should require 'ten times the number of troops, that we now have, to support 'our position, were we ostensibly to appear as rulers of the 'country," he expressed this opinion, in allusion to the Dúrani and Ghiljie disaffection, which he deemed transient,—"All things 'considered, the present tranquillity of this country is, to my 'mind, perfectly miraculous. Already our presence has been 'infinitely beneficial in allaying animosities and pointing out 'abuses: but our proceedings must be guided by extreme caution. Rome was not built in a day. But I look forward to 'the time, when His Majesty will have an honest and efficient 'administration of his own, though the time must be far distant, if ever it should arrive (certainly it cannot arrive during 'the present generation, to whom anarchy is second nature), 'when we can dispense with the presence of our Hindustani 'contingent. Here we are gradually ferreting out abuses and 'placing matters on a firm and satisfactory basis."—February 7, 1841, Jellalabad.

Written at a time when the punishment of the Sungo Khil in the Nazian valley was only delayed until the necessary disposition could be effected, and Shelton, with a strong force, could be detached upon the duty, Macnaghten's view of affairs was little in accordance with reality. Truth is seldom insulted with impunity. The *miraculous tranquillity* existed nowhere except in Macnaghten's wishes and imagination: for, whilst he was engaged in checking, through the operations of Shelton on the 24th February, the rising spirit of revolt amongst the tribes bordering the Khyber, the Ghiljies in the vicinity of Candahar and between that place and Ghuzni were evincing an implacable hostility, which determined the British authorities to occupy Kelat-i-Ghiljie, and thus, by establishing a garrison in the heart of the disturbed districts, to curb insurrectionary movements, and to ensure greater security of communication along the line of the Turnuk. The expedition, upon which Shelton was sent into the Nazian valley, had a colourable pretext in justification of the measures enforced; but the Ghiljie rising on the line of the Turnuk was preceded by the capture of a small fort under circumstances, in which the gallantry of Sanders, Macan, and others was no excuse for the original error, which led to its

attack, and the destruction of its Chief with fifteen of his men. This occurrence deeply embittered the Ghiljie hatred of their invaders; and they were resolved to contest the permanent occupation of their country. With great jealousy they watched the preparations for rendering the old fort of Kelat-i-Ghiljie tenable, and began to assemble in order if possible to interrupt and prevent the completion of the design. Nott, hearing of this, and having to dispatch stores of various descriptions to the post, sent them under the escort of seven hundred bayonets, a detachment of horse, and two guns, the whole commanded by Colonel Wymer. When the convoy neared its destination, the Ghiljies broke up from the loose beleaguer of Kelat-i-Ghiljie and marched to oppose Wymer. Macan followed them; but, apprehensive of a *ruse*, and that the enemy, having lured him from his post, might double back and carry it in his absence, he halted. The Ghiljies were however intent upon Wymer; and, at 5 P. M. of the 9th May, they boldly attacked him. Having a large convoy to protect, he was forced to stand on the defensive. In spite of Hawkins's guns, which threw their shot with effect amongst their masses, the latter advanced with good courage, and sought to assail one of Wymer's flanks, and thus discomfit him; whilst making a partial change of position to meet fairly this movement, the Ghiljies, thinking the sepoys shaken, rushed sword in hand to the charge; but the 38th were quick and steady in forming, and their close, well-delivered fire, aided by the grape of the guns, made the swords-men reel, and recoil from before the bayonets. The combat nevertheless lasted until 10 P. M., when the Ghiljies despairing of success, having lost many killed, and having to carry off many wounded, withdrew from their purpose, and left Wymer to accomplish his march.

Meantime Uktur Khan had been actively engaged in recovering from the check Farrington had given him, and a number of fresh followers had gathered around him. Macnaghten, warned that the state of the country was becoming "worse and worse every day," chafed at the truth and received it ungraciously. "These idle statements," he wrote, "may cause much mischief; and, often repeated as they are, they neutralize my protestations to the contrary. I know them to be utterly false, as regards this part of the country (Cabul), and I have no reason to believe them true, as regards your portion of the kingdom (Candahar), merely because the Tukkis are indulging in their accustomed habits of rebellion, or because Uktur Khan has a parcel of ragamuffins at his heels." The seizure of Uktur Khan by a night march of the Janbaz, whom he knew to be untrustworthy; the offer of a large pecuniary

reward for the capture of the rebel leader; and the notice that he should be hung "as high as Haman," when caught, were Macnaghten's instructions for the tranquillization of the districts to the west of Candahar: whilst he hoped, by transferring to another Ghiljie Chief, on condition of his seizing the Guru, who had beleaguered Kelat-i-Ghiljie and attacked Wymer, the Guru's portion of the stipulated allowances or black mail, to sow dissension amongst the Ghiljie leaders, and to obtain by treachery possession of an inveterate enemy of the British power.

Uktur Khan, who was to be thus summarily dealt with, had assembled about 6,000 men, and had taken up a safe position before Giriskh, on the right bank of the Helmund, which rapid river effectually secured him from surprize. Nott sent Woodburn at the head of his regiment of sepoys, the Janbaz horse, and a detail of guns under Cooper, to search for and attack the insurgents. Woodburn ultimately beat them; and the next morning crossed the river, and encamped at Girishk. He could shew three standards taken from the enemy, as trophies of the combat; but he wrote to Nott, that the conduct of the Janbaz (his only cavalry), the notoriously disaffected state of the country, and the numbers of the enemy, did not seem to warrant the pursuit of Uktur Khan, unless a re-inforcement of cavalry and infantry joined him.

Nott determined to strike both at the Ghiljies and at Uktur Khan: two detachments, therefore, one under Colonel Chambers against the Ghiljies, and another under Captain Griffin against Uktur Khan, marched from Candahar, both strong in cavalry. Chambers on the 5th August was slightly engaged; the enemy however made no stand, but fled before the charges of the troops of horse, before the infantry and guns came into action. Griffin had more decided fortune; for, on the 17th August, at the head of four guns, eight hundred sabres, and three hundred and fifty bayonets, he drove Uktur Khan from a position at Rawind. The rebel leader had chosen ground, on which walls and gardens afforded cover for his men, about 5,000 in number, and promised to nullify the fire of the artillery and the compact discipline of the handful of infantry; but Griffin boldly attacked him, drove the rebels from their cover, and forced them out of their position. They were in the act of forming beyond the broken ground they had yielded, when Hart, seeing that the moment was favourable, charged with the Janbaz: Suftur Jung, a son of Shah Shuja, shared in the honour of this charge; and the Janbaz displayed no slackness, but, following their leaders, broke the enemy, and hotly pursued them.

The victory was decisive: and thus both the Dúrani and the

Ghiljie outbreaks received severe disheartening blows from Nott's detachments. Whilst the result of the military operations was still uncertain, Macnaghten had rebutted the existence of any difficulty in overcoming the national feeling against British supremacy. "From Múkúr to the Khyber Pass, all is content and 'tranquillity; and wherever we Europeans go, we are received 'with respect and attention and welcome."—(August 2, 1841). Persisting in regarding the insurrections in the vicinity of Candahar, as transient manifestations of an habitual spirit of independence, from which nothing unfavourable to the popularity of the British rule was to be inferred, he unhesitatingly denied the difficulty of its position in Affghanistan. "On the contrary I think 'our prospects are most cheering; and, with the materials we 'have, there ought to be little or no difficulty in the manage-'ment of the country. It is true the population is exclusively 'Mahomedan; but it is split into rival sects, and we all know 'that of all antipathies the Sectarian is the most virulent. We 'have Hazarehs, Ghiljies, Dúranis and Kuzzilbash, all at 'daggers drawn with each other; and in every family there are 'rivals and enemies. Some faults of management must neces-'sarily be committed on the first assumption of the adminis-'tration of a new country, and the Dúrani outbreak may be 'partially attributable to such faults; but what after all do 'such outbreaks signify?" Supporting his opinion of the evanescent character of such insurrections by examples drawn from the history of India, Macnaghten, in allusion to Uktur Khan and his followers, thus summed up his views—"But these 'people are perfect children, and they should be treated as 'such. If we put one naughty boy in the corner, the rest will 'be terrified. We have taken their plaything, power, out of 'the hands of the Dúrani Chiefs, and they are pouting a good 'deal in consequence. They did not know how to use it. In 'their hands it was useless and even hurtful to their master, 'and we were obliged to transfer it to scholars of our own. 'They instigate the Múllahs, and the Múllahs preach to the 'people; but this will be very temporary. The evil of it is, we 'must have force; we have abandoned all hope of forming a 'national army." Thus thought and wrote the Envoy. Nott, to the full as bold a man, in spite of the successes of his troops, took a wholly different view of affairs from Macnaghten. "The 'conduct of the thousand and one politicals has ruined our cause, 'and bared the throat of every European in this country 'to the sword and knife of the revengeful Affghan and bloody 'Beluch; and, unless several regiments be quickly sent, not a 'man will be left to note the fate of his comrades. Nothing

'but force will ever make them submit to the hated Shah 'Shuja, who is most certainly as great a scoundrel as ever 'lived." Nothing could thus be more opposed than were the views of the Envoy and the General, who only concurred on the single point of ascribing blame to the subordinate political functionaries. Their errors, admitted by Macnaghten, and prominently adduced by Nott, were, however, as has been seen, but secondary causes, rather affording occasion for the exhibition of, than originating, that deep hate which now pulsed in the hearts of the Affghans. The whole policy of the Anglo-Indian Government was a grievous wrong to this people; and the instruments, who strove to work out a faulty system with a devotion and zeal worthy of a better cause, cannot justly be made responsible for its failure. If some were vain, shallow, and immoral, others were able, good and valorous men. The usual proportion of ability and merit was there; but these qualities had to struggle against adverse circumstances and false positions, and were expected to reconcile incompatibilities.

Cotemporaneously with the Dúrani insurrection in Zemindawar, events took place at Herat, which must now be noted.

Yar Mahomed, in constant communication with Uktur Khan and the rebels, sought to encourage the outbreak, and, by embarrassing the British Government and finding full occupation for its troops in the suppression of revolts in Affghanistan, to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the military occupation of Herat. He knew that, so long as the Dúranis and Ghiljies were in arms, Nott could not spare men and cattle for a march on Herat. Secure on this point, the object next in importance was to devise means for re-opening the sluices of British prodigality. The minister was well aware that from the side of Persia there was now nothing to dread. A confidential agent was therefore despatched to Meshed, inviting Persian co-operation, pointing out the distracted state of Zemindawar and the Ghiljie country,and urging the opportunity as favourable for an armed demonstration in support of the kindling spirit of insurrection—the northern division of the British army of occupation having its communications with the southern interrupted by the snow on the Highlands of Ghuzni. Yar Mahomed was well apprised of the inability and unwillingness of Persia to act on his suggestions. His purpose was to operate upon the apprehensions of the British agent and thus again to effect a renewal of the now staunched donations. Todd, however, at the same time that he ascertained the nature of Yar Mahomed's letters to Meshed, learned that strong reinforcements were in Upper Scinde, and that there was a probability of Nott's hands being early strengthen-

ed. He therefore deemed the occasion favourable for marking his sense of the conduct of Kamran, by enforcing a measure, which would be a severe blow to the avaricious ruler and his minister. On the 1st February, 1841, he informed the Herat authorities, that even the monthly stipend would be discontinued until the pleasure of the British Government were known. Yar Mahomed sought to parry this blow by artfully offering to accede to the admission of a British force into Herat—a measure, which Macnaghten had much at heart, and which had been the real object of the mission. Hitherto Yar Mahomed had carefully thwarted its fulfilment, nor had he any intention of altering his policy in this respect: but he rightly judged that it would at once induce Todd to re-open negociations; that it might not improbably lead to a grant of money; and that it was entirely free from danger, as no troops were disposable, nor for months could be, to dispatch to Herat. The immediate payment of two lacs of rupees was the condition coupled with the proferred concession. Todd, without adverting to the fact, whether troops were available or not for Herat, eagerly caught at the hope of realizing the object of his mission: but he required, as a guarantee, before payment of the demand to which he otherwise made no objection, that Yar Mahomed's son should proceed to Girishk to meet and conduct the force to Herat, should the arrangement meet with the approval of the Anglo-Indian Government. The security demanded was in accordance with the Envoy's views: but Yar Mahomed, who never dreamt of admitting willingly a contingent of British troops, finding that Todd was no longer to be duped into actual payments without an equivalent, declined to furnish the desired guarantee, and, as a last resource for compelling Todd to submit to exaction, demanded either the payment of the stipulated allowance, or the withdrawal of the mission. Kamran's minister, in adopting this course, thought that the state of Zemindawar and the Ghiljie country would render Todd averse from taking a step, which involved open rupture with Herat: but Todd, having failed in his ill-timed endeavour to accomplish the grand object of his mission, refused to meet the requisition, and, to the alarm of Yar Mahomed, withdrew the mission from Herat. The news of this rupture reached the Governor-General, accompanied by the Envoy's strenuous advocacy of a military expedition to reinstate British influence by the occupation of Herat, at a time which rendered the event and Macnaghten's suggestions thereon extremely unpalatable. By the cession of Ghorian, the differences with Persia had been brought to a conclusion; and there appeared, therefore, no real basis for

the stringent measures pursued by Todd, founded on a jealousy of Herati intrigues with Persia. Not only however did the grounds for the sudden break with Herat appear insufficient, but the latter event had the effect of casting ridicule on the whole of the operations in Affghanistan—clearly announcing to the world that British interference and protection were more dreaded by Herat than Persian thirst for conquest.

The Dúrani and Ghiljie outbreaks were a source of alarm to the Government of India, which was further irritated by the fact, that the Secret Committee, startled by the cost of the war, which, after exhausting the accumulated treasure, had plunged India into debt, had addressed the Government of India in terms, which, in reality, called in question the whole policy of the war. The weak Government in England, conscious that the then approaching elections would prove the downfall of the existing ministry, would, when too late, have gladly withdrawn from a conquest, the evils of which were forcing themselves upon the convictions of its originators, and could not stand scrutiny, should power pass into other hands. Lord Auckland, vexed at the aspect of affairs, resolved at once to disavow Todd's measures. Conciliatory letters were immediately written to the Herat authorities, and regret expressed at the occurrences, which had partially interrupted mutual good understanding.

Todd had certainly acted imprudently in pressing a measure, which Macnaghten, at the time, from the want of available troops, and the state of the country around Candahar, was clearly unable to carry into effect; but the Envoy was as eager as his deputy, and, having led him into the mis-timed attempt, deserved as much blame. It fell, however, wholly on Todd, who was removed from political employment; whilst Macnaghten was simply advised, that "we should first learn to quiet and to control the positions that we occupied, before we plunged onwards."

Yar Mahomed's fears were completely allayed by the letters of the Governor-General. Both Kamran and his minister regretted the large sums which at one time were lavishly granted them; but, as the patience and credulity of the British Government had on this point been exhausted, the Herat authorities were glad to find themselves independent of its tutelage and domination. The Envoy was indeed amused by a friendly correspondence, particularly as such still held out the prospect of a continuance of the stipend of three lacs of rupees per annum, which Yar Mahomed did not despair of obtaining upon very easy terms; but it was only on such, that he entertain-

ed any intention of favouring the British Government by the acceptance of its subsidy. Macnaghten, as late as August 1841, still hoped to effect a reconciliation, and to bring round Yar Mahomed to a more cordial understanding. The Government was advised to stipulate that Yar Mahomed must agree to follow the advice of the British authorities in all matters; that no demand beyond the three lacs per annum should be made; and that one of Yar Mahomed's sons was to reside at Calcutta, or Bombay, as a hostage for his father's sincerity. But events soon followed, which threw into utter insignificance Yar Mahomed, his petty intrigues, and the weakness and credulity of our over-reached agent's proceedings at Herat.

The observation has already been made, that the Secret Committee had taken alarm at the aspect of affairs to the westward of the Indus: and as the altered tone, in which they suddenly expressed themselves upon the operations in Affghanistan, had a marked and an unfortunate effect upon the Envoy's measures, it here becomes essential to note the manner in which the opinions of the Secret Committee influenced the current of events.

Most readers are aware that the controul of the Government of India is a power entrusted to the President of the Board of Controul—a Member of the Ministry—and empowered by Act of Parliament to dictate instructions to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The influence of the latter body is, therefore, in all matters of real importance of a purely subordinate character, and is entirely dependent upon the ability and energy of the President, and the interest which the ministry for the time being may take in the welfare and good government of the vast empire under the sway of the British Crown. The name of the Secret Committee, the channel of the injunctions of the President of the Board of Controul, must not, therefore, when subsequently used, be misunderstood as attaching undue importance to that small section of the Court of Directors, which has always a qualified, and often a nominal, rather than a real, participation in the conduct of affairs of weight.

The insurrection, which recovered Kelat for the son of Mehrab Khan; the reverses sustained in Upper Scinde; the attacks on Quetta; the alarm produced by the return of Dost Mahomed, and his movements and intrigues in the Kohistan; the great cost of the occupation of Affghanistan; and the state of anarchy into which the Punjab seemed fast falling, and by which the position of the army to the west of the Indus threatened to be still farther compromised—had excited the vivid apprehensions of the Home Government, who, under the impulse of anxiety, addressed the Governor-General in a tone of complaint and

reprehension, inconsistent with the spirit of full approbation which had encouraged the opening of the war. The series of reverses were attributed to the error of having, at the close of 1839, withdrawn too many troops from Affghanistan ; whilst the spirit of hostility to the Shah's Government was charged to an absence of sufficient vigour in amending the defects of the civil administration of the country. The difficulty of meeting the extraordinary disbursements, consequent on the war and the continued occupation of the conquered territories, and the financial embarrassment, which the deficiency of revenue as compared with expenditure, could not fail to entail on India, were, with reason, mooted—it being evident, that, unless a change of policy took place, for many years to come the restored monarchy would have need of a British force, and that not a small one, in order to maintain peace in its own territory and prevent aggression from without. The Indian Government was therefore called upon to consider, with the utmost seriousness, the question of its future policy with respect to Affghanistan ;—the British position in that country being one, which must be either abandoned, or fully maintained at whatever sacrifice, and with all the consequences which a movement so far beyond our frontiers must entail.

These instructions, penned under a sense of alarm at a threatening crisis, reached the Governor-General, when the surrender of Dost Mahomed, the re-occupation of Kelat and flight of Mehrab Khan's son, and the successes of Nott's detachments against the Dúraní and Ghiljie insurgents, had not only improved the aspect of affairs in Affghanistan, but also brought about an opportunity most favourable for withdrawing with credit from an erroneous and dangerous policy. The unexpected surrender of Dost Mahomed was a second test of the honesty and sincerity of the Indian Government in its trans-Indus operations. No more striking event could be conceived for an honourable termination to the armed occupation of Affghanistan, and for the triumphant return of the Anglo-Indian Army to its own Frontier; and, by furnishing so unhoped an occasion, Providence removed all reasonable ground of excuse or hesitation, and afforded the Indian Government the very moment which it professed to await. But man, in his short-sighted elation, clung to ill-gotten conquests, and, rejecting the proferred occasion, was overtaken by a fearful and terrible retribution.

The Governor-General, vexed at the altered tone of the Secret Committee and at the blame imputed to the course pursued, was gratified that circumstances were such as enabled him

in reply to adduce plausible reasons for continuing the policy which had been called in question, and to speak, with a show of confidence in its ultimate success, of the necessity for maintaining the military occupation of Affghanistan, and supporting Shah Shúja until his authority should be securely established. Lord Auckland admitted that the British Power was unpopular in Affghanistan, and that it rendered Shah Shúja so; that the latter, leaning entirely on his British Allies, had no military means of his own worthy of the least reliance; that the actual condition of feeling in the country (whatever the degree of discontent with the established order of things) was owing rather to our presence and pervading ascendancy, than to any general sentiment of personal dissatisfaction toward Shah Shúja, whom the Governor-General believed to be intelligent, just, lenient, and zealously attentive to the duties of his station; that the cost of the British Force in Affghanistan was a heavy burthen upon the Indian finances—so much so indeed, that it caused a yearly deficiency of a million and a quarter, which could only be provided for by loan, and was therefore rapidly plunging the Indian Government into a heavy public debt; that it was clear that the Indian Government could not go on for many years providing for a deficit so considerable; that the restored monarchy, if we remained on the scene, would for many years to come need the maintenance, at an overwhelming cost, of a strong British force; that Russia had receded from her adavnce towards the Oxus; and that invasion from the westward by a large force, over an immense extent of barren country, occupied by tribes destitute of union and force, could only be made with much time and preparation. Yet, notwithstanding these plain and forcible admissions of the difficulties and embarrassments attending our position in Affghanistan, and of the withdrawal of Russia from the attempt to establish her influence on the Oxus, the Governor-General was averse from seizing the opportunity of retiring with honour from a false position: and he found a countervailing advantage in the repose of the public mind in India from our command of the avenues, by which the approach of invasion was alleged to have been apprehended, and in the facility, which the tenure of Affghanistan was asserted to afford, for watching and counteracting the first movements of hostile intrigue. On such visionary grounds, dignified with the name of advantages of vital importance, he, with the greatest earnestness, deprecated a retrograde movement from Affghanistan, unless under the controul of an imperious necessity.

To palliate this decision in favour of the alternative of continuing to occupy Affghanistan, necessarily in great force and at the cost of the financial prosperity of India, hopes were held out, that the embarrassments of the latter country might be ameliorated by its growing resources—from the falling in of large pensions—the escheat of lands—and reductions in the cost of the Civil establishments—all remote, and some of them but insignificant, contingencies.

The alleged neglect of the Civil Administration of Affghanistan was rebutted; and the impolicy and impracticability of the sweeping reforms, contemplated and recommended by the Secret Committee, in the system of collecting the revenue and of paying the Affghan troops, were characterized as admirably calculated to throw everything into confusion. Nevertheless, anxious to reduce the expenditure as much as possible, and to evince a spirit of economy in consonance with the objects of the Secret Committee, Lord Auckland pressed Macnaghten to effect reductions of outlay, and to diminish the amount of the various subsidies paid to the different Chiefs in Affghanistan. The Envoy had objected to this measure, foreseeing some of its possible consequences; and he had urged that the payments to the Chiefs were nothing more nor less than a compensation for the privileges given up of plundering the high roads through their respective jurisdictions, and that "we should be found in the end to have made a cheap bargain;" but, finding himself alone in his opinion, and pressed to reduce these stipends by Burnes, the Governor-General, and the Secret Committee, he resolved—as the outward aspect of affairs was improved, and his position strengthened by the presence of the troops sent to relieve the corps which were to return to India—to satisfy the wishes of the home authorities and of the Government of India, before resigning controul and authority to his successor. The Envoy therefore summoned the Ghiljie Chiefs to Cabul, and communicated to them, that the necessities of the State rendered the reduction of their stipends necessary. The Chiefs received the announcement without any apparent discontent or remonstrance: but they were no sooner clear of Cabul and amongst their own dependants and followers, than they issued orders to infest the Passes between Cabul and Jellalabad, and to interrupt the line of communication with India.

Such was the discretion, which after selecting, on the question of the main policy to be pursued, the worst of two alternatives, injudiciously and perniciously sought at once to enforce a petty economy incompatible with the course adopted. The heedless profusion, which could waste upwards of two hundred

thousand pounds upon Kamran and his Minister, suddenly turned with a nice parsimony to pare down the stipends of the Ghiljie Chiefs, in order to boast of a saving of three thousand pounds per annum.

We find that, in endeavouring to lay before the reader a brief but comprehensive outline of the political transactions and of the general state of affairs to the West of the Indus immediately prior to the insurrection, we are exceeding the usual limits of an article. Yet, it was necessary to remedy, or attempt to remedy, a defect, which we have observed to pervade every work, which has hitherto treated of this event. It was essential that the reader should perceive that the whole tendency of our policy, from the moment that the Shah was reseated on his throne, had been to excite far and wide, over the whole of Affghanistan and the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes, the spirit of distrust and hostility; that this went on deepening into hate and open revolt, where the circumstances of the moment appeared favourable; that these occasional outbursts of the national mind and feeling, partially successful and incompletely subdued, were but the minor craters on the mountain's side, betokening the threatening presence and activity of deep subterrene fires, before the Volcano itself opened with the paroxysmal burst of a mighty eruption. The custom has been to treat the subject, as if it were independent of these precedent occurrences; as if it were an isolated fact, which could be viewed singly, and could even be discussed as a purely military question, disconnected from its intimately associated political adjuncts: it was necessary therefore to show the reader that the antecedents had a most important bearing upon the disastrous sequel, and to make him sweep with his eye the broad circle of a heaving, stormy sea, and trace the approach of the hurricane. We are no admirers of the apologetic fashion of writing, which sacrifices truth to falsehood. Our nationality, under the convenient screen of consideration and delicacy, does not lead us to veil gross errors and manifest injustice, in order to soften the hues of an iniquitous policy, which no colouring can impose upon the world as other in character than nefarious and unwise. In what we shall have to say on the proximate causes of the outbreak at Caubul, and on the political and military measures which followed it, our speech will be as plain, as on the events which were the forerunners of that calamity. Such admonitions are from the hand of Him, who administers them for man's warning and contemplation—not with the view of their being filmed over with the web of a nice and curious vanity, which shrinks from calling things

by their right names, and shows truth no further than may serve to keep falsehood in countenance. We shall ill fulfil our mission in the east, if we cannot speak and write of our actions without flattery or subterfuge; if we cannot brook to read the lessons, which God gives us. Great power is great temptation: and the smiter of its excesses is the giver of the abused power, who can as easily humiliate with the hand of retribution, as raise by that of favour.

Major Hough, in his treatment of the subject, forms no exception to the general rule. His book is deficient in lucid arrangement; his array of authorities is sometimes out of place; his parallels are frequently remarkably inapposite, and the military doctrines and arguments advanced often open to question in their mode of application. He either omits, or was not aware of, much that had an important influence on the current of affairs. But in this he is by no means singular: for nothing can well be more bald and poor than the manner in which the insurrection at Cabul is treated by an historian (Thornton), who, from the circulation of his works by the Court of Directors, seems to be a favourite with them.

Macnaghten, warned throughout 1841, both by Rawlinson at Candahar and by Pottinger in Kohistan, of the real state of feeling which pervaded the country, but blinded by his own wishes, reasonings, and fancied strength, was obstinate in depicting the Ghiljie rising as a partial and easily quelled revolt. Yet he knew that Akbar Khan was on the Bamian Frontier, and that intrigue and disaffection were rife in Cabul, Zúrmut, and the Kohistan; and he soon learned that the Ghiljies were assembling in earnest on the line of the Cabul River. Nevertheless, Sale's brigade was permitted to march upon its return towards Hindustan, as if the passes were clear, the Ghiljies contented, and no opposition to be anticipated. Monteith, with the 35th N. I., marched in advance on the 9th October, and halted at Bútkak, about nine miles from Cabul; whilst Sale, with the remainder of the brigade, remained at the latter place, being detained to complete his wants in baggage-cattle. The fact of the march of the brigade in such a manner is the more inexplicable, as it was known at Cabul on the 2nd that the passes were blocked up, and Burnes on the 3rd wrote to an officer, Captain Gray, returning with a small escort to India, advising him to join a Chief, who, with a party of four hundred men, was marching to Lughman. Gray did so: and we refer to the narrative of the adventurous march and of the chivalrous conduct of Mahomed Uzín Khan and his party for a detail of this officer's escape from the Ghiljies. Fellow-

ship in danger makes hearty friends. The fore-named Chief, interested in the fate of Gray and his companion, to save whom he had perilled himself and his followers, now frankly told Gray that "all Affghanistan were determined to make one 'cause, and to murder or drive out every Feringhi in the 'country; that the whole country, and Cabul itself, was ready 'to break out; that no confidence could be placed in the escort, 'and that the safety of Gray and his companion was matter of 'alarm and anxiety to him." Gray wrote to Burnes on the morning of the 7th, and reported officially all that had occurred, and the plot revealed by his gallant protector. The letter reached Burnes, for he wrote to the Chief acknowledging its receipt; yet, Monteith marched on the 9th, exactly as if all between Bútkak and Jellalabad were as quiet as the Envoy (about to proceed to take up the Government of Bombay) wished to be the case; and Sale, the fire-arms of whose corps were worn out by constant service, failed to obtain permission to replace the bad weapons with new, though at the time four thousand lay idle in store at Cabul.

Elphinstone, the General, who had relieved Cotton, was a brave gentleman, but inexperienced in command, a tyro in eastern warfare, ignorant of Affghanistan and its people, and so shaken by severe attacks of gout and illness before he quitted Hindústan, that he accepted the command in Affghanistan, because repeatedly desired by the Government, and from the honourable feeling that it is a soldier's duty to go wherever his services may be required, but from no personal wish; for he felt that, although partial recovery forbad him to decline the service, it left him in reality physically unequal to much exertion. Had he been experienced in men and affairs, and gifted with mental energy and ability, the vigour of a commanding intellect might, in some degree, have counterbalanced the disadvantages of physical debility, and have prevented his infirmities from rendering him a mere cipher. The proper man to have succeeded to command in Affghanistan was Nott:—but it was felt from his known character that, if he were appointed, it must be to real, and not to nominal, command—and this was not what either Burnes or Macnaghten desired. He had therefore again the mortification of being thrown into the back-ground and a secondary position, in order that the highest military authority might rest in the hands of a more manageable man.

Monteith's intimation of the state of the country was a rough one. On the night of the 9th his camp was attacked at Bútkak; the assailants were repulsed, and, as the firing might have been heard at Cabul, and a report of the event

was quickly communicated, Sale, with the 13th, was suddenly ordered on the 10th to move out to Bútkak, and to clear the passes. Having joined Monteith, Sale was at the head of two regiments of infantry, Dawes' guns, Oldfield's squadron of 5th cavalry, a rissalah of irregular horse, and Broadfoot's sappers; besides two hundred Jazailchis under Jan Fishan Khan. Sale, with this very respectable force, resolved to force the Khurd Cabul Pass, and to encamp the 35th N. I. in the Khurd Cabul valley—the 13th returning to Bútkak after this should have been accomplished. Accordingly, on the morning of the 12th, he attacked and forced the Khurd Cabul Pass, with small loss, considering its length, strength and the numbers of the enemy; the 35th was encamped as intended; and the 13th, again traversing the Khurd Cabul Pass, returned to Bútkak. Sale, wounded on first entering the Pass, was thenceforward carried in a dúlí throughout the subsequent operations of his force.

The isolation of the 35th N. I. in an unfavourable position encouraged the Ghiljies again to attempt a night attack, and with greater chance of success than at Bútkak, where an open plain offered no special advantage to Ghiljie tactics. From the 12th to the 17th, full leisure was enjoyed to observe Monteith's encampment; and Macgregor, as Political Agent, being with him, it was no difficult matter, through the Political functionary, to obtain permission for a body of friendly Affghans to pitch their camp close to Macgregor, and therefore virtually in the British camp. Suspicious of no treachery within, Monteith's picquets were on the alert without; and, on the night of the 17th, they reported the advance of a strong column of the enemy on the rear of the camp. Thither the Grenadier company was sent; and it had passed the place where the camels were parked together, when, from behind the baggage-cattle, a body of armed men sprung up, fired, and brought to the ground Captain Jenkins and thirty of his men. The "friendly" Affghans having given this signal to the advancing column of the enemy, the latter pushed on to take advantage of the confusion, which unexpected treachery was likely to create, and in a short time the 35th was warmly engaged. Monteith, a cool soldier, though partially surprized, was not to be easily beaten; on the contrary, he repulsed his assailants, friends and foes, and made them pay for their audacity by some loss, but could not prevent eighty camels being taken off—at the moment a serious loss.

Sale now saw the error he had committed—that the Ghiljies, flushed with partial success, would not fail to be encouraged, and

that the 35th N. I., left for days isolated and useless in the Khurd Cabul valley, was likely to suffer. Having received reinforcements from Cabul, he therefore marched on the 20th to effect a junction with Monteith; and, having accomplished this without loss or difficulty, and on the 21st obtained additional camels from Cabul, he on the 22nd marched towards Tazín. He had with him three corps of infantry, Abbott's battery of nine-pounders, Backhouse's mountain train, Broadfoot's sappers, Oldfield's squadron, a rissalah of irregular horse, and the Jazailchis. The Ghiljies offered no opposition on the Huft Kotul; and the column was permitted to thread the deep defile, which opens upon the valley of Tazín without contest; but the enemy were in force around the debouche into the valley, and seemed to contemplate there making a stand. A few rounds from the guns made them give ground; and the force took post in the plain without difficulty. An ill-managed, unnecessary skirmish, for which Sale (who was lying wounded in his dúlí) was not responsible, cost him a gallant young officer killed, two wounded, and (worst of all) a run before a pursuing enemy, which was a baneful occurrence amongst young soldiers.

Sale, with a stout force, was now in a position to strike a blow, from which important effects might have resulted; for the fort and possessions of one of the leaders in the revolt were within his grasp. The Chief had kept his men together in the valley, rather than on the Huft Kotul and Tazín defile, in order to defend his property and the winter stock of food for his cattle and followers: but the skirmish of the 22nd had, though very ill-managed on the part of the British, shown him that to save his fort he must have recourse to artifice, rather than to the valour of the Ghiljies. Affghan Chiefs were avowedly of the opinion of the French author—"Et sans point de doute (comme 'j'ay dit ailleurs) les Anglois ne sout pas si subtils en traités 'et appointemens, comme sont les Francois; et, quelque chose 'que l'on en die, ils vont assez grossement en besonque '(besogne); mais il faut avoir une peu de patience, et ne dé-'battre point colériquement avec eux." The Chief therefore determined to open negociations, and again to over-reach Macgregor. Sale had given orders for an attack on the fort in question, and Dennie, with half the infantry and most of the artillery, was about to proceed upon the execution of the enterprize, known to be an easy one by the Acting Engineer Broadfoot, when a messenger from the Chief presented himself before the Political Agent, tendered the submission of his master and the Chiefs leagued with him, and deprecated the impending attack on his castle. Macgregor, whose eyes were nothing

opened by the conduct of the "friendly" Affghans and the attack on the 35th before described, was immediately satisfied of the sincerity of these advances, and prevailed upon Sale to countermand the attack, whilst an agreement to prescribed conditions should be concluded and the Chief furnish hostages. This was a fatal error. Hostages were known to be perfectly safe in a British Camp, and the British authorities equally known to be ignorant of the personal appearance of the individuals demanded. To furnish ten miserable-looking men and to subscribe the treaty of submission was therefore an easy mode of staving off a punishment and loss, which could not fail of proving most disheartening to the Ghiljies; and the Chief had consequently no hesitation in accepting terms of such present advantage to himself. How they were to be kept was soon shewn: but, in the mean time, it was an object in any way to be rid of Sale and his troops, and to effect their complete separation from the force at Cabul—that is, without the permanent establishment of a strong detachment in the valley of Tazín, a measure which the Ghiljies dreaded as sure to consume their resources, cramp their activity, and curb their confidence of action in the Passes.

Macnaghten, who felt the importance of the duty entrusted to Sale, expected sterner and more vigorous measures; and, in evident disappointment at the delays which had even then occurred, he thus wrote on the 21st October:—"Our troops have halted 'to-day at Khurd Cabul from want of camels! ! ! I had 'hoped ere evening to have announced to you the capture or 'dispersion of the Tazín rebels, but of this there is no hope 'till to-morrow. Our people in this quarter have a happy 'knack of hitching matters. However let that pass. All's well 'that ends well. In the meantime it is very satisfactory to 'think, that, notwithstanding we had rebellion at our very 'doors, not a single tribe has joined the rebels. The interruption of our communications is very provoking; but the 'road will soon be opened." Sale, however, on Macgregor's advice, let slip the opportunity of giving an effective blow to the Ghiljie revolt, and wasted three days in nonsensical negociations. It was a time for action—for striking, and not for talking; but Sale, a man of limited capacity, failed to comprehend his position, and the importance to Macnaghten of the blow aimed, the moment for which had arrived. He had given Sale a strong force: and the following part of the letter of the 21st October, already quoted, shows the expectations of, and the view of affairs taken by, the unfortunate Envoy:—"I do 'not think I can possibly get away from this before the 1st 'proximo. The storm will speedily subside; but there will be

'a heaving of the billows for some time, and I should like to 'see every thing right and tight before I quit the helm. 'Burnes is naturally in an agony of suspense about the suc- 'cession to me. I think and hope he will get it. I know no 'one so fit for the office. 'Quieta non movere' is his motto: 'and, now that tranquillity is restored (or will be in a day or 'two), all that is required will be to preserve it." Wilfully blind, and seeking to blind others, as to the real state of the country, Macnaghten had yet acted on a perception of the necessity for instantly crushing, if possible, the Ghiljie rising, the danger of which he felt far more than he could bring himself to confess Bitter therefore must have been his disappointment to learn that Sale's arm, when uplifted to strike the desired blow, had been paralyzed by the credulity, which, after the events in forcing the Khurd Cabul Pass and the treacherous attacks on the 35th N. I., could conclude a treaty, betraying the utmost weakness, and calculated to breed rebellion had it not already existed. The original cause of the revolt, the reduction of the stipendiary allowance, was retracted; 10,000 rupees were granted to the Ghiljies to enable them to raise the tribes in order to keep clear the Passes; and they in return promised to restore the property plundered by their followers, who were courteously assumed to be acting in violation of the wishes and authority of their Chiefs! ! Had the purpose been to stamp with crass imbecility the conduct of affairs, to excite the scorn of embittered foes, and to debase the British character, as wanting alike in courage and common sense, no surer course could have been pursued. Its fruits were such as might have been anticipated.

Sale, not satisfied with the quantity of baggage-cattle at his disposal, now resolved to part with the 37th N. I., three of the mountain-train guns under Green, and three companies of Broadfoot's sappers—appropriating, to the use of the troops he took with him, the disposable cattle of the detachments, with whose services, after the conclusion of the treaty, he dispensed. In so doing he left the 37th N. I., the guns, and sappers, in a more perilous situation than that into which he had first thrust the 35th N. I., and then been compelled to extricate it. With the Tazín defile, the Huft Kotul and the Khurd Cabul Pass in their rear, no means of movement, and no hold of the valley in which they were placed, the 37th N. I. was to be left in a truly unenviable position. Sale was neither a diplomatist nor a commander: but his measures at this period may have been affected to some extent by his inability to move, and therefore to see things with his own eyes. Be this as it may, they were very unfortunate.

Whilst the enemy was thus amusing Sale and Macgregor with a show of submission, a stout resistance was in preparation at the Purri Durra and Jugdulluck Pass. Sale marched on the 26th, and reached his first encamping ground with no other opposition than some sharp skirmishing between his baggage and rear guards with the enemy. There was no intention however of allowing him to effect the next marches so easily. But Sale's eyes had been opened, in spite of Macgregor's assurances, to the real value of the treaty; and, mistrusting the good faith of his allies, he wisely avoided the Pass of the Fairy, and, taking the road to the south, baulked the enemy who were massed on the edge of the defile, and thus reached the valley of Jugdulluck with small loss or opposition. He had the opportunity, in the course of this march, of avenging on the Ghiljies their late treacherous attacks; their plans had been laid on the supposition that Sale, placing the same confidence as Macgregor in their professions, would move by the usual route along the pass of the Fairy (Peri); and their bands were accordingly collected, chiefly along its southern margin, prepared to overwhelm the column, when once fairly locked in amid the windings of the chasm. Sale, instead of playing into their hands, moved along the chord of the irregular arch, a segment of which was occupied by the enemy; and, had he turned, when opposite to the defile, sharp to his left, he would have caught the Ghiljies in this hopeless position, and forced them to give battle on the edge of the chasm, with that obstacle in their rear. It was the moment for striking the most terrible blow ever delivered in Affghanistan,—for the enemy was snared in his own net; but Sale's was not the eye or mind to seize the opportunity, and the Ghiljies took good care not to draw on the fight, which must have proved their ruin. They therefore let him pass quietly on, and deferred their hopes of successful contest for the Jugdulluck Pass, the last serious military obstacle to Sale's safe withdrawal to Gundamuck. It is both possible and probable that, notwithstanding the time that Affghanistan had been occupied by our army, no one in Sale's camp knew how completely, from the singular confirmation of the country, the Ghiljies were on the foregoing occasion at the mercy of the British bayonets; or that, notwithstanding the attacks on his baggage and rear guards, Sale still thought himself bound by the Tazín compact and was loath to jeopardize, whatever the amount of provocation, a peaceful termination to so dangerous a revolt. Whatever the reason, certain it is that Sale again lost the occasion for striking terror into his foes, and the moment for crushing the Ghiljie insurrection.

Between Sale and Gundamuck now lay that spur from the Suffeid Koh range of mountains, which constitutes a great step in the face of the country. All to the west of it are Highlands; for the Tazín valley is at the same elevation above the Sea as that of Cabul—upwards of 6,000 feet; and the Jugdulluck valley itself is between 5 and 6,000 feet. To the eastward of the spur, the descent is rapid to the Lowlands; Gundamuck is between 4 and 5,000 feet, Futtehabad 3,000 feet, Sultanpúr 2,300 feet, and Jellalabad only 1,964 feet above the Sea level. Travelling from the eastward (or Cabul) side, the ascent from the encamping ground at Jugdulluck is along three miles of road, very trying for laden camels and gun-horses, and following the bends of a ravine, which receives the drainage of part of the western side of the spur. The road is therefore commanded by the heights on both sides of the ravine until the summit is reached, when the snow-capped range, called the Suffeid Koh, or White Mountains, bursts in all its magnificence upon the view, and forms the gigantic southern boundary of the prospect. As far as the eye can range east, the lower mountain ridges, which form the northerly off-shoots from the main axis, cast their snow-derived streams into the Cabul River.

Up the three miles of ascent, under every disadvantage of ground, Sale's baggage-encumbered column advanced; and, so timorously conducted were the efforts of the enemy, that the crest of the spur was reached and won with small loss, and complete command of the pass and of the descent towards Gundamuck obtained. Due advantage was not taken of this success; but the long trail of slow moving baggage with its harassed rear-guard was left to disengage itself, apparently on the presumption, that as the enemy had yielded the most difficult gorges without a severe struggle with the main body, they would be disinclined to renew a conflict from which they had shrunk. Ghiljie tactics are, however, of a different character. As soon as they found that the main body of the fighting men had left the baggage and rear-guard to make good their own way, the Ghiljies boldly attacked, threw the rear-guard into disorder, and spread confusion and dismay amongst the baggage-cattle and their drivers. Matters were going very ill in the rear, when three brave and excellent officers, Broadfoot, Backhouse, and Fenwick, restored the fight, and checked the pursuers; but not before upwards of 120 men were killed and wounded—so costly is retreat and confusion. The only officer killed, Wyndham, a Captain of the 35th N. I., fell nobly. Himself lame from a hurt, he had dismounted at that moment of peril to save the life of a wounded soldier by bearing him from

the combat on his charger. When the rear-guard broke before the onset of the Ghiljies, Wyndham, unable to keep pace with the pursued, turned, fought, and, overpowered by numbers, fell beneath the swords and knives of an unsparing foe.

On the 30th, Sale encamped at Gundamuck, where Ferris's and Burns's Jazailchís were cantoned. The troops there, had concert and forethought existed, were admirably placed for co-operating with Sale, and facilitating his march over the Jugdulluck Pass. But they were permitted to remain without orders, and in ignorance of his movements. Their sudden march, and occupation of the crest of the Jugdulluck spur, would have baffled the Ghiljies, and saved Sale his loss in men and officers, as well as a very serious check to the confidence of his young European soldiers. When too late to be of any other use than to join the insurgents, Bukhtar Khan, the Chief in charge of the district, sent 500 of his tribe to Jugdulluck; and strong bodies of Jazailchís from Ferris's and Burns's corps were to be pushed still further westward to keep open the road as far as Seh Baba.

The impunity, with which the Ghiljies had raised the standard of rebellion—had repeatedly, and not altogether unsuccessfully, attacked the 35th N. I.—and had finally freed themselves from Sale, not only without any serious check or loss to themselves, but with a considerable booty in camels, baggage, treasure, arms, and ammunition, to attest their pretensions to victory,—proved a spur to the spirit of revolt, which pervaded Cabul and the Kohistân. Macnaghten's attempt to crush the insurgent Ghiljies had undeniably failed. Macgregor's treaty and concessions evoked a feeling of contempt, and countenanced the general belief, which Múllahs and Chiefs not only spread, but actually entertained, that Sale, too weak to perform his hostile mission, had thus purchased permission to retreat at the expense of the honour of his troops, and the credit and character of the British power.

Supreme authority was about to be transferred to Burnes, a man hated as the treacherous cause of the invasion and occupation of the country. Macnaghten, accompanied by Elphinstone, whose sufferings and infirmities forced him to quit his unsought command, was about to leave Cabul. Nott, an able soldier, had indeed been summoned to assume command: but winter was close; and it was as improbable, that Nott would be able, when the order reached him, to march for Cabul, as that Sale with his weary force could, or would, return to the capital. Thus Macnaghten, anxious to impose upon the world the false notion that he quitted Affghan-

istan in a peaceful and prosperous condition under her puppet king, had not only obstinately shut his own eyes to danger, but also had systematically sought to blind others; and, afraid to betray any want of confidence and to be charged with inconsistency, had allowed the most obviously necessary military precautions to be neglected. Shelton and his troops were new to the place and to the people, and not fully aware of the ill suppressed spirit, which animated the latter. Now, therefore, time and circumstances combined to favour an attempt to throw off a yoke, which, it had long been rumoured throughout the length and breadth of the land, was as hateful to Shah Súja as to his subjects, and which evidently the Indian Government had no purpose of voluntarily removing. The Kohistanís, thoroughly disaffected, as Pottinger had early in the summer reported, had long nursed a deep resolve to avenge themselves for the demolished Forts and desolated villages, by which Burnes and Sale had rendered their names peculiarly obnoxious to these sanguinary mountaineers. The news of the Ghiljie successes against Sale roused their passions; and, still further excited by the emissaries of Akbar Khan and the preaching of the Múllahs, they now felt that the movement was arrived for wreaking vengeance on Burnes and on the British power. The tidings of the Ghiljie attacks and Macgregor's humiliating treaty, followed by still more marked successes on the part of the Ghiljies (for thus ran the news), spread with great rapidity. On the night of the 1st November, a considerable number of Kohistanis introduced themselves into the city of Cabul; and, being met by parties from the Ghilzie insurgents, and by the disaffected, at the head of whom was Amín Ullah of Logur, a Chief in the confidence of Macnaghten and the Shah, all was found ripe for revolt—the foreigner sleeping the while in fancied security.

It has been already noted, that the tenacity of purpose displayed by the engineer, Durand, had forced Macnaghten and the reluctant Shah into the precaution of constructing barracks and occupying with troops the Bala Hissar; also, it has been mentioned, that the Envoy subsequently gave up these barracks to the Shah for the use of the 160 ladies and women of the Harem, and threw up all military hold of this important post. Sturt, Durand's successor, was in no wise participant in this grievous error: for he too pertinaciously advocated placing the troops in the Bala Hissar, clearing it of all private houses, and rendering it a good stronghold. It is bitter to think, that had the repair of the works and their improvement been commenced in 1839, when urged by the first engineer, or even later, when again pressed by the second engineer, a tithe of the

sums thrown away at Herat would have rendered the Bala Hissar, by November 1841, a fortress impregnable, when held by a British garrison, against all that the disaffected Affghans could have brought before its walls.

The error of neglecting so vital a post was not alleviated by the selection made by Sir W. Cotton of the site for the cantonments. Had it been clearly understood, that the cantonment was not to be regarded as a defensible post, in which the troops could shut themselves up to stand a siege—had the surrounding forts been occupied or demolished—had easy and secure communication with the Bala Hissar by good bridges over the river and small canal been ensured—had, in short, occupation of the cantonment been held as entirely conditional on our undoubted supremacy in the field and on the loyalty of the city of Cabul—no great objection could have been advanced to this site. But when Cotton threw up a weak breast-work round a space of 1,000 by 600 yards, commanded and swept by forts in every direction, which he neither occupied nor demolished, he induced the blunder of attempting to defend these wretched works, rather than the Bala Hissar. This was still further induced by lodging the Commissariat stores, on which the efficiency and existence of the force depended, in a small ill-placed fort, access to which from the cantonments was at the mercy of an unoccupied fort and the walled Shah Bagh, or King's Garden, on the opposite side of the road. The Commissariat and all other stores and magazines might, and ought from the first, to have been lodged in security in the Bala Hissar. These grave errors had been committed, it must be remembered in justice to the memory of the gallant but luckless Elphinstone, before his arrival at Cabul. He at once observed them, and sought to have them remedied; but, holding a secondary place, the safety of his troops and their magazines was made likewise of secondary consideration, and sacrificed to a false show of security.

On the morning of the 2nd of November, Shelton was encamped on the Seah Sung Hills, about a mile and a half from the cantonments, from which he was separated by the Cabul River. He was about the same distance from the Bala Hissar; and had with him H. M. 44th Foot, a Wing of the 54th N. I., the 6th Shah's Infantry, the 5th Cavalry, and a battery of European Horse Artillery. In cantonments were the 5th N. I., a Wing of the 54th N. I., Warburton's Battery of five six-pounders, three companies of Broadfoot's Sappers, and two Rissalahs of Irregular Horse. Elphinstone had therefore, on that eventful morning, four regiments of Infantry, two batteries of Field Artillery, three

companies of Sappers, a regiment of Cavalry, and two Rissalahs of Irregular Horse—a strong well equipped force. The Shah was in the Bala Hissar, and had, as a guard, what was called Campbell's Hindústaní Regiment, some Affghans, 400 Jazailchís, 500 Hindústanís, and several guns.

The Bala Hissar, particularly the Citadel, completely commands the city : but the streets are so narrow and winding, that from the summit of the fort an expanse of flat-roofed houses is alone seen, and the thoroughfares of the city are seldom to be traced. The houses, of unburnt brick walls and mud roofs, have as little timber as possible in their construction—this material being costly at Cabul ; it follows, therefore, that they are not easily set on fire. From their irregularity of height and structure, and from the jealousy, which guards each flat roof from the gaze of the curious by surrounding walls, communication from housetop to housetop would be very difficult, except in a few portions of the more regular parts of the city. The line of Hill, between which and the river the city lies, is steep and difficult, but accessible ; and its domineering aspect formerly led to its being included within the defences of Cabul ; for a stone wall with a crenelated parapet runs along its summit, and dips down to the gorge, by which the Cabul River, breaking through the chain, enters the city. The ends of some of the streets, which cross the main thoroughfares, abut upon the foot of the Hill, which thus looks into them : but, as the minor streets are still more tortuous than the main ones, such views along them are very partial.

In utter disregard of every sane precaution, the Treasury, containing at this time a lac and 70,000 rupees, besides other sums not public property, was in a house close to that of Burnes, distant from the Bala Hissar about nine hundred yards, and only approachable through narrow streets, unless the base of the Hill were followed. The juxta-position of Burnes and the Treasury, far from support and in houses presenting no particular advantages for defence, was a circumstance well known to the Kohistanís and other insurgents. To kill Burnes and sack the Treasury was to open the revolt in a manner, that would silence the timid or wavering, feed the thirst for gold, and compromise all irrecoverably. It was to open the insurrection in the city of Cabul with imposing success. Accordingly, on the 2nd November, the rebels, having occupied the surrounding houses, opened fire upon the Treasury and Burnes's house. Burnes hastily informed Macnaghten of the excited state of the populace, but, mistaking the attack for a desultory riot, endeavoured to harangue the insurgents, and to induce them to disperse. The sepoy guards

in both houses were with this view at first restrained from returning the assailants' fire, and from defending their posts: but they were soon compelled to maintain a gallant struggle; and a fierce combat raged, until, both Burnes and his brother and the intrepid W. Broadfoot being slain, both houses were taken, and the Treasury rewarded the victors.

Shah Suja, hearing that Burnes was attacked and the city in revolt, ordered Campbell's regiment and a couple of guns to march to Burnes's assistance. Macnaghten, as soon as he received notice of the state of affairs, called upon Elphinstone to act, who immediately sent orders to Shelton to proceed to the Bala Hissar, taking with him a company of the forty-fourth, a regiment and a half of sepoys, and four horse artillery guns. The remainder of the troops encamped at Seah Sung were ordered into cantonments; and instructions were despatched to the 37th N. I., to march with all haste, from the position in which Sale had left them, to Cabul.

Shelton, who received final orders to advance to the Bala Hissar about mid-day, was upon arriving there to act upon his own judgment, in communication with the Shah. The latter, when he ordered the march of Campbell's corps into the city, left the movement to the discretion of the Commandant, who thoughtlessly plunged his men and guns into the narrow main thoroughfare, opposite to the north-western end of the fort and nearest to the city gate, by which he quitted the Bala Hissar. Had he moved without the embarrassment of guns along the hill base, he could have reached without difficulty or danger the end of the short street, in which Burnes and the Treasury were, and could easily have forced his way to them; but, by endeavouring to make good his passage through the heart of the city, struggling in vain to drag his guns through its winding obstructed streets, he courted defeat. Accordingly, he was resolutely attacked, and repulsed with a heavy loss of men, without being able to reach the scene of plunder and butchery.

Shelton, on reaching the Bala Hissar, kept his detachment under arms, but took no steps against the insurgents. After losing an hour in inactivity, the sound of the fight drew nearer, and he then sent an officer to ascertain how matters were proceeding. The officer quickly returned, and reported that Campbell's corps was beaten and retreating. Shelton then ordered a company of sepoys to move out, and cover the retreat of the fugitives. They fell back, bringing their guns with them up to the ditch of the fort; but here the pieces were left, both by Campbell's corps and the company of native infantry, though the latter had only lost one man killed, and four wounded in the

skirmish, and the guns were so close under the walls, that the Affghans never could succeed in removing them, until the troops were withdrawn from the Bala Hissar.

The Shah was thus the only person, who made any endeavour to quell the rising revolt. Had Campbell's corps, without guns, been sent, either all by the base of the Hill, or part by the main thoroughfare and part by the Hill foot, Shah Súja would have saved Burnes and the Treasury. Although he failed, he yet deserves the credit of having displayed more resolution and energy than either Shelton or Elphinstone. The former did nothing; the latter, upon whose conduct and decision all now depended, broken down by ill health, proved unequal to the emergency.

Long misled as to the state of feeling in the city and country, Elphinstone, at the mercy of Macnaghten for all his political information, may be excused for having failed to observe the coming storm. When it burst upon the gallant but health-shattered veteran, he may be pardoned for having been taken by surprise, and for having failed, deceived both by Macnaghten and Burnes as to the real character of the revolt on the very morning in question, vigorously to crush it. But, that he should have limited his exertions to a recall of the 37th N. I., and to the mounting of artillery for the defence of cantonments, admits of no apology, except, that pain and severe suffering had not only worn the frame, but weakened the judgment and mental energy, of as brave a gentleman as ever fought under his country's colors.

After the death of Burnes, the loss of the Treasury, and the defeat of Campbell's corps became known, much was to be done—even though it had been resolved not to hazard regular troops by exposing them to a murderous contest amid narrow streets. Trevor and Mackenzie should have been immediately supported, and the Shah's Commissariat stores either brought off or destroyed. Self-preservation pointed out the vital importance of the Commissariat Fort near to cantonments; and neither skill nor military genius was requisite, by a prompt occupation of the King's Garden, Mahmúd Khan's and Mahomed Shuríff's Forts, to secure the communication with this all important post. There was no want of cattle; and the transport of the Commissariat stores from the crazy fort, in which they had been carelessly lodged, to the Bala Hissar should have occupied day and night, until completed. With ordinary exertion, every woman and child, all stores, whether Commissariat or Ordnance, every gun, and every fighting man, might have been within the Bala Hissar before daybreak of the 4th Novem-

ber. The force thus concentrated, with its magazines secure from insult or capture, would have been at liberty to act either on the offensive or defensive, according as circumstances required. All this was safe, obvious, and practicable. But ordinary military prudence, let alone ability or decision, were on this occasion wanting; and Elphinstone preferred paralyzing his whole force by giving it two separate *enceintes* to defend, instead of one; the larger of the two being in reality indefensible, and but little strengthened, by the precaution, which mounted guns for which there were not gunners. Trevor and Mackenzie he left to their fate.

In contrast with all this, right soldierly was the conduct of Major Griffiths, who, on receiving the order to return to Cabul, made good his way through the Passes in spite of the Ghiljie attacks, and, on the morning of the 3rd, brought in his regiment, the 37th N. I., without even the loss of any baggage, to comfort the enemy for the men they threw away in vain endeavours to disorder the march of this gallant corps. Griffiths was pressed hotly and boldly by the Ghiljies—3,000 of whom continued the pursuit of his column almost within range of Elphinstone's guns: but the enemy gained no advantage, and suffered severely from Green's three mountain guns, which were throughout this movement skilfully and boldly worked. Thus reinforced, Elphinstone now strengthened Shelton in the Bala Hissar, sending him the remainder of the 54th N. I., four guns of different calibres, and two small mortars, with the gallant but ill-fated young soldier, Green. Shelton then made dispositions for the security of the Bala Hissar, occupying the Lahore and City gates and the citadel with detachments, and the Palace Square with his reserve.

Unfortunately, Sturt, the only Engineer present, had been severely wounded by an assassin, when entering the Shah's Palace on the morning of the 2nd. He was a good and a resolute officer; and, as soon as partial recovery from his wounds enabled him to speak or write, he urged the occupation of the Bala Hissar and the abandonment of the cantonments. But petty difficulties are the bugbears of petty minds; and unhappily around the General, himself weak and undecided in judgment, were men with whom the minor considerations of the value of the public and private property to be sacrificed weighed more than the young soldier's counsel and the crisis which evoked it. Small objections and poor cavils swayed the General to delay.

Meanwhile the enemy, successful beyond their expectations, were encouraged to act with energy. They occupied those parts of

the city, which looked upon the plain between the Bala Hissar and the cantonments: they occupied the Shah's Garden, Mahmud Khan's and Mahomed Shuríff's fort: and, thus with good cover to protect them, threatened the Commissariat Fort, and closely beset the South-western end of cantonments. The officer defending the Commissariat Fort with a party of sepoys, entertaining apprehensions for the firmness of his men, repeatedly, throughout the 4th, applied for reinforcements. Elphinstone, in lieu of this, endeavoured to withdraw the garrison, sending out three several detachments to effect this suicidal measure. The enemy, never dreaming of such imbecillity, and regarding the detachments as reinforcements, fired heavily from Mahomed Shuríff's fort and the King's Garden, and forced them back into cantonments with severe loss. The execution of the order to evacuate the fort being thus prevented, Elphinstone, now aware of the criminal folly of the step, in consequence of the entreaties of the Staff-Officers, contemplated reinforcing the garrison during the night, which might easily have been accomplished. But the time of action was spent in discussion; and, when the morning of the 5th broke, the parties destined to attack Mahomed Shuríff's fort, and to reinforce the Commissariat one, were only assembling, when the fatal announcement was made, that Lieutenant Warren, despairing of maintaining his post, had evacuated it, having cut a passage through the wall of his fort on the cantonment side. Thus, without a struggle for its defence, was this vital post abandoned and given up to the enemy; who as easily became masters of the means of existence of the force, as if the five thousand British troops, in whose face it was done, had been spell bound to the Bala Hissar and cantonments. Well might the Shah, as he gazed upon the melancholy spectacle from the Bala Hissar, exclaim—"The English are mad!"

Very different had been Mackenzie's defence of Anquetil's fort, the Shah's Commissariat depot. Nevertheless, being unsupported, he too had been forced to evacuate his post, and escaped to cantonments with great difficulty. Thus, by the 5th, the insurgents were in possession of the treasure and of the provision of the force, without having endured other than a trifling loss of men. The capture of the Treasury had been a sufficiently disgraceful event; for there can be no doubt, that had Shelton moved early to the support of Campbell's regiment, and Elphinstone, from the side of Anquetil's fort and the Kuzzilbash quarter, pushed detachments to Burnes's house, the insurgents, attacked along the line of the main

bazar from the hill side, and from the Kuzzilbash and Deh Affghan quarters, could not have had permanent success, but would have been dispersed, and probably with heavy retribution for the onslaught on the Treasury. The ignorance or the apathy of the military leaders was sufficiently inexcusable on that first occasion. Yet, it must be remembered, that the Political Chiefs had misled every one up to the very moment, when they suddenly called upon the Military Chief to act; and that Elphinstone, into whose hands the game was thus flung at a most critical instant, from his ignorance of the train of political events, was not in a fair position to judge of the nature of the crisis, and to cope with it in the manner, which full acquaintance with the thread of affairs might have ensured. After matters have been embroiled to the uttermost and rebellion is rampant, a broken painworn man may be pardoned, if he fail in two minutes to apprehend distinctly the difficulties of a position, into which two years of continuous error and mismanagement, on the part of others, unexpectedly plunge him. But, although such considerations may account for some indecision on the first flash of revolt, they form no excuse for the palsied patience, with which the Commissariat fort was not lost in fight, but ignominiously relinquished to the enemy. Many were the gallant officers around Elphinstone, who urged a more manly resolution: and, had Eyre's advice been taken, the Commissariat fort would have been immediately attacked in force and must have been recaptured. But his counsel was too wise and soldierly for the vacillating weakness of the General; and, though the storm of Mahomed Shuríff's Fort was ultimately decided upon, and Eyre with his guns acted his part gallantly, the storming party never stirred from a wall, under which they found cover, and the General, though the 37th N. I. were burning with desire to be permitted to do that from which others shrunk, could not be induced to allow them. The evacuation and loss of the Commissariat fort and the abortive show of assailing Mahomed Shuríff's fort were equally disgraceful.

Orders were now sent to Sale and to Nott, directing them to advance upon Cabul. From the season at which he received them, it was impracticable for Nott to obey his instructions: but Sale was differently circumstanced; for he received the order at Gundamuck—the messenger bearing the despatches having been so fortunate as to effect the journey with speed and in safety. It has already been seen, that Griffiths, with a single regiment of sepoys and three mountain guns, had, in obedience to a similar mandate, made good his march to Cabul

from the dangerous position in which Sale had left him, and, in spite of Ghiljie attacks, had, after forcing the Khurd Cabul Pass, reached cantonments with small loss in men and much gain of honour. It is true, that Elphinstone, by thus suddenly withdrawing Griffiths from his isolated position on the road between Gundamuck and Cabul, had apparently somewhat diminished the facility of Sale's advance: but, on the other hand, Griffiths's departure had drawn after him a strong body of Ghiljies, who not only pursued him to Cabul, but remained there, to strengthen the insurgents and to partake in their successes. Sale would therefore have found the enemy weak on the line of road, had he, on receipt of his dispatches, made immediate arrangements for the security of his sick, wounded and baggage, in one of the defensible forts in his neighbourhood—and then, unencumbered, made a rapid march upon Cabul. No doubt can be entertained, that his unexpected appearance on the scene of conflict would have given a severe blow to the insurrection and new life to the British cause. Such a resolve, however, was foreign to Sale's nature; and, unluckily, the instructions were so qualified as to cast responsibility, always his peculiar terror, upon Sale's own shoulders. He therefore called a council of war, wherein compliance with the mandate from Cabul was pronounced inadvisable, and prepared to march in a contrary direction, and, throwing up connection with Cabul, to occupy Jellalabad. This decision was regretted by some of the ablest Officers in his force, foremost amongst whom was Broadfoot. Humanly speaking, Sale thus denied himself the honour and the satisfaction of retrieving the state of affairs at the capital.

The relief or reinforcement of Elphinstone was, however, a wholly distinct question from a hasty retrograde movement from Gundamuck, in order to throw his Brigade, which was perfectly well able to keep the field, into Jellalabad—a place of no military strength or importance, without magazines, in utter disrepair, and so situated, that to coop up the Brigade within its dilapidated walls served no conceivable purpose, except to betray weakness and still further encourage revolt. At Gundamuck, Sale's Brigade threatened the Passes between that place and Cabul, necessarily paralyzed a portion of the Ghiljie strength, and checked Ghiljie co-operation with the insurgents at the capital; whilst, at the same time, insuring to Elphinstone the comparatively safe and easy withdrawal of the force from Cabul, should circumstances compel the adoption of so extreme a measure. Had Sale maintained his position at, or near to, Gundamuck, he might have influenced the fate of Elphinstone's army: and one of the most disastrous

retreats on record must have been spared to the British arms by the co-operation of Sale's moveable column. The severest comment upon the inutility of the precipitate occupation of Jellalabad was afforded by Sale himself, when, after having long suffered himself to be blockaded and bearded by a foe, flushed with the successful destruction of Elphinstone's force, he overthrew without difficulty Mahomed Akbar in the open field, driving him in confusion from the plain with no other troops than that very Brigade, which, when the issue of the rebellion was as yet uncertain and energy might have quelled it, he withdrew from the struggle, and shut up within distant walls, there to court and abide investment at the leisure of an unembarrassed and triumphant enemy.

If Macnaghten be culpable for the effrontery with which he sought to blind and mislead others, as well as himself, as to the feelings of the Affghan people and the state of their country, he proved free from that imbecile weakness, which henceforward characterized the military leaders and their measures. His spirit chafed at the despondency evinced, at the errors committed, and at the resulting disasters. Himself a man of courage, the gloom of others did not unnerve him; and, had he insisted energetically upon the adoption of his counsel, the occupation of the Bala Hissar, Elphinstone must have yielded, and affairs might have been retrieved. But the puerile arguments brought forward by Shelton and others against this necessary step, not only influenced Elphinstone, but also led Macnaghten to waive his own and adopt analogous opinions, and, in an evil hour, to coincide in rejecting the only wise and safe course. However brightened by traits of individual heroism, it would be needless to trace in detail the gallant defence by the Gúrka battalion of Charikar, the destruction of these brave soldiers and their excellent officers, of whom Pottinger and Haughton alone miraculously escaped; the wretchedly conducted actions at the village of Beymaru, ending in discomfiture and indelible disgrace; the shameless loss of Mahomed Shuríff's fort; the relaxation of discipline, and the prostration of energy and courage, which ensued upon a long series of dishonouring reverses. The normal errors, from which flowed such fatal consequences, have been already noted; and the harrowing details of incompetency, written in the blood of brave officers and valiant men (for there were many such who fell), only form a heart-rending commentary upon the grievous truth, that the lives, and worse still, the honour of soldiers, are the price paid for the gross political and military blunders of those in authority.

By the time that Mahomed Akbar arrived at Cabul (the 22nd November) the military leaders had lost all confidence in themselves and their men; and Macnaghten was pressed to save the force, by negociating for its safe retreat upon the humiliating condition of evacuating the whole of Affghanistan. The Envoy was loath to entertain a proposal so derogatory to the fame of the British name, and so subversive of the policy and plans, which he had strenuously advocated, and proved mainly instrumental in furthering. Moreover, he nursed hopes of accomplishing by secret intrigue and the distribution of large sums of money, that which the British arms failed to effect. To strike down the leaders of the rebellion, to create discord among their followers, and thus to break up the league against Shah Súja and his allies, was Macnaghten's dream. It must not be supposed, that upon the outbreak of the 2nd November, the Envoy limited his exertions to the request that Elphinstone should act. At the same time, that Macnaghten called upon the military authorities to quell the revolt by the employment of force, he secretly, with the same object in view, adopted measures of a much more doubtful character, which, failing of issue, subsequently exercised a most unfortunate influence, not alone upon his own individual fate, but upon that of the whole force at Cabul.

Mohun Lal, who was in the suite of Burnes, escaping massacre when his Chief and all with him were killed, ultimately found an Asylum in the house of the Kuzzilbash Chief, Khan Sherín Khan, in the Kuzzilbash, or Persian, quarter of the city. Mohun Lal, in the opinion of the Envoy, was there favorably situated for carrying on negociations and intrigues with such Chiefs, as Macnaghten entertained hopes of winning to his cause, and of rendering willing instruments in the fulfilment of his purposes. Accordingly, Mohun Lal was, shortly after the first burst of the rebellion, in daily communication with both Macnaghten and Captain J. B. Conolly, who, as Political Assistant and in the confidence of the Envoy, wrote early on the 5th November to Mohun Lal, and thus opened the correspondence with him.—"Tell the Kuzzilbash Chiefs, Sherín Khan, Naib 'Sheriff, in fact all the Chiefs of Shiah persuasion, to join 'against the rebels. You can promise one lac of rupees to 'Khan Sherín on the condition of his killing and seizing 'the rebels, and arming all the Shiahs, and immediately attacking all rebels. This is the time for the Shiahs to do good 'service. Explain to them that, if the Súnnis once get the 'upper hand in the town, they will immediately attack and 'plunder their part of the town; hold out promises of reward

'and money; write to me very frequently. Tell the Chiefs, who 'are well disposed, to send respectable agents to the Envoy. 'Try and spread "nifak" amongst the rebels. In everything 'that you do consult me, and write very often. Mír Hyder 'Purja Bashí has been sent to Khan Sherín and will see 'you." As a postscript followed the important addition—"I 'promise 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal 'rebel Chiefs." Mír Hyder Purja Bashí did not fail to see Mohun Lal; and, having repeated what Conolly had written respecting the reward of 10,000 rupees upon the head of each of the principal rebel Chiefs, he urged Mohun Lal to exertion, pointing out that he "would do great service to the State, if the principal rebels were executed by any means whatever." Mohun Lal was, however, in a position requiring address: for although the Kuzzilbash Chiefs were not heartily with the Ghiljies, the Kohistanis and other rebels, yet, there had been no such display of energy on the part of the British troops as encouraged Khan Sherín Khan and his Kuzzilbash friends hastily to compromise their own safety by at once taking a decided course in favor of the Shah and his unpopular allies: and the attempt to raise a hostile party amid the rebels and to take off their principal leaders, at the moment of their first brilliant successes, was evidently both a very delicate and a very hazardous operation. Mohun Lal was therefore forced to await a more favourable time, and to watch for such opportunity, as the course of events, or the fickle humours of the Chiefs, into whose hands fate had thrown him, might offer. The Envoy becoming impatient of the state of uncertainty in which the wary silence of the timid Mohun Lal left him, Conolly, on the 11th, again wrote—"Why do you 'not write? What has become of Mír Hyder? Is he doing 'anything with Khan Sherín? You never told me whe-'ther you had written to Naib Humza. What do the rebels 'propose doing now? Have you not made any arrangements 'about the bodies of the murdered Officers? Offer 2,000 'rupees to any one, who will take them to cantonments, or '1,000 to any one, who will bring them. Has not Sir Alex's 'body been found? Give my salaam to the Naib. If Khan 'Sherín is not inclined to do service, try other Kuzzilbash 'Chiefs independently. Exert yourself; write to me often, for 'the news of Kossids is not to be depended on. There is 'a man called Haji Ali, who might be induced by a bribe 'to try and bring in the heads of one or two of the Múf-'sids (i. e. rebels): endeavour to let him know that 10,000 'rupees will be given for each head, or even 15,000 rupees.

'I have sent to him two or three times." Mohun Lal, feeling more secure as to his own personal safety, now reported to the Envoy the receipt of these instructions, and the steps taken to carry them into effect. To Aga Mahomed Soudah, the friend of Hají Alí, was explained Conolly's offer of 10,000, or 15,000, rupees for the head of each rebel Chief; and, as the two friends had also received direct communications from Conolly to the same effect, they entertained Mohun Lal's overtures. But, however desirous of obtaining so enormous a reward, they feared themselves to undertake the deed, and therefore suborned two others, Abdúl Azíz and Mahomed Ullah. Besides the foregoing particular instructions from Conolly, Mohun Lal had been further empowered by the Envoy to promise to the extent of five lacs of rupees, and to distribute as far as 50,000 rupees in aid of the Shah's cause. He therefore did not hesitate to advance at once 9,000 rupees, and to promise that a balance of 12,000 rupees would be paid, as soon as the heads of Mir Musjidi and Abdúllah Khan were brought in;—selecting these Chiefs as the first victims, because he believed them to have been actively concerned in the attack upon the Treasury and Burnes's house, and in the slaughter of his patron, and knew them to be the boldest and most influential leaders of the insurgents. Having thus set on foot this affair, Mohun Lal reported his proceedings to the Envoy, adding with naive simplicity, that he "could not find out by Lieut. Conolly's 'notes, how the rebels are to be assassinated; but the men, 'now employed, promise to go into their houses, and cut off their 'heads, when they may be without attendants." Macnaghten, nothing startled by the plain term applied to the transactions by his subordinate agent, replied on the 13th November,—"I 'have received your letters of this morning's date, and highly 'approve of all you have done."*

Mir Musjidi and Abdúllah Khan were soon numbered amongst the dead. The former died very suddenly; how, Mohun Lal could not with certainty learn; but Mahomed Ullah assured him, that, in fulfilment of the engagement, the wretched man had been suffocated when asleep by the hands of Mahomed Ullah himself. Abdúllah Khan fell severely wounded by a shot, whilst standing amongst his countrymen engaged

* At a later period (December 1st) Sir Wm. Macnaghten, awakening to the impolicy, if not to the immorality, of such treacherous practices, wrote to Mohun Lal, in reference to a similar proposal to take off Amin Ullah, "I am sorry to find from 'your letter of last night, that you could have supposed it was ever my object to en-'courage assassination. The rebels are very wicked men; but we must not take un-'lawful means to destroy them." We do not pretend to reconcile the discrepancy, [Ed.]

in fight with the British troops; but whether struck down by a ball from the piece of Abdul Azíz, who claimed the merit of having shot his victim from behind a wall, or by the fire of the troops, Mohun Lal was not confident. Abdúl Azíz, however, assured him, that Abdúllah Khan would soon die, as poison would complete what the shot had not done. He lingered for a week, and then fulfilled Abdul Azíz's prediction; who, as well as Mahomed Ullah, then demanded, through their suborners, Haji Ali and Aga Mahomed, the balance of the reward due to them. Mohun Lal, with a Shylock nicety, refused to pay the balance; alleging that the heads had not according to agreement been brought in, and that Abdúllah Khan might probably have been wounded by the musquetry of our troops. The Envoy having received intimation from Mohun Lal, who sent the suborners' notes making the demand and his own reply in refusal, Kurbar Ali, a confidential messenger in the employment of Macnaghten, was despatched by the latter with a message, attested by a reference to a past event known only to the Envoy and Mohun Lal,—"that had Ma-'homed Ullah and Abdul Azíz sent the heads to the Envoy, 'Mohun Lal would have been ordered to pay the balance; 'but, as they had failed in so doing, they must rest content 'with the advance they had received for their doubtful ser-'vices." The Envoy was forced to deliver this, and other dangerous injunctions, by the expedient (well known in the East) of an attested message, because some native writers of English, having gone over to the enemy, had made them acquainted with the contents of several of his intercepted letters.

The two ablest and most resolute leaders of the rebels in field and council being thus, either by fair or foul means, struck down, Macnaghten was unwilling to comply with the urgent, but, as he thought premature, requests of the military authorities to treat: for he laid much stress on the effect, which might result from the fall of these two obnoxious Chiefs, and anticipated deriving advantage from an event, which must leave the insurgents a prey to the factious emulation of the less influential leaders. Subsequently to the fall of Abdúllah Khan, severely wounded in the last action at Beymaru, circumstances seemed to favour the indulgence of such a hope; as, not only did the enemy fail to follow up their success, when our troops fled into disorder to cantonments, but, for a while, there was a lull in the activity with which hostilities were prosecuted, and the enemy seemed unaccountably paralyzed. Neither Conolly, nor Macnaghten, nor indeed Mohun Lal, had, however, been sufficiently cautious

in the overtures made to accomplish the destruction of the principal rebels. Too many persons had been entrusted with the secret, and some of them men upon whom it is wonderful that reliance should have been placed. When, therefore, in addition to such a dangerous diffusion of the secret, Macnaghten and Mohun Lal refused to fulfil the promises made, and withheld the reward claimed, not only was it impossible for Mohun Lal to find instruments willing to strike down more of the obnoxious Chiefs, but the latter became aware of the price set upon their heads, and were exasperated at the discovery of a tampering with the cupidity of their Affghan followers, and a base endeavour to effect, by the knife or shot of the assassin, that which the courage of the troops was unequal to secure. Their minds were therefore well disposed to support any leader, who could control their minor jealousies and advance undeniable claims to their allegiance. At this juncture Akbar Khan appeared upon the scene, and immediately became the rallying centre of hostile feeling and action. Naturally embittered against the British power, the intimation he received of the Envoy's secret machinations against the lives of the Chiefs enabled him to keep alive their suspicions, destroy all confidence in British good faith, and fan into a flame the spirit of implacable hostility.

Macnaghten, constantly pressed by the General, and himself aware that the supplies of the force were nearly exhausted, the troops spiritless and disorganized, and, with few, (but those noble) exceptions, not to be depended upon for the exercise of either discipline or courage, at length, in spite of his own aversion to a task beset with so much dishonour and difficulty, began, in apparent earnest, to negociate for the safe withdrawal of the army and the evacuation of Affghanistan. Never was courage more conspicuous than in the case of the ill-fated Envoy, who sought, by the display of a truly daring confidence towards Chiefs whom he knew to have much cause for distrusting him, to inspire them with confidence in the sincerity of his intentions. No one, judging from the hardihood with which he exposed himself to the knives and pistols of these exasperated men, would have imagined him conscious of having set so high a price upon their heads. On the 11th December, accompanied by Lawrence, Mackenzie and Trevor, Macnaghten met the assembled leaders of the rebellion on the plain near the Seah Sung Hill, and there discussed the conditions of a draft treaty which he had sketched. The unmolested withdrawal, not only of the force at Cabul, but also of all the British troops in Affghanistan ; their supply with food, fodder, and means of transport ; the return from India of Dost Mahomed and every Affghan in exile ; that Shah Shuja

was to be given the option of remaining at Cabul, or accompanying the British army to India; an amnesty for all political opponents and the partisans of the Shah; and that no British force should again be sent into Affghanistan, unless called for by the Affghan Government—were the main features of the treaty. Mahomed Akbar, distrustful of Macnaghten, would not accede to an engagement, which bound the rebel party to furnish provisions for the force without any stipulation for the immediate evacuation of the Bala Hissar and cantonments; and he forced the Envoy to specify three days as the period, after which the troops were bound to quit the cantonments. Upon this compact, the terms of the treaty were accepted: but, as there was a thorough want of confidence in the Envoy's sincerity, Captain Trevor had to accompany the Chiefs as hostage for the good faith of Macnaghten.

Cold weather was now set in, but snow had not fallen: and, as it was sure to fall in the course of a few days, it was of the greatest importance, after once retreat had been decided, that all further delay should be avoided. Thus, not only did the obligations of good faith impose a necessity for the rapid withdrawal of the troops, but every consideration for their safety and existence imperatively urged the most prompt fulfilment of this condition. Four thousand and five hundred fighting men, and from twelve to fifteen thousand followers, by an immediate march, might surmount the lofty Passes between them and Gundamuck, whilst still free from snow; and thus, with comparatively less hardship and suffering, make good their way over a country which, when once enveloped in snow, could only be passed with extreme difficulty and the severest misery and loss. The loose manner in which the treaty was worded, and the insertion of conditions in terms so general as to render (if not their import) their fulfilment, matter of easy cavil, afforded Macnaghten specious grounds for delay. He still clung to the hope of receiving aid from Nott, who had dispatched Maclaren with a brigade; and he was not sorry at being able to allege the irresolution of the Shah, and the non-fulfilment on the part of the enemy of their agreement to furnish provisions and baggage-cattle, as reasons for procrastinating and prolonging his stay at Cabul. In despair at the disgrace, with which so ignoble a treaty overwhelmed himself and the British name, he clung to the faintest hope of retrieving events.

The Shah, perplexed at the position in which the treaty placed him, was still further embarrassed by the conduct of the rebel Chiefs, who, on the 12th, invited him to remain as king —only stipulating the intermarriage of his daughters with the

leaders of the revolt, and the discontinuance of some of the ceremonials of royalty, to which Shah Shuja was attached, but which were particularly distasteful to the Affghan nobles. Whether this proposal were made as a test of the sincerity of the Shah's generally alleged aversion to British domination, or to confirm the impression, by inducing him at this juncture to make common cause with the rebels, or, as is most probable, to ascertain, by the mode in which such a decided separation from British connection was received, the ultimate real purposes of the Envoy is uncertain. Shah Shuja, after deliberation, consented to hold his throne upon the proffered conditions, and signified his assent to the Chiefs accordingly.

On the 13th and 14th, the Bala Hissar was evacuated, but in a manner so ill-conducted, that the greater part of 1,600 maunds of wheat and flour, which Captain Kirby had had the foresight to collect for transport to cantonments, where provisions were very scarce, instead of being taken with the garrison, were left in the fort for the enemy's advantage. Ten days' supply for the whole force was thus madly deserted, at a time when the utmost dearth prevailed in cantonments, when the camp-followers were feeding upon the flesh of the animals dying from starvation, and when there were barely two days' supply of flour on half rations for the fighting men.

Shah Shuja, always timid and irresolute, now refused to accept the throne, which the rebel Chiefs had, on easy conditions, permitted him to retain. As the moment for the departure of the British troops appeared to draw near, his heart failed him, and he shrunk from the dangerous allegiance of such men as Mahomed Akbar and the banded Chiefs. His change of purpose increased their suspicions ; and they declined to furnish provisions to the force, unless, in fulfilment of the compact, cantonments were evacuated.

On the 18th, snow fell, but Macnaghten still procrastinated; and, the distrust of the Chiefs waxing greater in proportion as the specified time was exceeded, their demands also increased ; and, on the 20th, the delivery of guns and ammunition and of Brigadier Shelton as an hostage was required. The engineer, Sturt, perceiving that every day's delay was fraught with peril, now urged that the treaty, which had been broken by both sides, should be no longer considered binding, and that, making every possible arrangement for the conveyance of the sick, the wounded, ammunition, and stores, the army should march to Jellalabad. The Envoy's hopes of aid from Nott had now vanished, as Maclaren had countermarched with his brigade, finding snow upon the highlands as he drew towards Ghuzni, and despair-

ing at that season of effecting his march to Cabul. Macnaghten, therefore, had now no motive for putting off the march of the force, the destruction of which from starvation was imminent, and could only be avoided by a movement of decision such as the engineer recommended. Elphinstone and his advisers thought otherwise. There was an unearthly faintness upon their hearts; and it was, as though some great crime had caused the wrath of God to settle down upon the host, withering the hearts of its leaders, unnerving the right arms of England's soldiery, and leaving them no power to stand before their enemies.

On the 21st December, the Envoy again met Mahomed Akbar and other Chiefs; two hostages, Conolly and Airey, were at once given over, and two more were to follow. The dilatory conduct of the Envoy and of the military leaders had now so confirmed the suspicions of Mahomed Akbar and the principal rebels, that they determined to test the intentions of Macnaghten, whose secret schemes for the destruction of the most influential Chiefs had never been forgotten, and whose present conduct, ignorant as the enemy were of the utter prostration of energy and courage among the military authorities, seemed inexplicable, except on the supposition of the existence of some deep design against the lives and power of the Chiefs.

Captain Skinner, an officer to whom Mahomed Akbar had given protection, was sent by the latter with secret proposals to Macnaghten to the following effect:—that Mahomed Akbar undertook to seize Amin Ullah, one of the most obnoxious and powerful of the rebel leaders, and deliver him up to the Envoy; that Shah Shuja, remaining king, was to reward Mahomed Akbar for this important service, and for supporting his throne, by making him Wuzir; that the Bala Hissar and Mahmûd Khan's fort were to be immediately re-occupied by the British troops, who were to remain in their then position until the Spring, upon the arrival of which they were with honor to evacuate the country—Mahomed Akbar receiving from the British Government for these services a donation of thirty lacs of rupees, and an annual pension of four lacs. Skinner did not himself deliver the message; but he was accompanied by one Mahomed Sudiq and two other Affghans in the confidence of Mahomed Akbar, who were entrusted with sounding the Envoy, and to whom Skinner, ignorant of any hidden design, referred Macnaghten for the particulars of his mission. Mahomed Sudiq, in the course of stating the foregoing propositions, made one, which should have put the Envoy upon his guard, betraying, as it did, a reference to foregone events; the head of Amin Ullah was to be presented

to the Envoy for a certain sum of money. Macnaghten's eyes were, however, not opened by this remarkable offer of Amin Ullah's head, coupled with the promise of Mahomed Akbar's co-operation in subduing the other Khans: and, failing to observe that Mahomed Sudiq's language was an ominous echo of Conolly's early instructions to Mohun Lal, he eagerly caught at the general proposal, disclaiming, however, in the presence of auditors, any willingness to give a price for blood, and therefore rejecting the specific offer of Amin Ullah's head, though not of his capture by treachery, in which the Envoy and the British troops were to play a conspicuous part. The distinction was too nice to weigh with men, conversant with the degree of scrupulousness evinced by the Envoy in the case of Abdúllah Khan and Mir Musjidi, and who judged of his sincerity by the eager readiness, with which he was captivated by an offer too specious to have imposed upon any man of sound thought and principle, and which involved the perfidious sacrifice of one of their own members. Hitherto, however shaken by what was known of Mohun Lal's proceedings, acting with the cognizance of Conolly and Macnaghten, the British character for integrity and good faith stood high enough to command some respect for the representative of the Anglo-Indian Government. But the deliberate faithlessness, which led the Envoy to accept Mahomed Akbar's proposal, sealed his doom. The worst suspicions of the confederate Chiefs and their exasperated leader were confirmed; and they resolved, as no dependance after such proof could be placed on the most solemn and formal engagements, to ensnare Macnaghten in the net he was spreading for another, and to take vengeance upon him and the starving disorganised force, for the insults and injuries, which an injudicious, selfish, and ambitious policy had heaped upon Affghanistan.

On the 23rd December, Macnaghten with a courage undiminished by the sense that, like a desperate gamester, he was risking all upon a hazard cast, went out to hold conference with Mahomed Akbar, and to carry into effect the projected measures. The Envoy, accompanied by his three brave companions, Mackenzie, Trevor, and Lawrence, heedless of the warning which the first mentioned officer gave him, boldly met the assembled Chiefs, among whom was a brother of Amin Ullah's. No suitable preparations had been made in cantonments on the part of the military; and even the Envoy's escort were so backward in assembling and following him, that he had ridden on and confidently entrusted himself to the mercy of his enemies, without his body guard being at hand to

protect him. When warned of the danger of the meeting and the perfidious character of Mahomed Akbar, the Envoy had replied—"Dangerous it is; but, if it succeeds, it is worth all risks; the rebels have not fulfilled even one article of the treaty, and I have no confidence in them; and, if by it we can only save our honour, all will be well. At any rate, I would rather suffer an hundred deaths, than live the last six weeks over again." Thus felt Macnaghten, as he rode forth to meet his murderer.

The violation of the treaty had been mutual; the first infraction being on the part of the Affghans under Mahomed Akbar, who attacked the troops, when they evacuated the Bala Hissar; but, instead of immediately breaking with them on this plea, Macnaghten had continued to treat and negociate, as if the compact were valid, although,by prolonging the stay of the troops at Cabul, he himself violated its most essential specification. After having made the customary salutations, and presented a handsome Arab horse to Mahomed Akbar, both parties dismounted; and Macnaghten, with his three companions, seated themselves beside Mahomed Akbar, and surrounded by Affghans, upon a small hillock, which partly concealed them from cantonments. Lawrence, eyeing with suspicion the numbers of armed attendants which encircled them, remarked to the Envoy, that if the conference were of a secret nature, they had better be removed. Macnaghten spoke to Mahomed Akbar, who replied,—"No, they are all in the secret." In an instant the three officers were seized, overpowered, disarmed, and carried off: whilst Macnaghten, struggling on the ground with Mahomed Akbar, was shot by the latter, and then cut to pieces by his followers. The escort instead of charging to the rescue, fled to cantonments, and left the Envoy and his brave companions to their fate. In cantonments all was apathy and indecision. Although within sight of the scene, no attempt was made to avenge the slaughtered Envoy, and to recover his body from a cowardly mob, who bore off in triumph his mangled remains to parade them in the city of Cabul.

Energy might still have saved the wretched force; and Pottinger, now called upon by Elphinstone to renew negotiations with the enemy upon the basis of the treaty violated by Macnaghten, made a last effort to rekindle the military spirit of the Council of War convened by the General. Declaring his own conviction, that no confidence could be placed in any treaty with the Affghan Chiefs, he disapproved of all humiliating negotiations; and, instead of binding the hands of Government by ignoble promises to evacuate the country, to subsidize the Rebel Chiefs, and to restore Dost Mahommed, he counselled,

either to hold out to the last at Cabul, or to march to Jellalabad. His own high courage and undaunted spirit met with no sympathy in that gloomy depressed council, which overruled his opinion, and instructed him to negociate at all cost alike of money and of honour.

The deplorable weakness, which could adopt a resolution unexampled in British Military History, was productive of the results which might have been anticipated. We draw a veil over the transactions, which occupied the Political and Military Leaders from the 26th December to the 13th January. Macnaghten might well prefer death to such protracted humiliation and ignominy. Would that oblivion could swallow up all record, all memory of that dire destruction of a well equipped army, sufficient in the hands of a Nott, or a Napier, to have swept its discomfited foes in haughty triumph before the colours of England; but these, alas, were doomed to droop beneath the withering spell of fatuous imbecility; to see their host delivered into the hands of the enemy, confounded and utterly destroyed; to witness the fiat of supreme vengeance which had given over 20,000 souls as a prey to famine, cold, and the edge of the sword

On the 13th January, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him, reached Jellalabad, and told that Elphinstone's army—guns, standards, honour, all being lost—was itself completely annihilated.

Such was the consummation of a line of policy, which, from first to last, trod right under foot, and, acting on a remote scene, was enabled for a time unscrupulously to mislead the public mind. But Time brings Truth to light; and gradually, the collection of facts from indubitable sources, and the perusal of private and public memoranda have enabled us to form a more correct idea of the Envoy's policy and conduct. Its victims were many: for insulted truth amply avenged herself, recording a terrible lesson for the contemplation of man's ignorant, short-sighted ambition. Amongst those victims many a man fell, whose heart burned with a soldier's indignation at the ignominy brought upon his country's arms. Foremost in this feeling, in justice to his memory be it said, was the ill-fated Macnaghten. His high courage, if anything could do so, would almost atone for his moral and political errors. The victim of his own truthless and unscrupulous policy, he shrunk from no personal risk, and fell in the vain hope and endeavour of accomplishing by subtlety a blow, which might prove, if successful, the saving of

the force, and (in his opinion) of its honour. On this he daringly staked his own life and fame.

Mere courage, however, cannot palliate moral delinquency: nor should the melancholy end of a talented and erudite gentleman's career blind us to the lesson and example it affords of the falsity of Macchiavelli's advice—" Non può pertanto un signore prudente, nè debbe, osservare la fede, quando tale osservanza gli torni contro, e che sono spente le cagioni che la fecero promettere. E si gli uomini fussero tutti buoni, questo precetto non sarrebbe buono; ma perchè sono tristi, e non l' osserverebbero a te, tu ancora non l' hai da osservare a loro." (A prudent lord cannot, however, neither ought he to, keep faith, when such keeping turns against himself, and the reasons, which induced him to promise, exist no longer. And if men were all good, this precept would not be good; but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you also need not keep it with them).

Upon the character of the general policy of the Government, which could engage our armies on so distant a scene of operations as Affghanistan, whilst Scinde and the Punjab were unconquered, it is, in the present day, almost needless to animadvert. It must needs bear Lord Auckland's name, because he permitted its adoption: yet, we cannot close this article without regretting, that one, who was at heart so much opposed to it, must bear the reproach, and even ignominy, of having his name connected with a policy, as essentially unjust, as it proved to be unfortunate.

ART. III.—*Statistical Report of the district of Cawnpore, by Robert Montgomery, Esq., C. S. Published by order of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor, N. W. P.* 1849.

Ab uno disce omnes. Let one district be understood thoroughly, and a clue is obtained for understanding the whole country. With this view we propose to obtrude on the notice of the general reader the *Statistical Report of Cawnpore.* "Report" is too modest a title for the present publication. In bulk it fairly rivals those massive quartos of blessed memory, yclept in England—"County Histories." Every Englishman brought up in the county must entertain a reverential remembrance of the tome, in which the local features of his county, the family histories and genealogies, the legends and associations of the past, were all embodied. But the work before us, though it equals the English "County Histories" in size, greatly surpasses them in quality. Independent of information peculiar to the locality, it teems with facts, that illustrate the opposing principles of Native and British rule, the past errors of both, the gradual progress of order, and the general mode in which the districts of the N. W. Provinces are administered. The author evidently had at his command the very best sources from which to draw his facts and figures, and had all the channels of official information open to him. Moreover, the work was written "in compliance with the wishes of Government," and its title-page bears the stamp of the highest authority. It may therefore be hoped that, at no distant period, as opportunity shall offer, similar treatises for other districts may issue from the press. A vast body of facts must lie hid in every public office—facts, which only want an arranging and vivifying hand to make them convey the soundest lessons of experience, and point the moral of political wisdom. Without further apology, we proceed to analyze the valuable contents of the volume in hand.

The name Cawnpore has been anglicized from Kànhpur, the city of Kành, Kànhaya, or Krishna. Such is the violence, which a mythological name must endure, that "*volitat virûm per ora.*" The country round Kànhpur was first held by comparatively aboriginal tribes of Kurmis, Ahirs, &c. These pastoral races tilled the soil, reclaimed the waste, and cleared the forests with simple, but untiring, industry; and established those proprietory rights, which ancient Hindu legislature assigned to the man, who first cultivated the ground.*

* Vide Manu, chap. ix. verse 44.

Traditions still survive, which tell of their energy and enterprize; and Kurmi labour is, to this day, a synonym for the most enduring industry. They little deserved the hard fate, which awaited them. "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold" in the shape of Rajput bandits, marshalled under warrior chiefs, who issued forth from Oudh in the north-east, Bundlekhund in the south, Mainpuri in the west, and from the far off vallies and mountains of Rajasthán. Tribute or submission did not suffice. They coveted the smiling village and the fertile lands. These they possessed themselves of by the wholesale expulsion of the cultivators and inhabitants. Gradually these various branches of the great Rajput family became amalgamated under one head, and a central Government was formed at Kanouj under the right royal race of Rathores. This kingdom spread itself throughout the Central Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and extended its frontier to Benares on the east and the Delhi territory on the west. Throughout this fine tract, the Rajput assumed to himself the exclusive lordship of the soil—*victis dominatur in arvis.*

Kànhpur was close to the capital city of Kanouj: and those Ahir or Kurmi proprietors, who might have outlived the devastating sweep of invasion, were soon extirpated by other means. The Kanouj Rajahs would grant a set of villages to some State favourite or victorious captain, or as a dowry to some relative by marriage. The grantee would proceed to his new domain, vested with full powers to plunder, slaughter, or burn, as expediency might require, and to assume full *usufruct* of the land. By the exercise of these and other rights, which, in primitive times, the strong generally enforced against the weak, the Rajput conquerors managed to thoroughly rid themselves of the original occupants. In recent times, scarcely a single estate was found in possession of the latter. Its vicinity to the magnificent capital appears to have given a peculiar value to the lands of Kànhpur. All culturable waste was reclaimed at a very early date; and the district has always been justly considered a well-cultivated tract.

The "Glory of Kanouj" has been vividly pictured by the great annalist, the Froissart of Rajputana.* Suffice it to remind the reader, that this was one of those five Hindu kingdoms, which distinguished the ante-Muhammadan period of Indian history, which were ruled by a line of illustrious monarchs, peopled with prosperous and contented inhabitants, whose happi-

* Vide Todd's *Rajasthan*, vol. 2; and also authorities collated by Heeren in his *Researches into the History of Asiatic Nations.*

ness, in rougher times, became proverbial, and overflowing with a far-famed wealth, which at last attracted the covetous gaze of the warlike races of Central Asia. The avalanche-like incursions of those disciplined bands, which rose from the ruins of Muhammad's Empire, and the gallant resistance of the Hindu States in their death struggle with the invader, when first attacked by Mahmud of Ghizni in A. D. 1017, are well-known matters of history. The Kanouj Rajah, however, was taken by surprise, and surrendered himself in a manner unworthy of a monarch, whose boasted lineage was derived from the Sun (Suryavansa). But, on the next invasion by Shahab-ud-din, in A. D. 1194, the states of Kanouj and Indraprastha or Delhi—the latter ruled by Tuar and Chouhan Rajputs, of a race nobler even than the Rathores—resolved to fight to the last for their independence. Each Rajah was in turn utterly defeated. The last king of Kanouj perished in the sacred stream, but his family escaped to Marwar, to found, in after ages, a kingdom there, which still survives, and is honoured with the alliance of the British Government. From this date the Muhammadan power was firmly planted in North Western India, and Kanouj passed under the yoke of the conqueror.* The magnificence of the city and empire, already celebrated in Rajput annals, was recorded in glowing terms by the Mussulman historians. But the temples and images were thrown down, and the jewels plundered : and now a few scarcely distinguishable traces on the banks of the Ganges, still believed by the vulgar to be the repositories of hidden treasures, are all that remains to tell of the great city. Thus Kànhpur became incorporated with the Muhammadan Empire in India.

In later times, when Northern India was parcelled out by the Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1596) into Súbahs, Sirkars, and Dusturs, we find that a fair tract of the Central Doab was included in the Sirkar of Kanouj, which formed a portion of the Súbah of Agra. The territory, which now constitutes the district of Kànhpur, at that time partly belonged to the Sirkar of Kanouj, and partly to the Sirkar of Korah, also appertaining to the Agra Súbah. When the Mahrattahs overran the tottering empire of the feeble Moguls, Kànhpur and its territory for a short time remained subject to them: and when at length Sufdar Jung, Nawab Wuzir of Oudh, threw off his allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi (in A. D. 1747), Kànhpur became a portion of the independent kingdom thus formed.

* Todd, vol. 2.—*Ferishta* (Briggs's Translation.)

In order to elucidate the position of the several masters, into whose hands, after this date, Kànhpur successively fell, it will be necessary to trace briefly the relations, which subsisted between the Nawab Wuzirs and the British Government.

When Mir Kasim Ali, whom the English Company had seated on the Musnud of Múrshedabad, broke with his commercial lords, under Mr. Vansittart's Government, and fled for the purpose of making open war, he was received by Suja-ud-Dowlah, then Nawab Wuzir of Oudh, who agreed to aid him in meeting the British in the field. The wretched representative of Delhi's imperial line (some times a pauper, often a fugitive, nominally an Emperor, but seldom master even of his own person) joined the confederacy. This was the combination, which was utterly broken and defeated at the battle of Buxar in A. D. 1764. Immediately after the battle, the Emperor joined the camp of his conquerors. The victorious British took the fortresses of Chunargurh and Allahabad, and routed the Nawab Wuzir's forces in another pitched battle at Korah. The conquered sovereign sued for any terms which the victors might offer. In the meanwhile Lord Clive had come out as Governor. The late successes in this quarter had left two questions open for His Lordship's decision, namely, what was to be done with the Emperor—and what with the Nawab Wuzir?* It was clear that the former could claim much mercy and consideration, and that the latter deserved none at all. Lord Clive did not deem it advisable to confiscate the Nawab Wuzir's dominions to the British Government, nor yet to make them over to the Emperor, because then a weak frontier would be opposed to the Mahrattahs and Affghans; so he adopted the third available course, and restored them with certain limitations to the Nawab Wuzir. The territory, north of the Ganges, namely, Oudh Proper, was confirmed to him. That, south of the Ganges, namely, the country round Korah and Allahabad, was given to the Emperor. Thus the Sirkars of Korah and Allahabad passed once more into the possession of the Great Mogul. Half of the present district of Kànhpur was included in Korah; the other half, belonging to the Sirkar of Kanouj, remained under the Nawab Wuzir.

The childish Emperor had an extraordinary wish to re-visit Delhi, for the purpose of indulging in the empty pageantry of royalty. But he required an escort to help him to get

* Vide Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, vol. 2, chap. xiv.

there. This kind office the Mahrattahs offered to undertake, if he would give them his lately acquired districts. The Emperor accepted their proposal, and made over Korah and Allahabad to them. The British Government decidedly objected to this, the Mahrattahs being their most dreaded foes; and, in A. D. 1772, one of the first acts of Warren Hastings's administration was to resume the grant, wrest the two districts from the Mahrattahs, and sell them back again to the Nawab Wuzir for fifty lacs of rupees. Shortly afterward the Nawab Wuzir obtained the assistance of the Governor-General in his invasion of the Rohilla country. The results of that war are well known. Immediately after its conclusion, in 1773, a fresh treaty was made with the Nawab Wuzir, in virtue of which a brigade of British troops was to be kept in his territory and at his expence. The brigade was soon after stationed at Kànhpur, which has been, ever since that time, a considerable military cantonment. These points, together with the questions relating to the appointment of the Resident and the amount of subsidy, were re-considered and modified, in A. D. 1781, on the occasion of Hastings's expedition to Benares—an expedition rendered for ever memorable by the transactions with the Rajah Cheyte Sing and the Oudh Begums. The next treaty was that concluded in A. D. 1798 by Sir J. Shore, then Governor-General, on the occasion of Saadut Ali being placed on the throne of Asuf-ud-Dowlah, the deceased Nawab Wuzir. By this treaty the annual amount of subsidy and the numbers of the British force were fixed, and the fortress of Allahabad surrendered. Saadut Ali was the last native potentate that possessed Kànhpur. He appointed, as his minister, one of the most powerful and intriguing of his subjects, named Ulmas Ali Khan, whose influence had been most conspicuous in the events which preceded his (Saadut Ali's) elevation to the throne. The main features of this minister's rule will be noticed presently. The Nawab Wuzir failed, in manifold respects, to fulfil his engagements with the British Government; and, at length, in A. D. 1801, a treaty was concluded with Lord Wellesley, by virtue of which, in satisfaction of all claims and arrears, were ceded the territories, south and west of the Ganges, among which, of course, was the country round Kànhpur. The Governor-General's brother, the Hon'ble H. Wellesley, was appointed to settle the ceded provinces. Thus Kànhpur was incorporated in the British Empire. We shall henceforth call it by its *English* name of Cawnpore. But before describing its condition under the new Government,

we will briefly survey the theory and practice of the Government, from which it had now been alienated.

At the present day, "prostrate Oudh" is a bye-word for anarchy and misrule; nor was it in much better repute towards the close of the last century. We hear now-a-days of little but standing armies kept by individuals to baffle the King's officers—of captured forts—of beleaguered villages—of robbery, pillage, and destruction. But it would be scarcely correct to infer from all these sad premises, that there exists no theoretical form of polity, capable of being happily reduced to practice by a vigorous hand. The constitution of the State may be outlined as follows: over each province is placed a Nazim, charged with all branches of the administration, fiscal, criminal, and civil. The sub-divisions of the provinces are presided over by Chukladars, under whom again are Tuhsildars ruling over single pergunnahs. To the establishment of these functionaries are attached a Mufti and Pandit, to interpret the Shareh and the Shastras (*i. e.* the Hindu and Muhammadan codes) respectively. In each territorial division are located Kazis, holding royal patents to act as registers and to solemnize marriages among the Mussulmans. Under the command of the Nazim is stationed a detachment of "His Majesty's" troops—for so the Nawab Wuzir is now styled—besides a body guard, personal attendants, &c. The Chukladars and Tuhsildars have also parties of armed men about them for purposes of coercion.

There were three Supreme Courts established at the capital, presiding over the three departments indicated above. The king himself might hear appeals in the criminal and fiscal departments, and death warrants would be signed by him; but he could not interfere with the Supreme Court of civil judicature. Criminal and fiscal functions were generally united. There existed no Police whatever, apart from the revenue establishments. English administrators have never been able to find any vernacular expression for the European idea of Police. The ancient Hindu notion of village Punchayets, invested with criminal jurisdiction, and guided by the head men among the landholders, the Potails, and Gram and Des Adhikars, had been soon abandoned. The Muhammadan criminal code had been everywhere introduced by the Mussulman conquerors; though, in civil matters, each denomination of the people was allowed to follow its own laws. Thus, in the criminal department, petty offences would be summarily disposed of by the landholders; heinous offences would

be investigated by the Tuhsildars, and referred to the Chukladar, who would himself pass sentence on some cases and transmit others to the Nazim. He again could sentence in all, except capital offences, which latter cases must be submitted to the central authorities. Appeals of course lay from the subordinate to the superior court. In the same manner, civil causes would be tried by the Nazims and Chukladars in consultation with the Muftis and Pandits.

But the working of all this machinery entirely depended on the success of the land revenue administration—which we proceed to notice. This is the *experimentum crucis* of all Eastern Governments. In Oudh, the Nazim might either contract with the sovereign for the revenues of his province, and pay himself from the profits of his lease; or else he might collect a fixed demand, and receive a regular salary. The former expedient was usually adopted. In either case, his civil and criminal powers remained the same. The settlement of the revenue, payable by the landholders, was made annually. A rough estimate would be drawn up at the sowing season, and would be carefully revised at the reaping season, in order that the Government might extract all it could from the land. The people being without capital, the State was obliged to furnish them with means for carrying on the cultivation. Immense pecuniary advances were made for seed, cattle, implements, food, clothing, and even house-room. Upon these loans, interest at 25 or 30 per cent. would be gathered in with the harvest. Security was generally demanded from every person, who contracted with the authorities for land revenue: and the richer portion of the landed community would be, *en masse*, sureties for the poorer. But the main security was of course the produce of the ground and the person of the husbandman. Watchmen were set to guard the ripening crops, and defaulters were freely visited with corporal punishment, and even with torture. In one pergunnah of Cawnpore, it is said that the tax-payers tied up their money in three knots, and opened one at each flagellation. Private property was not much respected. Such estates, as might invite competition, would be put up every year for the highest bidder. A landholder, who had been all along in possession of his property and paid his revenue regularly, might suddenly find himself supplanted by a stranger, who had offered the Nazim a higher bid for the village. Rajput fraternities of course generally managed to retain their holdings, as no speculator, who did not wish to burn his fingers, would bid for such estates: and, as old Ayodha (modernized

into Oudh) had once been a glorious Rajput kingdom, ruled by Suryavansas, * and second only to Kanouj, there were numerous Rajput brotherhoods interspersed over the country.

But, besides the land-tax, there were the Sayer duties. This most undefined tax extended to all products, manufactures, trades, and professions, and pressed heavily on the non-agricultural portion of the community; and the worst of it was, that the unfortunate payers had two masters. In every village, one set of collections was made for the Government, and another for the Zemindar. At the period of the Cession, much of the distress in Cawnpore was attributed to the operation of this tax; but the chief source of all mischief was this, that the Government was not strong enough to command the obedience of the powerful and refractory landholders. The country was studded with forts and strongholds, all of them nests of crime and rebellion. The Nazims and Chukladars, instead of attending to the civil Government, were constantly doing battle with the Zemindars, and taking by storm the villages of defaulters. When an *interregnum* of this kind once set in, a kind of Pandora's box was opened, and crime and misery went forth to desolate the country. For some years previous to the cession, Cawnpore, however, had not suffered so much from this latter scourge. Saadut Ali was one of the ablest and most business-like of all the Nawab Wuzirs; and Ulmas Ali Khan, who farmed the revenue and exercised the powers of Nazim, was not a bad specimen of a native Governor—intelligent, energetic, just, when his own interests or those of his Government were not concerned, and exacting, where they were. He was smartly resisted in other divisions of his province; but we are unable to learn that his authority was ever set at nought in Cawnpore. In collecting the land revenue, he and his Amils were said to have "taken the utmost, which the stock and produce would afford." He was in the habit of anticipating the revenue, by realizing the instalments before they fell due. He appears also to have impoverished and depressed the non-agricultural population, by a vigorous and searching exaction of custom duties. "Let the face of the country be examined," writes Mr. Welland in 1802, "and there will hardly be a manufacture, or an individual, found in such circumstances, as to afford the payment of a tax."

The foregoing sketch may suffice to convey some idea of the Oudh Government, as it was in theory and in practice. In the former respect it was complete enough, and not very un-

* Todd's *Rajasthan*, chaps. iv. and vii.

like the British system, except in the union of the civil with other functions in the same officer. The Chukladars were somewhat similar to our magistrates and collectors; the Nazims to our commissioners; the central authorities at Lucknow to our Sudder courts and boards; and in our non-regulation provinces the resemblance is still more marked. But in practice, alas how different! the rights to property are decided by the sword of the strongest, instead of a judicial decree, and the rulers engrossed in sacking villages and beleaguering forts, instead of keeping the peace. Such then, in its past history and actual condition, was the district of Cawnpore, about to be subjected to the British rule.

The new regime commenced inauspiciously for the people, inasmuch as the land revenue was raised from twenty-two and a half lacs to twenty-four and a half lacs of rupees. It is stated in the statistical report (Para. 19), that the reasons for this assessment were not left on record. But in the same paragraph some facts are stated, which, to our apprehension, may, in a great measure, account for the phenomenon. The year prior, and the year subsequent, to the cession, were blessed with most unequalled harvests. At the time of settlement, there is, of course, a constant struggle between the assessors and the assessed, the former stirring to discover, the latter to conceal, the real assets of the country; and in this case no doubt the revenue officers believed the evidence of their own eyes, rather than the evidence of papers and accounts, or of any thing else. Doubtless this is not the only instance of tracts having been over-assessed, because the year of settlement happened to be an inordinately good one. The landholders appear to have cheerfully agreed to these severe terms, partly because they had been relieved from the re-payment of the advances which had been granted during the previous year by the native Government, and partly because they laboured under the misapprehension, that 10 per cent. would be remitted at the close of the year in acknowledgment of their proprietory right. The latter notion was of course illusory. The heavy amount of taxation was at first realized; but two years afterwards an unpropitious season caused a partial famine. In spite of large remissions, there still remained considerable arrears, which the revenue authorities thought proper to recover. At first temporary lessees were sought for, but in vain. It was then determined to enforce the law and to sell the defaulting estates. Then ensued a series of transactions fraught with painful, but beneficial, experience.

Those who were charged with the settlement of the ceded

districts, however much they may have erred in point of assessment, in one respect displayed great wisdom. They addressed themselves to their task without any pre-conceived ideas regarding the relative position of the agricultural classes, proprietory rights, or the tenures of land. They borrowed no principles from other parts of India, or from European experience. Neither, on the one hand, were new Zemindars created and forced upon the communities of cultivating proprietors, nor, on the other hand, were real landlords dispossessed and proprietory titles conferred on mere cultivators: nor was undue perpetuity given to principles and practices, which, on the first acquisition of territory, must, of necessity, be crude and imperfect. They resolved to observe and take things as they found them, and then to ascertain and preserve existing rights. To the wisdom and forbearance of these early measures may be attributed much of the prosperity, which has ever characterized the revenue administration of these provinces. When, however, the complicated rights of the village communities were recognized, it was imperatively necessary to record the subordinate holdings. Owing to the press of business, consequent on the accession of new territory, and to imperfect information regarding details, this had not been done. Out of a large proprietory body, the revenue authorities had little or no cognizance of any one save the head men (or Lumburdars.) Default might occur through the misconduct of the head men, and the arrears were perhaps capable of realization from the subordinate sharers; but the estates would be put up for sale by publication, and the rights of the brotherhood alienated for ever.

Again, under the native rule, the people had never been accustomed to the precise and rigid system of revenue administration adopted by the British Government. The sale process was little understood by men, who had been unused to any other method of procedure than personal duress and chastisement. The native officials soon perceived that they could turn this popular ignorance to their own account. They would privately encourage default—blind the defaulters to the legal consequences—get the estates put up to sale—keep back bidders from the auction—and themselves purchase at low prices (often not one-tenth of the real value) and under feigned names.* This was done to an almost

* By Regulation xxv. of 1803, no revenue officer could acquire land in any manner except by *bonâ fide* private sale, nor could he undertake the management of it under any pretence. Any estate purchased, in this manner, at a public sale, was liable to confiscation.

incredible extent; the force of humbug could no further go. Never was that old proverb "The law can only help those, who will protect themselves" more terribly exemplified. The people of course believed most innocently whatever the Government officials told them. How were they to know the law? The regulations had not been translated into a language understood by the people at large; no class of lawyers or attorneys had grown up; no legal treatises or compilations had been published; and no precedents had occurred, from which the public might gather any idea of the new system. The private transfers were no better than the public ones. The manner, in which an estate might be sold publicly through the fault of the head man, has been just explained. Precisely the same thing might be done in a private transfer. For the payment of his own personal debts, the head man would sell or mortgage the estate, which he *represented*, but did not own. Private individuals would also get their names fraudulently registered in the collector's office, and subsequently claim and obtain possession by virtue of the record. Similar frauds, to a greater or less extent, occurred all over the country; but in no district were a larger number perpetrated than in Cawnpore. It was to remedy these abuses, that the famous special commission was instituted in the year 1821. The commission "dragged its slow length along" for fifteen years. It reversed nearly one-half of the public sales, one-fifth of the private sales, and one-eighth of the private mortgages, which had been effected in Cawnpore since the cession. This would seem to show that much more fraud had been mixed up with the public, than with the private, transfers. But, as the greater part of the sales had taken place during the first few years of our rule, and the commission did not close its proceedings till 1836, it is evident that, in many cases, the remedy must have come too late, and that the wrongs, which had been suffered by the generation that had passed away, were atoned for by the justice done to their posterity.

Now what are the lessons to be deduced from these facts? Many people, who do not reflect on the real difficulties of the case, would perhaps be inclined to lay all the mischief at the door of the revenue officers; but let those, who are disposed to cast the first stone, consider what they themselves would have done, had they been placed in the same position as the early collectors of Cawnpore. Who was to foresee such contingencies as these? Multiform as the troubles had been, which grew out of the Sale law in Bengal, no social disease of this kind had made its appearance there. Let any one, who doubts the wonderful blindness and credulity of the people on

one hand, and the matchless ingenuity of the designing officials on the other, refer to the details of Mr. Montgomery's forcible narrative (Paras. 136 to 143). Keen indeed must have been the intuition, which could foreknow that such deceivers should arise and find such dupes.

Much harm was of course produced by the misgovernment of the coparcenary fraternities. Their intricate constitution was not often examined, seldom quite understood, and never recorded. But at that time the subject was quite new to European functionaries; and these tenures, perhaps the most complicated in the world, were not to be mastered at a moment's notice. So strange were they to Englishiders that it is a wonder that their existence was not ignored altogether. But they were so far understood, that they were legally recognized, and at all events were left untouched and undisturbed; and it need not excite surprise that the necessity for scrutinizing them closely, and recording all the minutiæ of their conformation, did not become apparent till afterwards.

The social structure of Indian nations is just as elaborate as that of European nations. When these territories were ceded fifty years ago, the Government functionaries, brought up in a school which unfitted, rather than fitted them, for their new duties, found themselves precluded from entirely adopting the system in vogue under the native rule, but obliged to introduce some new method—and that, too, immediately—to discriminate what portions of the former system might be retained, to infuse new elements, to amalgamate them with the whole, and to adapt them to the people. Though in such darkness that they could scarcely grope their way, they had to step out boldly and decisively. Though encompassed with difficulties that might well demand the most hesitating caution, they had to act with a confidence and vigour, that could only be expected from the consciousness of complete information. Nor could the Government afford to procrastinate: for the realization of the revenue is a thing, like tide and time, that will wait for no man. The same difficulties are not now felt, when a new country is annexed. Experience, such as that of Cawnpore, might well teach every one, that the people cannot be trusted to find out at once those portions of the law which affect themselves; that a new system must be gradually impressed on the public mind; that the rights of individuals must not only be understood, but *recorded;* that subordinate interests must not be left to the mercy of principals; and that the relations of every tax-payer to the Government, as well as to the coparcenary, must be fixed, otherwise the weak may be borne down by the action of our revenue machinery.

But we must resume the fiscal history of Cawnpore. A new settlement was made, in 1807, with a slight decrease of assessment. A fresh impulse was created by Mr. Newnham, the collector, who detected and checked many of the iniquities above noticed. But over-speculation in cotton and indigo, with its train of attendant evils, soon overclouded the brightening prospect. When the cultivation of both plants had reached the highest pitch; when the most exciting stimulus was imparted to all branches of industry by the high prices of the cotton and the lavish advances made for the indigo—the first were lowered by the stoppage of the Company's factories, and the second were withdrawn on account of the failure of the great indigo firms in 1820-21. From this time commenced a series of difficulties in the collection of the revenue, which were eventually overcome by Mr. E. Reade, whose administration extended from 1832 to 1835.

The great famine of 1837-38 visited Cawnpore severely. The autumn harvest failed almost entirely; but some showers fell, which saved the coarser kinds of grain in certain parts of the district. The spring harvest perished for want of rain. A few patches of land only were irrigated by artificial means. The cattle lived for a short time on leaves of trees and then died away. Many people died, and more emigrated. The exact amount of depopulation was not ascertained. Government afforded negative relief by suspending the entire demand, and remitting half the revenue—and positive relief by dispensing 44,000 rupees to feed the starving. Private charity was also conspicuous. The Government money was granted in the shape of wages for labour in public works; but the works were most of them commenced injudiciously, and the labour was not very productive. The total remissions for the year of the famine, and the two succeeding years, eventually amounted to Rs. 17,10,971 (seventeen lacs and upwards), or nearly one year's revenue from this district. Crime of course increased, but not to any alarming extent. The criminal returns from that period exhibit an increase principally in offences against property.

During the year after the famine, preparations for the thirty years' settlement were set on foot. This settlement forms of course an era in the history of the district; and most of the subsequent improvements grew out of it. But, before proceeding to this portion of our subject, it will be necessary to bring other matters up to this date, and to trace the progress, which had been made in Police arrangements.

At the cession, the powers of civil judge, magistrate, and collector, were united in one person, who thus held very much the position of a Nazim. Subsequently, the fiscal and judicial

functions were separated: but the combined office of judge and magistrate remained as before till 1827. The office of magistrate was then held by a single person till 1843, when the change, which had already taken place in other districts in 1833, was introduced into Cawnpore, and the charge of both the magistracy and the collectorate devolved on one person. But herein it must not be supposed that the union entirely assimilates to that adopted in native States. The fiscal and criminal departments are quite distinct throughout: the only connexion is, that the head of each is the same individual. The early formation of the subordinate Police was, however, managed entirely after the native fashion. The revenue establishment was charged with keeping the peace; and, in consideration thereof, was allowed 1½ per cent. on the revenue collections.* The Tuhsildars were held personally responsible for all robberies committed within their divisions, except those perpetrated on the high road. In the latter case, however, they must prove to the magistrate that they had no previous knowledge of the intent. The farmers and proprietors were held similarly responsible. Certainly, there is not much in this, which savours of European ideas. It meant to say, that the new British Government was not prepared to undertake the management of the Police; and that it would only look to results, whilst ways and means were left to the personal responsibility of the Tuhsildars and landholders. This of course did not last long. The Government soon discovered that it could trust to nothing but its own energy: and, in 1807, the Tuhsildari system of Police was abolished, and compact jurisdictions of twenty square miles each were formed and placed under a regular Police establishment. The next change occurred in the appointment of village watchmen in 1824. Hitherto it had been the custom to leave everything connected with these watchmen to the landholders. In the last-mentioned year, this matter was taken out of their hands. The watchmen were then chiefly nominated by the Police, and paid by a cess on the inhabitants. Thus the influence of the landholders in the preservation of the peace was neutralized. This circumstance, combined with feeble administration, had brought the Police into a disorganized state by the year 1832. Gangs of robbers began to ramify all over the country, and formed a kind of mercenary army, ready to serve the highest bidder. Disputes, which had hitherto been decided by litigation, or, at the worst, by an affray, were now settled by one party employing a band of dacoits to plunder his adversary.

* At first the remuneration of Tuhsildars for their revenue services consisted of a per centage on the amount collected. Since 1809, they have received regular salaries.

All this was at once stopped by Mr. Caldecott's vigorous hand in 1832. The village watch was placed on its original footing. The landholders were induced to form their tenantry into a local militia, or special constabulary, for the restoration of order; and the banditti chiefs were captured and brought to justice. Vast improvements were also made in the transmission of intelligence. Hitherto, the Police couriers had been paid by the landholders, through whose estates the roads happened to run. This plan was both unfair and ineffectual. Despatches, which now-a-days reach the magistrate in a few hours, used then to take seven or eight days in arriving. A reformation was commenced by Mr. Caldecott in 1834, and completed by Mr. Brown in 1845. A tax of one anna per cent. on the Government revenue was assessed on the landed community, yielding a sum of Rs. 1,800. With this an establishment of thirty-eight dâk runners was paid. The money was collected by the revenue authorities, and disbursed to the recipients by the magistrate. The men, being regularly appointed and paid, worked well. The farthest Police Station is fifty miles distant from Cawnpore. The dâk would leave in the evening and arrive by daylight. The rate of travelling would be four miles in the hour at least. The Police dâk was then thrown open for the reception of private letters. The postage was fixed at two pice per letter: which sum being less than one half-penny, the desideratum, which the public journals are now clamouring for, namely, a low and uniform rate of postage, was secured. There is a daily delivery, Sundays not excepted. During seven and a half years, viz., 1840-41-42-43-44-45-46, and the first half of 1847, there passed 125,349 letters to and fro in these district dâks. The postage amounted to Rs. 3,176-7-8. Of this sum, Rs. 1,942-12-8 were disbursed for current dâk expenses, such as the remuneration of the Thanah Muhurrirs, who act as local Post Masters: the residue is being devoted to the improvement of the post. As the surplus increases, it is expected that the dâk will pay itself, and the landholders be relieved from all expence.

We solicit the attention of our readers to these apparently dry facts. They indicate that the most complete postal communication is being extended all over the N. W. Provinces. They would have gladdened the heart of Rowland Hill. In Cawnpore, during the year 1847, the number of letters amounted to about 12,000; for the two preceding years, the number had been increasing at the ratio of 2000 per annum; with such a ratio of increase, the numbers, by this time, must be at least 18,000; and a similar system is being carried out, more or less, in other districts. Is not this something? Let the people of the Lower

Provinces be asked whether such a Post as this would not be considered a blessing there!

In 1845, the Police jurisdictions were remodelled. The number of Thanahs was reduced from nineteen to twelve; greater respectability in the Police officers was secured by increasing the pay of a Thanadar from twenty-five to fifty or sixty rupees per mensem. Weak and scattered outposts were swept away, and well-officered stations were established at convenient posts. The Tuhsildars were vested with Police powers, in order that they might exercise a general supervision over the Police in their divisions. All these changes conduced to efficiency.

We must return to the thirty years' settlement. This important measure was concluded in 1842, having been conducted under Regulation VII. of 1822, as modified by the provisions of Regulation IX. of 1833. Four settlements had been previously made—three of them for short periods; the fourth had remained in force since 1807. They had been formed on no fixed principle. The only criterion was the ease, or difficulty, with which the revenue had been collected. If the people had paid willingly, the assessment was presumed to be light and would probably be raised; if they had paid unwillingly, then the assessment would be considered too heavy and would be reduced. But in good truth, unwillingness to pay may proceed from other causes besides inability. Men soon found it their interest to be contumacious; for contumacy would obtain a reduction of the revenue. At the same time, the industrious were heavily burdened. The former settlements therefore had the worst of faults, in that they encouraged idleness and misconduct, while they depressed honesty and industry. But the one main principle of the new settlement was to ascertain the capabilities of each estate, to assess fairly, and to equalize the public burdens. All estates were classified according to the qualities of the soil or soils. Then the total assessment was fixed for each class. Then this amount was apportioned to each estate in the class, by means of rent rates and revenue rates. The financial result, with reference to the former settlement, may be exhibited as follows:—

First Settlement	Rs.	24,87,924
Second ditto	„	23,73,344
Third ditto	„	21,69,340
Fourth ditto	„	21,89,658
Fifth ditto	„	21,43,747

Thus the last settlement gave a decrease of nearly two and a half lacs on the first. We learn from a most valuable and elaborate table, appended to this Statistical Report, that the total

produce of the district of Cawnpore is worth eighty-two lacs of rupees. The present assessment therefore of twenty-one lacs absorbs above one-fourth of the gross produce of the soil. It is generally supposed, and no doubt with truth, that the land revenue of these provinces takes up from one-fourth to one-third of the gross produce. Cawnpore is therefore rather lightly assessed than otherwise. The land revenue of Cawnpore and the North Western Provinces, respectively, falls at the following rates per acre:—

	Total area.	Malguzari or assessed area.*	Cultivated area.
Cawnpore...	Rs. 1 7 5	Rs. 2 4 7	Rs. 2 13 8
N. W. P. ...	„ 0 14 1	„ 1 3 8	„ 1 12 1

Thus it will be observed, that although Cawnpore is not heavily taxed, yet the revenue falls there at rates considerably higher than the average rates for the whole country. This must of course be attributed to the superior productiveness of the soil. The Company's land-tax has long been a fashionable theme for oratory and denunciation; but let any indignant rhetorician be kind enough to contemplate the above figures. From them, it appears, that in Cawnpore the land revenue consumes a quarter of the gross produce (and we have seen that this district may be accepted as a specimen of the provinces generally), and that therefore a cultivated acre of land, which pays Rs. 2-13-8, or 6*s.* to Government, yields 24*s.* worth of produce. If the people (as they probably will do within the term of the settlement) exert their skill and put forth their industry and bring all the culturable land into cultivation, then the Rs. 2-13-8 or 6*s.* may be reduced to Rs. 2-4 7 or 4*s.* 3½*d.*, which latter rate upon 24*s.* will be little more than one-sixth. And this is a sample of the 'grinding land-tax!'

It may be not uninteresting to note, that the revenue (just previously to the cession) under Ulmas Ali Khan, amounted to Rs. 22,56,156. This sum was no doubt all that found its way into the Nawab Wuzir's coffers: but we are not at all sure that this was all that the people paid. From these figures, therefore, the burdens, which the land really bore, cannot be estimated with certainty or precision. But, as this sum exceeds the present assessment only by one lac, it would appear that theoretically, at least, the Nawab Wuzir's Government was not very exigent.

The manner in which rights were recorded at the settlement

* Including culturable, as well as cultivated land.

we have endeavored to explain in a former article.* Suffice it here to say, that the record appears to have been prepared as completely in Cawnpore as in most districts; nor do the tenures of land present any special peculiarities. They consist of Zemindari tenures, when the estate is held by a single individual, or by several proprietors in commonalty; of Puttidari, where the land is held in severalty; and imperfect Puttidari, when it is held partly in commonalty, partly in severalty. The Zemindari villages greatly preponderate: they stand to the Puttidari in the proportion of six to one. In other districts, the converse often holds good. Mr. Montgomery accounts for this unusual proportion by the great number of transfers, public and private, fraudulent and otherwise, which have taken place since the cession; but it must not be supposed that these Zemindari estates are principally held by great landlords. There are 16,542 proprietors of all descriptions. On an average, each proprietor owns 90 acres, and pays 130 rupees land revenue. The rights of cultivators are also guaranteed by the record. These cultivators are divided into two classes, namely, hereditary and non-hereditary. The former cultivate a certain portion of land at a fixed rent—the landlord being unable to oust them from the one, or to raise the other; the latter are tenants-at-will. Of the first class, there are 61,000, cultivating 390,000 acres; of the second class, there are 35,000, cultivating 160,000 acres; so that the one class doubles the other. Hereditary tenants cultivate on an average six acres each: tenants-at-will, four acres; and proprietors, seventy-eight acres. From these figures may be imagined the elaboration and detail required for the settlement record. In few countries, we apprehend, does sub-division of holding exist to a greater extent; and in no country, not even in France or Germany, is the registration more complete. With respect to caste, among the cultivators, the Kurmis are pre-eminent; amongst the proprietors, the Rajputs preponderate, comprising upwards of one-third: their numbers however have decreased by one-ninth since the cession. Next after them, in importance, come the Brahmins and Mussulmans. The latter, during the early years of our rule, acquired large possessions through their official influence. The former are successful mercantile speculators, who have invested their savings in land. It may be mentioned in this place, that 302 Mahajuns, or bankers, have speculated in land, have bought 301 estates, and pay three lacs of revenue per annum. This fact is significant. If the land-

* Vide Paper on Village Schools and Peasant Proprietors in the North West.

tax be really such a system of grinding and rack-renting oppression, as the enemies of the Company would make out, how comes it that men, who can get 12, 16, and 25 per cent. interest for their money, choose to lay out their hard-earned savings in land, and thereby constitute themselves payers of the land-tax? They evidently consider that the land, in spite of the tax, is a profitable investment, and that the Government demand does leave a fair profit to the landholders. There is scarcely a district in the provinces, where a similar spirit is not displayed by the bankers and merchants.

Among the appendices is to be found a table, exhibiting the mutations of property, which have taken place since the cession. From this, it appears, that out of 2,258 estates, 279 have been transferred by the voluntary acts of the owners, 453 under the orders of the courts of law, 405 by the operation of the revenue system, making a total of 1,450, and leaving a remainder of 858 in the possession of the original proprietors. To such an extent does the land change masters. It should be remembered that out of the 405 revenue sales, 185 were subsequently reversed by the special commission.

We should not omit to notice, that this district furnishes one instance of a Biswadari settlement, that is, a settlement, which declares that two parties possess a proprietory interest in the soil—namely, the Talukadar, or feudal lord, and the Mukuddum, or sub-proprietor—and which curtails the powers of the first and secures the rights of the second. There is also one case, in which the fiscal rights of Government having been conferred on a Jaghirdar, the proprietors of the land are not left to his mercy, but are both assessed and protected in the same manner, as if they held estates which pay revenue to Government. The principle is obvious enough: but the neglect of it, in former years, had opened the door to much oppression.

Subsequent to the settlement, with its mass of tables and statements, the collector's record office has vastly increased both in bulk and importance, and a corresponding degree of attention has been bestowed on its internal arrangements. Minute instructions were issued by the Sudder Board of Revenue in 1844, with a view to prevent fraud both in the way of abstracting and inserting, and to facilitate and expedite reference. Mr. Montgomery states, that in Cawnpore these directions have been thoroughly acted up to, and that the records are in excellent order. The account is wound up with the following sentence:—"When we look back to our ignorance at the commencement of our legislation, and then contemplate the present

period—now that we have a record of every boundary and every proprietory right, that each cultivator knows his fields, and that he cannot be ejected without cause, and that the Government demand has been fixed for thirty years, and that at a glance the whole history of every village may be known—it appears that past errors have been atoned for."—(Para. 121).

From this retrospect of the settlement, we proceed to treat of the improvements, which have been effected in various branches since that time, and to consider several matters of a miscellaneous nature.

The new census and statistical returns first claim attention. The results of this census are embodied in the *Statistical Manual*, published by the Government of Agra in 1848. The first paragraph of the prefatory memoir runs thus:—"The late settlement of the N. W. Provinces has provided many statistical facts, which it is of importance to bring together and place on record with precision." This work, therefore, is one of the many corollaries of the settlement. The first statistical return for the N. W. Provinces was made in 1826; the next in 1842.* The home authorities considered these returns unsatisfactory, and ordered a fresh investigation in 1846. In the same year, the Agra Government circulated instructions to the revenue authorities for the preparation of more trust-worthy documents. Tabular forms were furnished, and a rough calculation was also drawn up. Attention was specially directed to the returns of area and population.† Past errors in area had been ascertained to proceed from change of boundaries, omission of unassessed estates, and of waste or forest tracts, and the retention of lands, which had been destroyed by the incursions of rivers. These causes would also have affected the accuracy of the former census; and, besides these, it was found that the female population, the residents of towns, &c., had sometimes been excluded. The new area returns were to be based on the settlement records. For the preparation of the new census, enumeration of persons was to be discarded, as vexatious and impracticable. Houses and families only were to be regularly enumerated. A rough average of persons to each family or house was first obtained, by accurately counting the persons in a certain number of houses, and extending this average to the whole. This total average was tested by other class averages, such as, town and village averages, *kacha* house and *pucka* house averages, caste averages, Hindu and Mussulman aver-

* Vide Preface to *Statistical Manual*. † Ibid.

ages, &c. The whole population was divided into two classes, agricultural and non-agricultural. The agricultural population was defined to mean all persons, who derived any portion of their subsistence from the land, whether they had other sources of income or not.* The number of persons to a house was ascertained to average from 4 to 5, and to a square British mile of 640 acres, 322.3. In some districts, the number exceeds 400.† In Belgium, the most populous country of Europe, the number averages 296; in the British Isles 166. Thus it appears that the N. W. Provinces are more densely populated than any country of Europe, and many portions of them much more so.‡ The investigation was brought to a close in 1848. The main impediments to its progress arose from misapprehensions regarding the definition of a house or family, and the distinction between the agricultural and non-agricultural classes. It was found that the dislike, which the people formerly entertained to enquiries of this kind, had greatly abated.§ The Cawnpore returns were first drawn up in 1847; but, when subsequently tested by Mr. Montgomery in person, inaccuracies were found to have arisen, from the custom, which had prevailed, of registering only the chief cultivator, omitting any person who might cultivate in partnership with him, and from the misunderstanding with respect to the definition of a house or family, and the meaning of the term agricultural as applied to population. The proper definition of "agricultural" has been already given. A house was defined to mean "an enclosure, where one or more members of the same family resided, having one common entrance." The revised census gives 424.9 persons to a British square mile, which number exceeds the average population for the whole provinces by one-third.

Many particulars of local importance might be evolved from the statistical returns of Cawnpore; but we have only room for points of general interest. These statistical results were calculated to aid materially the investigation, which was being made into the state of indigenous education. In this respect, Cawnpore is again above the average; but still it must be admitted that the population is plunged in deep

* Vide Correspondence prefixed to the *Statistical Manual.*

† *Statistical Manual*, passim.

‡ From a census taken for the Lower Provinces in 1822, the number to a square mile was ascertained to be 243. Vide Honourable Court's letter, printed with the *Statistical Manual.* In China, the number is 277.—*Davis's China.*

§ The Cawnpore district can show a case in point. There is a small slice of territory within the Cawnpore limits, which was granted to a Mahratta Prince. No census was made of the people, who dwelt within that petty jurisdiction, because such a measure would be distasteful to the Maharajah.

ignorance. The following particulars comprise the main results of the enquiry, which was closed in the year 1846. There are in all 533 indigenous schools, which are attended by 4,619 pupils. Thus the average of scholars to a school is only 8.55. The number of schools is, relatively speaking, large, and the proportion to the population would be—

1 School to every 1,825
1 Scholar ..... 215 } persons.

For the whole of the North West Provinces, the proportion would stand thus:*—

1 School to every 3,029
1 Scholar ..... 356 } persons.

Assuming the number of *male* children (for females are never educated) of a school-going age to equal one-twelfth of the whole population, then it would appear that of the children fit for instruction only 6.6 per cent. are being taught. And if the number of female children be included in the calculation, then even this slender proportion must be halved. Throughout the Upper Provinces, the schools are of four kinds, viz., Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian. Cawnpore forms no exception to the rule. The respective numbers of each class in this district may be detailed as follows :—

Sanskrit.	Hindi.	Arabic.	Persian.
58	280	16	179

It will be observed, that the most popular and useful language next after the Hindi, namely the Urdu, is not taught in any school. The Sanskrit schools are almost entirely for Brahmins; the Arabic for Mussulmans. In the Hindi schools the scholars are principally Brahmins, Kayths, and Bunniahs; in the Persian Mussulmans, Brahmins, and Kayths. The great preponderance of Rajputs amongst the landed community has been already adverted to. Now, in the year 1845-46, there were only 371 Rajputs learning Hindi, and 43 learning Persian. Thus it would seem, that the landholders are as destitute of education as any section of the population. The instruction given in the Sanskrit and Arabic schools of these provinces is generally a dead letter. But this remark does not apply to Cawnpore. There the Moulvis and Pandits seem to be men of real learning and succeed in imparting some portion of it to their pupils. The schedule of instruction, adopted in

* Vide Educational Reports for N. W. P., published annually, since the year 1843-44.

the Persian schools of Cawnpore, embraces a tolerable course of literary study. In the Hindi schools, the merest rudiments of practical knowledge are taught. In the Persian schools the teachers are pretty well paid, receiving about Rs. 6-4-6 per mensem. But the Hindi teachers only earn about Rs. 3-12-8. The latter often eke out a livelihood by cultivating. It is stated in the statistical report, that an impulse has been given to education by the circulation of elementary school books furnished by Government. In the course of one year, 3,953 copies were purchased from the depôt at the Collector's office. A report was called for from the jail, regarding the number of prisoners who could read and write. The relative numbers were as follows:—

Number of prisoners, male and female in jail.....	825
Number of male prisoners, who could read and write...	65

None of the females had received any education. Thus to every 12.7 prisoners, there was one who could read or write. This proportion is very singular, when compared with the proportions which hold good for the population of the whole district. The amount, expended in indigenous education, amounted annually to Rs. 26,115.

Among the appendices to the statistical report we find a register of traffic on the Grand Trunk Road. During the year 1846-47, a party of five individuals, with one overseer, were stationed at the two principal bridges. The men relieved each other night and day. The following figures may convey some idea of the importance of this great artery in the body politic; of the traffic, which annually passes along this great channel of communication; and of the advantages, which might be anticipated from a railway. During the year 1846-47, there passed along the road at the Pandu bridge, as transport—

			mds.
Hackeries.	Laden. 48,489 weight of goods at 20 mds. each ...		969,780
	Unladen. 14,417		
Camels.	Laden. 9,782 „ „	at 6 mds each ...	58,692
	Unladen. 3,766		
Bullocks & Buffaloes.	Laden 16,261 „ „	at 4 mds. each ...	65,044
	Unladen. 13,212		
	Total weight of goods .....mds.		10,92,516

Besides there passed, travelling,—

Foot Passengers...	5,65,347	Sheep & goats.....	21,738	Buggies ...	617
Coolies & Banghis	7,883	Elephants	287	Behlis.....	9,950
		Horses & Ponies...	40,304	Palkis	1,798
Total.....	5,73,230		62,329		12,365

It is almost needless to say, that the main line of communication in the time of the Mogul Emperors was much the same as at present. Kos Minars, those imperial mile-stones, are to be found at intervals: and, every here and there, the broken arches of a bridge, or the ruins of a grand serai, show that the Emperors were imbued with the road-making spirit of Appius or Terentius of old. There are also numerous defiles and passes, where the bandits of yore used to hold their rendezvous. At the pass of Chuperghuta, about twenty-five miles from Cawnpore, there still survives the proverb "Delhi ki kumai, Chuperghuta men gunwai," (Whatever is earned at Delhi, is taken away at Chuperghuta). But of late years, robberies, and indeed crimes of all kinds, have been rare on the Grand Trunk Road. Since the year 1848, numerous measures* have been adopted for the protection and comfort of travellers. Besides the halting grounds for troops, serais have been erected at convenient intervals, and provision depôts have been established by Government, which stations its own contractors there, and compels them to conform to rules framed for the prevention of extortion or exorbitance. So that the traveller finds board and lodging, and accommodation for man and beast at road-side inns, provided by the state. For the protection of the road, there are fixed at intervals of not less than 2 miles† either guard-houses with two watchmen each, or police-stations of greater or smaller calibre, according as the locality might require. Taking the number of the watchmen and of the regular police employed upon the road into consideration, there cannot be much less on an average than one officer, of one kind or other, to every half mile of road.‡ Neighbouring Thanas and Tuhsildaris have been brought, as much as practicable, on to the road. And many of the Tuhsildars have been vested with the powers of deputy magistrates, in order that heinous offences, committed on the road, may be investigated promptly, and petty offences be disposed of, with as little inconvenience as possible to the parties aggrieved.§

* Vide *Agra Government Gazette*, for April 1848.

† Ibid, for July 1850.

‡ Vide arrangements for the Grand Trunk Road, within the limits of the Aligurh district, enjoined for general imitation, in the *Agra Government Gazette* of July 1850.

§ Ibid.

Like all other stations in the N. W. Provinces, Cawnpore has its local committee of roads. The funds annually at their disposal consist of 1 per cent. on the Government revenue, levied from the landholders, and a share of the surplus of the General ferry funds of the whole provinces, apportioned by Government.* The total amounts to about Rs. 27,600 per annum. There is but one metalled road besides the Trunk Road. But the numerous maps, appended to the statistical report, show that the district is intersected in every direction by unmetalled roads, passable for nine months in the year. These roads are repaired every year, immediately after the cessation of the rains. Exclusive of the Trunk Road (which is superintended by an Engineer Officer), the aggregate length of road under charge of the committee amounts to 500 miles. The members of the committee are composed partly of European, and partly of Native, gentlemen.

Municipal improvements should not be passed over in silence. In few localities of India is European influence more palpably visible, than in the great cities of the North Western Provinces. The memory of every Anglo-Indian can recall to his imagination, and almost to his senses, the horrors of an Indian city, where the inhabitants are left to their own devices. In the cities of these provinces, the modern traveller would soon perceive, that the race of monarchs, who thought of splendid architecture rather than of the general comfort, has been supplanted by a set of rulers, who, though they cannot vie with their predecessors in structures, which bequeath memorials for posterity to admire, can far surpass them in solid and useful works, which secure public cleanliness, propriety, and health. Noisome alleys have been converted into broad streets lined with shops. Cesspools have been cleaned out; pitfalls filled up; inequalities smoothed down; the roads have been paved with metal, and intersected with drains. Breadth of street and good drainage, two things of vital consequence and formerly quite unknown in native cities, are invariable characteristics of the principal cities of the N. W. Provinces. Vast must be the effect of these measures on the sanitary condition of the residents. The city of Cawnpore, though of recent origin (it was a village seventy years ago), like all other native cities, grew up in pestilential filth. But the exertions of the magistrates have cleansed the Augean stable. The streets are on an average 24 feet wide, and have drains of masonry running on either side of them. Excavations have been made in the sub-

* After payment of expenses, the surplus tolls of all the Government ferries in the N. W. Provinces are thrown into a consolidated fund, and re-distributed among all the districts for local improvements.

urbs, into which filth may be emptied. The water from the drains of the private houses runs into the street drains, and is thence conducted into the main sewers. Every effort is made to keep the public drains as clean and sweet as possible. Besides the regular Police, there is a night watch kept up and paid by a cess levied on the inhabitants. There is also an establishment entertained for the purpose of keeping the city clean, and paid in the same manner as the night watch. The city is divided into a certain number of *muhullas*, or wards. In each ward, a committee is formed for the purpose of apportioning the assessment among the residents ; and there is a central committee for the whole city, to which individuals, considering themselves aggrieved by any of the inferior committees, may appeal, and whose award is final.

In few departments has more signal progress been made than in matters connected with the jails and with prison discipline. A few years ago, most of the jails of the N. W. Provinces were sadly defective. The prisoners were allowed many indulgences and some luxuries, constant intercourse with their friends, and a tolerable immunity from labour. From this point of view, therefore, the jail did not wear a very penal aspect. On the other hand, there was no ventilation, no drainage, no cleanliness, no sanitary arrangements. All this, combined with habits pre-disposing to disease, caused an undue amount of sickness, and, at many seasons of the year, the inmates suffered extremely from heat and want of air: so that, viewed in this light, these jails became, in a manner contrary to the intentions of their founders, unfortunately penal. But the order of things was reversed. The punishment, intended by a sentence of imprisonment, was not duly administered. At the same time, there was unwillingly inflicted a sad penalty, which the law never contemplated, in the shape of broken health or impaired constitution. Indulgence was substituted for severity ; but in the sanitary department, where everything ought to have conduced to health, if not to comfort, there something worse than discomfort was felt. And further, the sufferings, which were really endured, were just those very pains and penalties, which have no effect on the minds of the class whom it was intended to deter from crime. As long as the imprisoned thief or robber could get his ghí and tobacco and sweet-meats, and enjoy his day-long repose, undisturbed by a call to labour on the roads, he recked not of the close air of his pent-up cell, nor regarded the inroads of disease. Neither were matters of detail attended to. No such thing as classification existed. Civil and criminal prisoners, life prisoners, and prisoners under trial, prisoners with short and

long terms, prisoners with and without labour, were all huddled together in one undistinguished crowd. Also the jails were ruinously expensive, and cost much more than good ones. But these evils were swept away in 1844, by the appointment of Mr. W. Woodcock, as inspector of prisons, who has indeed proved himself the Macconochy of these provinces. Jails, which criminals used facetiously to term their "pucka houses," became real penitentiaries, emulating, in a lesser degree, the wholesome terrors of Millbank or Pentonville. Indulgences were abolished; hard labour enforced; dietary fixed; cleanliness, drainage and ventilation introduced. Prison labour was also rendered productive. The prisoners were minutely classified, and the whole jail system was immensely reduced in expence. Thus the jails have been rendered *penal* in the proper sense of the term. The punishment consists in seclusion, denial of every possible indulgence, and severe toil. On the other hand, for the wretchedness attendant on the old system, has been substituted the health and comfort, which are always consequent upon plain food, regular habits, hard work, a clean abode, and fresh air. The Cawnpore jail seems to afford a fair sample of the improvements, which have been more or less effected in all the jails in the N. W. Provinces. In this jail, all the different classes of prisoners (distinguished by the gradation of punishments awarded to the various kinds of offences) are located in separate wards. Ventilation has been effected by apertures in the ceilings of wards and of cells; open drains have been covered over; and all nuisances have been removed from the yards. The rations fixed in lieu of the money allowance, which used to be given to the prisoners for the purchase of their own food, mainly consist of 1½ lbs. of wheaten flour per diem, for able-bodied men on hard labour. This quantum is reduced to 1¼ for those who are without labour. Each prisoner costs, on the average, Rs. 39-2-1½ per annum, or, in round numbers, £3-18-6. Of this, Rs. 18-0-8, or £1-16-0, is consumed in diet. Prison labour is of two kinds—that performed inside, and that performed outside the jail; from the former the clothing is made, the flour ground, menial offices performed, and repairs executed. The proceeds of this productive labour are estimated in money value at Rs. 1,542 per annum.

Before taking leave of the various subjects treated of in the statistical report, it would not be amiss to say a few words on the products of Cawnpore. These products may, however, be shortly enumerated, and the progress of agricultural science may here, as elsewhere, be designated by the expressive monosyllable—"Nil." Strange, that while other nations have devoted

their best energies and intelligence to advancing the culture of the soil, India alone—with a civilization cotemporary with the annals of mankind, with an intelligent people, with varied richness and fecundity, governed successively by dynasties sprung from widely distant climes, and able therefrom to introduce a vast diversity of products, if the people would but accept them—should have remained to serve as a land-mark, whereby other countries might measure their progress. Mention has been preserved of fifty Greek writers on agriculture, whose works were known to the Romans. The writings of the most eminent* among them were translated by order of the Senate; and some of the most illustrious among their statesmen and poets employed their gifted pens on the same subject. The Emperor Charlemagne forced his subjects to experimentalize on seventy-three kinds of trees and plants, and opened a correspondence with Harún-al-Rashíd to obtain specimens of the Caliphate's choicest productions. The magistrates of the Dutch republic officially patronized the introduction of new plants. In our own country, with how many great names is this subject associated; with how many societies, colleges, professorships, periodicals! On the continent, splendid agricultural institutions have been reared, and vast political changes have been wrought, to accomplish this very object. The colonizing nations of Europe have been most sedulous in supplying their colonies with extraneous products. For many plants and fruits the West Indies and South America are indebted to Spain. The French also imported numerous seeds and plants into their colonies, and gave their name to the Bourbon cotton. Our old and present colonies in North America teem with foreign vegetables, sown there by British enterprize; and American cotton, which India in vain endeavours to rival, is of imported origin.† The same spirit has animated the Government of British India. Similar efforts have been perpetually made, but have been too often attended with different results. The cultivation of some of the most important staples has not progressed, in spite of model farms, botanical gardens, foreign deputations, and scientific apparatus. Notwithstanding the many societies, lectures, and publications, and the presence of European farmers on the spot, Indian agriculture *will* not advance one step. The same system, which met the gaze of the Macedonian Alexander, the Ghuznivide Mahomed, the Tartar Baber, and the early European settlers, still puzzles the modern virtuoso with its immutable sameness. "Facio," says

* Vide Jones, on Rent, Book i. sec. iii.

† See the body of facts regarding the progress of scientific culture, collected by Dr. Royle, in his work on the Productive Resources of India.

the ryot, "come faceva la buon anima di mio padre; è cio basta." (I do, as did my father before me; and that is quite sufficient).

The staples of Cawnpore are cotton, indigo, grain, sugar, sugar-cane, and opium. The cultivation of the two first has much fallen off in late years. The depression of the indigo cultivation, dated from the failure of the great houses in 1820 and of the agencies in 1830. Mr. Montgomery attributes the diminution in the cotton cultivation to the low prices which have prevailed of late years, and to the limited demand for the article in the European market. In 1839, the Court of Directors, being desirous of attempting a more effectual experiment than had yet been essayed, deputed Captain Bayles to America, with a view to obtaining information, seeds, and machinery, for the growing and cleaning of cotton. Captain Bayles returned in due course of time, with seeds, apparatus, and ten experienced planters, willing to proceed to India.* Two of these American planters were stationed, in 1841, at Cawnpore. The villages selected were on the banks of the Jumna, declared by a competent authority to be a most favourable locality.† After three years, the experiment was abandoned. Various causes have been assigned for the failure, such as, the unpropitiousness of the season, the short duration of the enterprize, and the dullness of the natives. We believe that the fault lay with the planters themselves, who had not the spirit to persevere. As to the unteachableness of the people, we cannot help fancying, that the teachers did not thoroughly do their duty. "The Hindu cultivator," says an eminent authority,‡ "must be taught by example, rather than by precept: and those, who teach, must endeavour to fortify their precepts, as well as their practice, by taking care that both are conformable to principle." The same writer has, in many passages, enforced the necessity of experimentalists adapting their principles and practice to diversity of soil and climate, and to the influence of physical agents on vegetation. These axioms were probably disregarded in the present instance. The site was a good one, and the district is favourable to such purposes. Mr. Montgomery considers that the cotton cultivation might easily be doubled. In the district of Cawnpore, generally, there prevail alternations of husbandry and rotation of crops. Most lands give two fields of different kinds in the year. Good wheat lands yield twenty maunds (equivalent to 1,646 lbs.) per acre, and fetch about five rupees per bigah, or 20*s.* per

* Royle.—Productive Resources, p. 321.

† Ibid. p. 331. ‡ Dr. Royle.

acre, as rent; barley and indigo lands, about 16*s*. The rich alluvial lands, growing vegetables combined with other crops, (market gardens in fact), rent sometimes as high as twelve rupees per bigah, or £4 16*s*. per acre. The cattle are fed on chaff or stalks. Jungle pasturage is scarce,* and artificial herbage is almost unknown. The plough is a wretched instrument, and has nothing but hoary antiquity to recommend it. Its inefficiency is shown by the fact, that wheat and sugar-cane lands have to be ploughed from ten to fifteen times, barley land from seven to twelve times, and so on.

Success, very different from that of the cotton experiment, attended the cultivation of the poppy. This was commenced in 1836. The first two or three seasons were signal failures; but the experiment was resuscitated by the efforts of Mr. E. A. Reade, then deputy collector. Shortly afterwards, a subordinate opium agency was established at Cawnpore. For several years the prosperity of the season mainly depended on the personal exertions of the superintendant. After that, the ryots found out that the cultivation of the poppy was a profitable investment for their labour and capital; and about 1,800 acres are now under cultivation. The average produce per bigah has been raised from 1 seer 12 chuttacks in 1833, to 6 seers 6 chuttacks in 1847. The examiner at Benares, and the agent at Ghazípur, have repeatedly testified to the superior quality of the Cawnpore opium.

We must here conclude our selections from the long category of subjects discussed in the Statistical Report. At the same time, we cannot but feel that imperfect justice has been done to the care and ability, with which the Report has evidently been compiled. It would be no easy task to produce a work of this stamp in a country, where the preparation of statistics formed a regular branch of the executive administration, where countless official returns were to be found, and where a class of men existed, who had been trained up to such employment. But who shall estimate the labour of such a work in a country, where statistical science is as yet in its infancy; where information has to be extracted, gathered, and, as it were, reaped, winnowed and sifted with the most searching scrutiny; where agents and coadjutors have to be drilled, watched, and trained with the most laborious patience? Among the tables, included in the body of the publication in question, some would, we presume, have been obtained from official records; others would have been prepared by the Sudder and Mofussil (station and district) officers; and others,

* See Dr. Royle's Remarks on the pasture Grasses of India, ib. pp. 155—161.

by consultation and conference with the most experienced and intelligent native residents. The first set do not need comment, as they could be obtained with comparative ease. To the second kind, namely, those prepared by the Government officials, would belong the registry of traffic, the returns of district produce, the statement of tenures, of mutations of property, of average holdings, of caste divisions, and of the eighteen maps embodied in the Report. A most cursory inspection of any one of these statements would convince any one of the labour, which all of them, collectively and individually, must have cost. And all this was accomplished in addition to the current duties of a large district. "Nil mortalibus arduum." Who would believe, till they actually see it, the amount of work, which may be got through with resolution and perseverance? To the third class, namely, those prepared with the assistance of private individuals, would belong the statement of average prices of imports and exports, and of the expences attending cultivation. These too must have involved very great toil. The influence of such a publication will be widely extended. It is a start in the right direction; it facilitates future investigations by affording a model for them; it helps in rearing up a class of native officers fitted for statistical research. This work is the first of its kind; that many similar ones may follow it, is to be hoped; that many will surpass it, may be doubted.

Such, at the end of fifty years under the English sway, is the first chapter in the history of Cawnpore. What will the next be? If a second Statistical Report should be written fifty years hence, what will there be to record? Undiscernible as the coming time must always be, yet certain objects do seem to loom forth from the mist and haze of the future. We have visions of the rail passing through Cawnpore, of the Ganges canal fertilizing the district, of inland navigation, of re-distribution of the taxes, of scientific agriculture, of the introduction of new staples and new produce, of the diffusion of European professional knowledge on practical subjects, of improved transit, of an invigorated administration in all departments, and of an extended national education.

But whether these speculations be groundless and air-built, or not, at all events it may be affirmed, that, if as much ground is gained during the next half century as there has been during the last, some progress will have indeed been made towards the attainment of (what must ever be the object of the British rule) the prosperity, happiness, and morality of the people.

ART. IV.—1. *The Government Gazette.* 1849.—*Proposed Jury Act.*

2 *The Englishman and Military Chronicle.* 1849.

3. *The Bengal Hurkaru.* 1849.

4. *The Friend of India.* 1849.

THE Black Acts, it has been said, though suspended for the present, are likely some day to pass. When a code has been revised and adopted as law, and the way thus cleared for their enactment—when their deficiencies have been supplied, and the cases, not foreseen in drawing them up, have been provided for—they are likely to become, in a shape perhaps somewhat different from their original one, the law of the land. In what form the Jury Act will re-appear—whether rendering imperative, or optional to the prisoner, the presence of a Jury—or imperative for the trial of a British prisoner, and optional for that of a native—whether confined to the higher courts, or prescribed also for the lower—what amount in short of the Jury principle will be introduced into the judicial system as it now stands, is uncertain: and, while it is uncertain, it is not too late to consider what it is that is implied in the use of the trial by Jury, and to view it, not solely as a part of the machinery employed for arriving at a correct judgment, but in all its bearings. For other bearings it undoubtedly has, whether they are considered as effects of the institution, or collateral circumstances inseparable from its existence.

The introduction of trial by Jury into a judicial system has consequences analogous to the introduction of a chemical substance into a collection of other substances, each of whose composition it modifies. On comparing the system of decision by a single Judge, with that where the fact is submitted to the final decision of a Jury—in other words, the plan in use here, and the English method—it will be found that each of the parties concerned, the Judge, the Police, the witnesses, the criminal, and the public, is subjected to influences in the latter case, which have no existence in the former. We shall briefly indicate some of the ways in which it affects each of these parties.

The Judge, sitting alone, may, with all his skill in the law, be affected in some cases by an undue bias, and, to use the words of Mr. Cameron's Minute, "there is danger of his falling into a 'hasty and slovenly mode of transacting business, which has

'become to him matter of mere routine, and of his becoming 'irritable and impatient of contradiction."

These faults, whatever tendency the free admission of the public will have to repress them, will be further diminished by the presence of a Jury, more especially in the case of the native Judge. But there is the additional circumstance, that the Judge, not being entrusted with the decision of the fact, is still more in the position of an impartial looker-on, whose special duty it is to see fair play, and to make an unbiassed explanation of the points of evidence in his summing-up—of a looker-on, moreover, whose opinion is of such weight, as usually to be adopted by the Jury. It may be added, that any pretence of charging Judges with a want of independence is neutralized by the verdict of a Jury.

Whatever opinion the public generally entertains of the Police, that opinion will be shared by the average of Juries. Whether it confines itself generally to the line of its duties, or is guilty of such departures from it, as have been frequently alleged against the Mofussil Police, will be known to the Jury in common with the rest of their countrymen: and, knowing these things, and being in their turn subject to their evil practices, if any such exist, they are peculiarly competent to form a judgment in cases where these have occurred. Placed daily in the seat of judgment, not as permanent members, but as the continually varying portions of a large and respectable class, it is impossible, but that, by the course of judicial decisions and of public opinion originating from them, they should affect the conduct of the Police, and tend to bring that body to assume its proper place.

Witnesses will be influenced in a manner analogous to this, though not exactly resembling it—more especially the man who has come prepared to give false evidence. He will scarcely venture to do this, to the extent to which it is now practised, before men, who may be members of the very society in which the events, of which he testifies, take place. This at least is the most simple and obvious explanation of a fact which is undoubtedly true, that there is a greater amount and more glaring instances of false evidence in British Judicial Courts than in the Native States and in those territories which have been recently subjected to our rule. These fruits of our system may probably have been caused in some degree by the existence of a fixed law and an established rule of procedure, which, so far as the criminal is concerned, are set up only to be evaded: but they have probably ripened into their present vigorous maturity under the fostering influence of Judges, before whom witnesses could relate their grosser inventions without fear of instant rejection.

What amount of veracity is to be found in the body of society, as well as in the individual in his private capacity—what are the influences which cause a deviation from truth—these are points which must be examined and conceived with fairness, before the probability of witnesses giving true evidence can be at all calculated.

We have heard it asserted, that falsehood is to be expected *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus:* but if this was true, how could society hold together? One form of truth, fidelity to their salt, is (not confining the remark to any particular locality) a marked characteristic of the great mass of the people. But towards speaking the truth the presence of more than one quality is essential. The first requisite is a clear and distinct perception of a fact; and this perception, especially in the lower grades of the agricultural population throughout India, is often deficient.

No one, who is acquainted with the credulity which exists among them on every point connected with the supernatural, the belief in witch-craft, and the attributing matters of common occurrence to sorcery or the sportive or malignant influence of the gods, can fail to perceive how far from the calmness and singleness of mind of a philosophic observer is their apprehension of a fact out of the common way. The mind of the people is still in the mythical stage, and that is but another form of words for a want of correct observation. It implies also an absence of the knowledge of the importance of truth, of there being but one truth, and that it should be a subject of careful research. In all this, there is nothing which should make them other than loose and incorrect observers, without such attachment to truth as must characterize those nations, whose forefathers branded fear as the basest of passions, and stamped on falsehood, as arising from fear, a kindred infamy. Among the village communities of India, therefore, where old institutions survive, and there is no despotic power to compel to falsehood by oppression,* there is probably about as much veracity between man and man as may be found in the southern nations of Europe. Falsehood to avoid taxation is sufficiently common everywhere: but the nature of Indian Governments has ever been such that it became the only defence of the oppressed. Though truth within the village circle was valued, falsehood towards the Government and superiors generally became the point of honour—the duty imposed on each individual in self-defence.

Hence the confession of a criminal to prevent annoyance to his neighbours, and to retain the good will of the society with

* See Colonel Sleeman's Rambles of an Indian Official, vol. 2, p. 123. The whole of Chapter ix. is an interesting discussion of this question.

which he is connected; hence the disregard of truth by witnesses, supported by the approbation of their friends, when their interests are concerned; and, when not so, growing in intensity the farther they are removed from their own neighbourhood. There can be no doubt that the presence of a Jury would have some effect in bridling the inventive faculty, and in reducing to more sober limits the too lively imagination of a witness; but there are influences, yet to be adverted to, which would come in aid of the witness's fear that the Jury was conversant with the truth, or that he would require the greater skill and composure to elude the perception of his countrymen.

It might seem to be a matter of little consequence to the prisoner, whether he is to be tried by a single Judge or by a Jury; but even to him, it is perceptible there are some shades of difference. Doubtless, every man if he was going to be tried, would have some pre-possessions in favour of one or other tribunal, varying probably according to the nature of his case, and to the fact of his being innocent or guilty. This point we will leave our readers to decide for themselves. They will perhaps agree with us in thinking, that, where the accused is one of the middle or upper classes, and the charge involves some disgrace, the verdict of a Jury would deepen the stain of a conviction, and more completely efface it by a declaration of innocence.

Passing from this limited, and therefore less important, section of cases, to those affecting the criminal classes, the professional thieves, &c., the question immediately presents itself, in what light do they regard these tribunals? what are their practical speculations on judicial machinery? There are unfortunately not many opportunities of ascertaining the sentiments of this interesting class on a subject of such vital importance to them. M. Riouffe,* however, who in the first

* Extract from Riouffe's Memoirs:—

Pendant ce temps, j'eus occasion de me trouver avec beaucoup de voleurs....Je connus par leurs entretiens, au moment où je feignais de dormir, qu' ils tenaient à tous les voleurs de Paris.....Ils etaient aristocrates presque tous: mais la cause s'en rapportait uniquement à eux.

C' etait parce que, dans le nouveau code, ils etaient jugés par des jurés, qu' ils traitaient d' ignorants, et qu' il n'etait pas facile d'abuser. Je ne pouvais m' empêcher de rire, en les voyant se frapper le front de colère, et dire en jurant, ' Si c'etaient des gens habiles, nous nous tirerions d' affaire.' Ils savaient parfaitement les lois, qui les concernent, et surtout leurs ambiguités. Mais le sens et la raison du jury n' etaient point eblouis des fausses lueurs de leur chicane, qu' ils possedaient mieux que beaucoup d' avocats; et c'est ce qui les irritait. D'ailleurs ils etaient attachès au vieux barreau, sous lequel ils avaient leurs premières armes, ...Pampin* parlait toujours avec les plus grands eloges de l'ancienne magistrature.

* A distinguished assassin.

French Revolution was confined in the Conciergerie, in a cell tenanted only by murderers, burglars and coiners, has left us, in his Memoirs, their view of the result of trial by Jury : and, with all allowance for the rapidity of decision then in vogue, having perhaps in some degree extended itself to the trial of common criminal cases, his account is both instructive and entertaining. In the course of the long conversations which he had with them, and of the many hours during which he pretended to be asleep, and lay listening to their reminiscences, he had ample opportunities of learning their opinions :—and he describes them as aristocrats to a man ! Their reactionary desires, however, were based on an excellent reason. They were thoroughly acquainted with the laws which affected them, and especially with all possible loopholes in them. But under the new code they were tried by a Jury ; and the Jury-men they declared to be ignorant fellows, whom it was very difficult to blind. " Had they," they exclaimed with the most heartfelt indignation, " been but clever men, one could reckon on an acquittal."

The direct influences, which affect the public generally under the Jury system, are of less importance than the indirect ones. It may be true that, when in open court, as sometimes occurs, the thread of the trial is lost by a mere looker-on, owing perhaps to some technicality, the Jury-man, who labours under the same difficulties as the public, is there to ask for an explanation, and to enlighten others as well as himself. It may be true also that there is a greater general interest felt in trials by Jury than in those before a single Judge. Every intelligent man may be in a position to be a Jury-man, and this, of itself, produces a certain personal interest. In listening to a trial, moreover, every man may fairly form his own judgment, knowing that the Jury-man will decide on views similar to his own, with which the Judge, with his legal acquirements and professional views, may be supposed to have less sympathy. But it is in its indirect effects that this is of most importance: for to whatever extent it is desirable, not only that justice should be done, but that the public should believe it is done—this greater sympathy with the Jury than with the Judge confers a superiority on the former; insomuch that, whatever may be thought of the superior qualifications of able legal men, we are satisfied that a trial at an English assize, where the Judge should have as assessors the two ablest men in the county, such as the Judge of the County Court and the Tithe Commissioner, would, setting aside all prejudices, produce none of the public satisfaction, which arises from the present mode of proceeding.

If it is true that the public is interested and feels sympathy

with the Jury, it is not less so that, wanting the Jury, the court becomes an arena for contests, in which the public is a mere looker-on with comparatively little interest; and it is unfortunately sometimes the case that that wider field out of doors, where the Police carries on its operations, becomes a similar arena, in which the public is an unconcerned, if not hostile, spectator. We think we hear some one remark on this, that the feelings of the people are of little consequence, so long as the Police efficiently represses crime; but this we cannot concur with; nor do we believe that crime can be repressed, when the people are hostile to the Police.* Look for instance at the state of things described in Simond's *Tour in Italy* in 1818. What success could the Police have in such a case?

From such a state of things as that described by Simond, from the friendly assistance given to the murderer of a land agent in Ireland, to the helping hands or voices exerted in London to arrest the fugitive thief, or to the readiness in supplying information, as in two instances in the case of the Mannings, there is every gradation of obstruction and ill-will, of sympathy and co-operation. We shall content ourselves with indicating that some place in that scale, we do not fix which, is occupied by the Police and public of India.

The Jury-man, after fulfilling his functions, retires into private life; but he carries with him an interesting subject of conversation—the principles and practice of criminal trials. These are discussed with his neighbours; and a feeling of confidence in the actual state of things, and of desire to maintain it, is

* "There was a man stabbed at eleven o'clock this morning in the Corso, in consequence of a quarrel about a woman; and, although the street was full of people, the assassin was suffered to escape.....

"On expressing my great surprise that a murder should have been committed at noon-day in the most crowded street of Rome, and that the assassin should not have been instantly seized, a Roman, and not one of the lower order, coolly observed 'that there were no *Sbirri* present when it happened.'

"'*Sbirri!*' we exclaimed; 'was not every man a public officer in such a case as this?' 'That would be infamous,' he said; and such I find is the general feeling. People here are always on the side of the offender, and against public justice, against the execution of the law in any case. The obvious reason is that justice and the law are regarded not as means of protection to all men, but as suspicious instruments of power in the hands of the rich against the poor, of the high against the low; the execution of which is entrusted to the vilest of mankind, to whom it were infamous to give any countenance or assistance. Among the lower people to be called the son of a Sbirro is an unpardonable insult.

"Such is the prevalent feeling, that the popular exclamation of '*povero Christiano*' is not applied to the bleeding man on the ground, but to the person who stabbed him."—(*Simond's Tour in Italy*, p. 226).

"When murder is committed, the public feeling for the sufferer is soon lost in sympathy for the man who stabbed him, simply because he is in danger of the common enemy, the officers of justice. Knocking down a pick-pocket, or caning him, would meet with the approbation of the by-standers, but not taking him into custody."—p. 400.

created or strengthened. Hence arises a true co-operation, a practical working together of the Police and the public, both in court and out of it.

A more remote, but perhaps not less certain, effect of trial by Jury is that by submitting habitually, to a large number of the holders of property, questions of immediate interest and more or less importance, there are engendered among them a habit of applying the mind to consider evidence, a knowledge of the difficulties of forming a judgment, and a feeling of responsibility which strikes at the root of judicial corruption. For besides that an understanding between the Judge and Jury must be of rare occurrence, the number of cases, in which corruption is worth practising, will be limited, and those Jury-men, who fall under suspicion of being corrupted, will at least incur the virtuous indignation of their fellows, who having had no such opportunity, and often finding their own views and interests opposed to such corrupt decision, will learn to see the whole public inconvenience and unadvisableness of the practice. Such a conviction, once having taken root among the people, will scarcely fail eventually to influence the Judges, the Bar, and all parties connected with judicial affairs, even when not under the influence of a Jury.

We have thus noted briefly, and without detail, some of the most obvious points in which the method of trial by Jury causes results different from that by a single Judge, without adverting specially to the latter, as its details are too well known to most of our readers. Among the results, which we have pointed out, some will be observed to be faint and evanescent, others of a more marked and permanent character. Yet they are none of them peculiar to any race, climate, or country, but are to be looked for in the average of human nature, wherever men live in well-ordered communities, value the security of life and property, and give practical proof of their doing so by living under a system of Judicial and Police machinery. But if they are, as general propositions, applicable to such societies, yet, in their application to each separate community, there must be limitations and extensions of them, which will be based on the peculiar characteristics, the distribution of property, and the social arrangements peculiar to each. Thus, in the nations which possess trial by Jury in some form or other, we find a certain difference of institution, a certain variation of effects, in producing which these circumstances have had an influence. The only nations, which have used the Jury system in a form applicable to judicial investigation, are

in the west, England—by descent from her, her colonies, including the United States—by adoption, France, and more recently some other European States—and, in the east, that nation over which the English have now been placed as rulers, the Hindu race.

The original possessors of it may thus be confined to two, of which the English have retained it in vigour, and strengthened and regulated it by legislation; while among the Hindus, who have dwelt for centuries in a chaos of internal disorder, it has fallen to a lower place, and, in some places, gone almost out of sight. This has especially happened, where they have been permanently subjected to a government, whose creed and form of civilization were opposed to their own. We have not space to enquire under what forms and influences it exists in the three western nations we have named, nor to what extent it still survives on the soil of India. We would rather devote a few words to a subject not yet touched upon—the nature of the Jury itself. We have hitherto confined our remarks to its influences and effects.

Whatever may be its historical origin, the idea on which the Jury is based is, that respectable persons, holders of property in each locality, are interested in the protection both of life and property, are acquainted with the local characteristics, the customs that obtain, the events that occur in their neighbourhood, and are thus both qualified to judge as to a fact's having taken place, and desirous of maintaining order and obedience to the law. It is on these two qualities, the local knowledge, and the interest in repressing crime—and in proportion as the latter is more weighty than any opposite motive—that the working of the Jury will be successful. There are few countries, in which some portion of the Jury class, or some section of the country, is not adverse to the execution of some part of the law, or at least to the principles on which it is founded. We should expect a Vermont Jury to feel with the abolitionists in a slave-case; and an English farmer to lean towards mercy's side in a game case; a fact described in the familiar phrase that 'juries cannot be got to convict.' In proportion, then, as the laws are in accordance with public opinion, and especially with that of the Jury class, the Jury system will work easily and successfully, and its characteristic results be strongly marked. But if it were desired to introduce it, and at the same time to avoid all the inconveniences attending the execution of one or two unpopular laws, it would be enough to submit to it only cases concerning property. In these cases, at least, the laws unite

all suffrages in their favour: and wherever offences against property form the great body of those committed, and the test by which the success of the Police system is judged, the trial of them by a Jury might secure many of the advantages without the disadvantages of that method.

It matters little whether the Jury consists of the apostolic number, twelve, or the smaller number, which is endeared to the Hindus by centuries of use. An Englishman would prefer the former; a man of Indian race the latter: but the chances of a just decision would not be very unequal. But what does matter, is the class from which the Jury is formed, and the share it possesses in a judgment. It must be formed of householders, who possess property sufficient to raise them above poverty, and to make the preservation of life and property their strongest permanent object. This is a class, which will be differently defined in different countries, but is not difficult to define in any.

The share, which a Jury bears in a decision, is a question of vital consequence to its utility as an institution. We shall be told that assessors have been used in this country, and that the Jury system is therefore well understood. But what is an assessor? He has no power of giving a verdict. His business is to furnish the Judge with an opinion which has no weight, because it may be disregarded at pleasure. An assessor therefore comes into court in his best clothes, makes a dignified salám to the Judge, looks intelligent throughout the trial, whenever he is not asleep, and concludes his laborious judicial duties by finding out the opinion of the Judge, and giving his own accordingly: he then returns home with the gratifying conviction of having accomplished his mission. The Jury-man must have a substantive part in the decision—a part either equal or superior to that of the Judge—one, which either is final as to the fact, or, being of equal weight with the Judge's opinion, is liable to be reversed only by a superior court. Any thing less than this will deprive the office of importance and responsibility, and make it purely perfunctory. How great an influence, especially in diminishing the labour of the appeal courts, either would have on our judicial system, where every judgment is liable to reversal on appeal, it is needless for us to point out.

Our remarks on the Jury system are now concluded. We have not advocated a cause, but stated facts; facts which will be found of general truth in most civilized communities, but most so in those which are well ordered and not disturbed by violent passions. We have scarcely adverted to the judicial system, as it now exists in any part of India. Yet something might not in-

appropriately be added, if space permitted, on the applicability of our remarks to some part of this great empire. There are acknowledged to be parts of it, where, notwithstanding all the consideration that has been bestowed on it, the seat of the disease has not been reached, and the Police is unsuccessful in the repression of great crimes. The machinery of the Police has been improved, and with a beneficial result—though still manifestly ineffectual to accomplish what is desired. We take upon ourselves to say, that it never will accomplish it. You may furbish up an inefficient machine as you will, but it will never turn out good work. The work required of this one is beyond its powers, and it will never be able to perform it. In such circumstances, we should be inclined to consult the experience of others : to look abroad among other nations, and to investigate the means by which they are more successful. It is the province of wit to perceive resemblances ; that of judgment to observe differences : and this quality can scarcely find a nobler field of exercise than in labouring for the public benefit to eliminate, with a practical object, the points which constitute the difference between our own and other systems.

The first step in the process would be to investigate the systems which are most like : to examine in what part of India the Police is most successful, and to compare it with that in which it is least so ; to observe what are the causes of the difference, and to consider whether they cannot be removed. It is only in the records of Government, and in published reports, that such information is to be found : but we can point to Mr. Jenkins's Report on Nagpore, where the Punchayet was brought into active operation, for an instance of a state in which dacoity, originally rife, was entirely suppressed. The question necessarily arises, was it suppressed by means in which the Punchayet bore a large part ? or by what other means ? Whichever it was, let those means, which were successful, be extended to the surrounding countries ; and the like effects may be expected, unless there is some radical difference in the form of society. The onus of proof will at least lie on those who oppose it.

The institution, whether called Jury or Punchayet, is at this day in force in Mysore and Ceylon ; and we have the authority of one, who has sat on the bench in that island, for saying, that it is found there to be a useful one. History, it is said, is philosophy teaching by example : but here are contemporary history, and examples which can not only be studied in books, but examined while still in being. Nor need we confine our illustrations only to the south of India ; for a want at least of some-

thing similar has been felt in the Agra Presidency. It is but three years since the Sudder Adawlut there, dissatisfied with the operation of Regulation VI. of 1832, suggested the extension of the powers of the assessors to that of Jury-men, and some plan for compelling their attendance.*

We may here allude to two objections commonly current, of which we can take but the most cursory notice. One is that competent jury-men cannot be found: yet it is not uncommon in the most difficult cases to call in such assistance. The other is the presumed difficulty, which is anticipated in getting them to attend. We do not believe in this, seeing that, however much it has fallen into disuse in the courts, the Punchayet is still rooted in the minds of the people, and used in their private disputes. But if on trial it is found to be the case, the course is clear: for a nation, which will not furnish jurymen, is not worthy of the institution. That it will ever be called on to do so, is more than doubtful. The counsellors nearest at hand are the natives in public employment (let us add, the most skilful and intelligent counsellors to be found among their countrymen on most public questions); but we have yet to find among them the man, who from his heart approves of the use of the Punchayet, and does not look on it as an infringement of the vested rights and due influence of his own class.

We must now conclude: but a few words remain to be said to guard ourselves from being mis-understood. The Jury Act, which heads this paper, is the cause, but not the object, of our remarks.

If it passes (and we believe that, at some future date, an Act of

* See the following extract abridged from a Calcutta paper, December 14, 1847:—

The Sudder Adawlut of the North West Provinces has issued a circular, stating that the practice of the Sessions Courts under Regulation VI. of 1832 requires amendment.

2. By that law the Sessions Judges are empowered to dispense with the services of the Muhammadan law officer, and to try cases with the assistance of respectable natives; and by clause 4, section 3, the mode of selecting the jurors, the number to be employed, and the manner in which their verdict shall be delivered, are left to the discretion of the presiding Judge; the decision being vested exclusively in the Judge.

3. The Court are not satisfied with the manner in which this law has worked. The Sessions Judge being unable to compel the attendance of jurymen, Juries are usually composed of Vakíls and Múktears, generally two in number: and from the provisions of clause 2, section 4, has resulted a total disregard of their verdicts. From these again flow reluctance to attend, inattention, opportunity for corruption, and many other serious evils.

4. The Court are of opinion the present system cannot be improved, unless the Sessions Judge is empowered to summon jurymen, and are anxious to propose this measure to the Legislature with a view to a more complete practical introduction of the trial by jury. But, before submitting this proposal, they desire to know whether with reference to the local peculiarities of your district, &c., a rule, compelling the attendance of respectable persons as jurymen, could be enforced without serious difficulty or offence to the feelings of the native public; and whether a nominal list could be drawn up of persons qualified and liable to serve, on penalty in case of recusancy.

that nature will pass) it must previously have been remodelled to meet the just objections that have been made to it.* We might have added our mite to these, or contributed some suggestions towards removing them. But our object was to throw some light on the inherent qualities of the jury system, whose good results, if we have correctly stated them, must far out-balance its defects: to turn enquiry and attention to the fact, that, where it has been fairly tried in this country, it has not been found wanting, and to the question whether there is no province or district, except those where it is in force, to which it might be extended with advantage. Our business was not with the important cause, which is still pending between the Legislative Council and the thousands of British-born settlers, but with that greater cause, which concerns the millions who people the cities and villages of British India; the security of their property; the repression of crime; the good understanding and active co-operation of the better classes with the authorities; the consequent diminution of corruption and oppression by subordinate officials, and of perjury by witnesses; and the real attachment of large classes towards a Government in which, as members of a jury, they would bear an active part.

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. XXVI. pp. 381-4.

ART. V.—1. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testament; translated into Burmese, by A. Judson, D. D.*

2. *Grammar of the Burmese Language; by A. Judson, D. D.*

3. *Dictionary of the Burmese Language; by A. Judson, D. D.*

4. *Life of Mrs. Ann H. Judson; by James D. Knowles.*

5. *Memoir of Sarah B. Judson; by Fanny Forester. 2nd Edition. London.* 1849.

6. *The Judson offering; intended as a token of Christian sympathy with the living, and a memento of Christian affection for the dead. Edited by J. Dowling, D. D. 10th Thousand. New York.* 1848.

INDIAN HISTORY has few more remarkable events, and yet few less accurately known, than the rise and fall of the Buddhistic creed. Its extinction from the plains of India remains in a great measure an historical enigma. The architectural remains of the fallen religion, thinly scattered over the face of the country, were long misinterpreted. With the classical prejudices of a European education, our countrymen would gaze on the far famed Tope of Manikyala, or the striking one in the defile of the Khyber Pass, or those less known, but not less curious, in the ravines of the mountain range near Cabul, and even on that, which has attracted so much attention as the Sanchi Tope near Bhilsa;—and every where in these massive monuments of a vanished, but once dominant, religion, they traced the forms of Grecian artistic genius, the records of Alexander's conquering march, or of the subsequent Hellenic dynasties, which were assumed to have extended their influence far beyond the utmost limits attained by the Macedonian leader and his tried soldiery. Very gradually this error was rectified. Inscriptions from all quarters of the compass were collected, compared, finally mastered, and correctly rendered. The Ceylon Buddhistic annals were analysed by a Turnour; the Thibetan books were revealed by a Csoma de Koros and a Hodgson; and the antiquarian riches of the literature of China were made to cast light upon what had hitherto been a dark Cimmerian desert of ignorant surmise. Fa Hian's travels over the continent of India, in the fourth century of the Christian era, have done much towards dispelling the darkness which enveloped that early period of the religious condition of the great country now under British rule. The fact of (what may be termed) the classical hallucination as to these monuments is curious; for it would seem almost impossible that any one, who has

dwelt in a country where Buddhism prevails, should turn his attention even cursorily to the Topes of India, the Punjab, or Affghanistan, without being struck with the analogies presented by these once architectural enigmas to the Pagodas of Gaudama. Though in stone, the normal forms are preserved; and it is difficult to escape from the conviction, that the exemplars must have been structures raised in countries, where wood was plentiful, the rainy season heavy and destructive, and the mason's art, when durability was an object, able to soar to no higher an emanation of genius, than a solid, dome-shaped mass of brick or stone, which promised to withstand the utmost malice of time and of the elements. Even when in stone, the palisade, or rail, round the Tope is put together, as if a carpenter had turned mason, and worked from a wooden model—beams of stone being treated with mortice and tenon junctions, as if teak had been the material in lieu of sandstone. The gateways, by which you pass into the space between the rail and the Tope, or Pagoda, bear the same impress of having wooden progenitors; and, until the original idea is brought to mind, and the material in which it was embodied, the observer is puzzled to imagine, why stone should have been thus applied. Tall stone columns take the place of the lofty mast-pieces, from which long flaunting pennants stream to every breath of wind that sweeps round a Burman Pagoda. Sprites, Gouls, and Leo-griffs of indescribable form and feature, but bearing an undeniably brother-likeness to the wooden prodigies of Buddhist phantasy and myth, often cap the lofty stone columns. There are the same small altars, on which a few flowers would be laid in Pegu or Burmah; and lastly the same kind of sites selected for the edifice, commanding hill tops, or the summit of a long gentle swell of land as at Manikyala. Looking carefully at the elaborate carving which adorns some of the gateways of the Indian Topes, the observer becomes quickly convinced both of the prototype, and of the purposes to which these edifices were devoted. There is the miniature resemblance of the Pagoda; the devotees bearing their offerings, flowers, fruits, umbrellas, fans, and gay banners; and, as there is a limit to available space in the compartments of rich carvings, the pennants, or banners, are often represented as doubled up by a breeze, in which form they bear some likeness to Greek and Roman standards, and have thus misled casual observers: but no one, intimate with Buddhist processions, can be deceived by this fortuitous similarity. Looking closer, the fashion of intertwining the long hair (on which the Buddhist Burman prides himself) with the rolls and folds of the turban, appears then to have been as much in

vogue with the Indian, as it now is with the Burman or Peguan, Buddhist. This peculiarity would not have been so carefully and delicately chiselled, had it not been a cherished distinction. There could therefore be little hesitation in identifying the Buddhistical character of these ancient monuments, even if the discoveries in literature, to which we have alluded, had not informed us, that from Cashmere to Ceylon, from Cabul to Gya, Buddhism once prevailed throughout the length and breadth of India. In spite of this extension, and of the millions who must have professed it as a creed, it has, however, been utterly swept away. Error—and error far grosser, idolatry far more debasing—replaced it as the belief of the masses; and, until the Moslem faith with its sword polemics stepped upon the scene, that crass idolatry swayed without a rival the minds of India's millions. Here then history affords us experimental proof that Buddhism can be smitten down, and that too by a polytheism fouler, more dark, and more hideous in its grossness and superstition, than the worship of Gaudama.

Are we to suppose truth less powerful than falsehood? Are we to despair of her coping with an opponent, which the Hindu Pantheon and the Brahminical fallacy trod down into the dust? We must be of very different mettle, and actuated by very different views from the Burman apostle, Adoniram Judson, if for a moment so faint-hearted a feeling lodge in our breasts. He, from the dawn to the close of his eventful career, could contemplate the millions, still under the yoke of Buddhist error, with the hope and the assurance of ultimate victory for the cause of truth. Strong in this hope, like a good soldier of the Cross, he unfurled his standard on the enemy's ground; and, though in the contest it was at times struck down, yet the standard bearer's heart and courage were proof, and the banner, triumphing in such hands over every struggle, soon rose and floated again in the breath of Heaven. We may well say with the Psalmist, "How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!" But in this instance, though the mighty are fallen, the weapons of war are not perished. A champion of the Cross, and a notable one too, has indeed, after waging a seven-and-thirty years' conflict against the powers of darkness, fallen at his post: but he has fallen gloriously, leaving a well-furnished armoury to his seconds and successors in the fight,—weapons sound of temper, sharp of edge, and gleaming brightly with the light of Heaven He was indeed a mighty champion—mighty in word—mighty in thought—mighty in suffering—mighty in the elasticity of an unconquerable spirit—mighty in the entire absence of selfishness, of avarice, of all the meaner passions of the ungenerate

soul—mighty in the yearning spirit of love and of affection—above all, mighty in real humility, in the knowledge and confession of the natural evil and corruption of his own heart, in the weakness which brings forth strength—mighty in fulfilling the apostolic injunction, "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men"—mighty in the entire unreserved devotion of means, time, strength, and great intellect to his master, Christ.

In stature Judson was not like the son of Kish, but rather resembled what we imagine to have been the personal presence of the Saul brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, who, from his own description, leaves the impression of an ardent, dauntless spirit in a weak tenement. A person overtaking Judson in one of his early morning walks, as he strode along the Pagoda-capped hills of Moulmein, would have thought the pedestrian before him rather under-sized, and of a build showing no great muscular development; although the pace was good and the step firm, yet there was nothing to indicate great physical powers of endurance in the somewhat slight and spare frame, tramping steadily in front of the observer. The latter would scarcely have supposed that he had before him the man, who, on the 25th March, 1826, wrote:—"Through the kind in-
'terposition of our Heavenly Father, our lives have been preserv-
'ed in the most imminent danger from the hand of the execu-
'tioner, and in repeated instances of most alarming illness dur-
'ing my protracted imprisonment of one year and seven months
'—nine months in three pairs of fetters, two months in five, six
'months in one, and two months a prisoner at large." Illness nigh unto death, and three or five pairs of fetters to aid in weighing down the shattered and exhausted frame, seemed a dispensation calculated for the endurance of a far more muscular build. But meet the man, instead of overtaking him, or, better still, see him enter a room and bare his head, and the observer caught an eye beaming with intelligence, a countenance full of life and expression. Attention could scarce fail of being rivetted on that head and face, which told at once that the spiritual and intellectual formed the man; the physical was evidently wholly subordinate, and must have been borne through its trials by the more essential elements of the individual, by the *feu sacre*, which predominated in his composition.

Nor was this impression weakened by his conversation. Wisdom and piety were, as might be expected in such a man, its general tone: but there was a vivacity pervading it, which indicated strong, buoyant, though well it may be said, very severely disciplined animal spirits. Wit, too, was there—playful,

pure, and free from malice; and a certain, quiet, Cervantic humour, full of benignity, would often enliven and illustrate what he had to say on purely temporal affairs. His conversation was thus both very able and remarkably pleasing.

We have without special advertence to the circumstance touched on one or two points of resemblance between the great Jesuit Missionary, Xavier, and the Baptist Missionary, Judson: and, if it were our intention to attempt a life of the latter, we could easily, without, however, for a moment confounding the doctrinal antagonism between these two great and good men, adduce other minor points of analogy in their idiosyncracies. The three centuries of time, which lie between their careers, form scarcely a broader boundary of demarcation, than do their respective views on the dogmata of that faith, for the propagation of which both were fearless and indefatigable champions. Xavier, with the words ever ringing in his ears, which his friend and chief had indelibly stamped upon his mind—"What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"—went forth upon his Mission, trained and disciplined in the school of fanaticism and superstition, but strong in his Papist faith, in single-eyed devotion to the service of the Lord, and to the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow-men. He must not be entirely confounded and condemned with the Order, which takes pride in his name. From their first foundation laid by the soldier-priest Loyola, doubtless, "les Jesuites ont voulu joindre Dieu au monde, et n'ont gagné que le mépris de Dieu et du monde"; but the condemnatory clause of this sentence did not follow immediately upon the institution of the Order. "Il etait meilleur, pour le commencement, de proposer la pauvreté et la retraite:" and it was when the Constitutions of Loyola were fresh or framing, that Xavier went forth uncontaminated in the stern simplicity of his self-devotion. "Il a été meilleur ensuite de prendre le reste:" but, long before that time had arrived, Xavier had laid down his head in the dust. We class him not with those who followed. He stands alone in the Order; and who, at this distance, and through the mists and fables of his weak superstitious eulogists, shall presume to judge how much of truth, though clouded by a Papal dress, was granted to that sincere man, bearing to India with him the copy of a part of the New Testament? Ten short years saw the wonderful enthusiast laboring with signal success at Goa, Travancore, Meliapore, Malacca, and Japan: and he died on the eve of sailing for Siam, with the Empire of China in his heart, as the object of his future energies, had he been spared. From the Buddhists of Japan, it was natural that he should turn his attention to the Buddhists of Siam

and China: and, had his life been prolonged a few short years, the writers of his Order would have had doubtless to relate the wondrous workings of the spirit of their great Missionary upon those vast fields of error. If Ranke's opinion of him be correct, *Sein Bekehrungs Eifer war zugleich eine art Reiselust*,* even Burmah might have come within his sweep of his wanderings and labour; and then there would have been another and a closer point, on which for a moment to compare the career of the Spanish Jesuit with that of the American Baptist. But this was not to be; and the isle of Sancian saw Xavier expire, with "*In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in æternum*" on his lips. Three centuries have passed, since this hope was uttered with his dying breath by one of the noblest heroes of the Cross. Of his labours, which under any aspect were truly gigantic, what now remains? Where are the Churches which he founded? We will not ask where are the Scriptures which he translated, for that he considered neither his duty nor his calling: but where is there any thing to indicate that the spoken word, the seed sown three centuries ago, struck root, and grew, and continues to bear fruit? His success was sudden, meteor-like, and transient, as that of one of earth's conquerors. It was too much based upon the gross superstition of his hearers, to which his own deep enthusiasm and fanaticism made no vain appeal:—he conquered them with their own weapons, rather than with the dogmas of his own creed.

Far different has been the success of the seven-and-thirty years of Judson's continuous, unflinching labour. His career has not been marked by the alleged sudden conversion of tens of thousands of idolaters. Princes indeed listened, but did not bow their heads to the truths of the Gospel. Brilliant success no where attended him. Yet, it may be permitted us to doubt, whether Judson has not laid the foundation of a fabric, which, instead of vanishing in the course of the next three centuries, will, should earth last, grow into the stately proportions of an extensive and solid Spiritual Temple. Driven from Burmah, he planted his small, but really Christian, Church of Burmese converts on the frontier of the Burman and Peguan Empire; first, at Amherst; subsequently, where Boardman had preceded him, at Moulmein—a position from whence, at any favourable moment, it can with great facility go forth to the work of evangelizing the surrounding Heathen. His converts and disciples have not been altogether idle in spite of the stern persecution which awaits them on discovery: and, as most Burmans can read and write, the

* "His Missionary zeal was at the same time a kind of love for travelling."

translation of the Scriptures, their wide dissemination, and the teaching of these converts, few though they be, cannot fail to prepare the soil, and to sow the seed of a future far richer harvest, than the state of this Buddhist stronghold at present promises.

We recollect hearing a Civil Servant of the Company, a gentleman now holding one of the highest judicial offices in the Presidency to which he belongs, observe, that he had never been able to account for a fact, which he had had repeated opportunities of witnessing. He, by no means a second-rate linguist, had, during a long course of public service, been in constant daily attendance in his *kacheri*, with every description of case to investigate, and an unceasing intercourse with natives of every rank, character, and kind; yet, notwithstanding this constant intercourse during so many years, he at that time felt, that he was very far from being at all a proficient in Urdu, always the language of the people with whom his service had associated him, and for a good many years the language of the Courts—while a Missionary, who might have been less than one-fourth of the time in India, would, in the course of a short conversation, utterly dishearten him by the correct and even eloquent facility, with which the Missionary would discourse in Urdu upon the most difficult subjects. Various reasons were advanced by those present, but were easily shown to be insufficient by the person, who had brought the question under discussion. One, however, of the company suggested, that, in the practice of Civil and Criminal Courts, as in the connection between military officers and their men, even when cordial and intimate, the language employed, though more or less extensive, still partook of a limited and technical range, which a short application was sufficient to master; on the contrary, it was otherwise with the Missionary. He was under the necessity, from the very beginning, of aiming at far higher attainments; for he could have no hope of being useful, until he should have acquired such a command of the instrument he was to use, as would enable him to launch freely upon the consideration and discussion of metaphysical subjects. But the scope of language, essential for a due treatment of such subjects, is of a far higher order, than that with which a person can very creditably and ably perform the duties of Civil or Criminal Courts. We think that the true proximate cause of the observed fact of Missionary success in the acquisition of languages was here struck. Think for a moment of the command of language requisite, even in a speaker's own mother-tongue, in order to treat adequately of the materiality or immateriality of the soul; of time, space, eternity; of the intel-

lectual faculties and the moral conditions of man's soul and spirit ; of good and evil, and a beneficent Deity. Yet upon all these subjects the Missionary must be prepared to speak, not in his mother-tongue alone, but in the foreign tongue of his adoption. He must be able, not only to rise to the contemplation of the attributes of Omniscience, but also to their expression ; and though, sin and death, and a Redeemer may be, and fortunately are, simple facts for a home address to the bosoms of mankind, yet, in every one of these, the passage from the simplicity of the Gospel truth to an infinity of subjects, in which human reason may be bewildered, is so easy, and the pride of intellect is so apt, backed by the passions, to stray into these dark and mysterious regions of thought, that the teacher's voice must be clear, precise, and strong ; for, otherwise, if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle ?* Although, therefore, we own ourselves somewhat sceptical of the astounding rapidity with which a Xavier† is said to have acquired languages the most radically distinct, yet, we admit the full force of the powerful stimulus, which operates upon the Missionary's mind. Wholly independently of preternatural inspiration, they are under the impulse of a ruling necessity, if earnest in their vocation, to rest content with no inferior acquirements, but to strain every faculty with which they may be gifted, in order to insure a thorough mastery of the instrument, however difficult, with which they purpose to expound God's Word and Will. Judson was an eminent instance of such high aim, determined resolve, and most successful accomplishment ;—we say determined resolve ; for even he, although gifted with a natural ability for the acquisition of languages, had to sit at close study twelve hours out of the twenty-four ; and, after two years of such continuous labour, wrote as follows, in January 1816 :—

I just now begin to see my way forward in this language, and hope that two or three years more will make it somewhat familiar ; but I have met with difficulties, that I had no idea of before I entered on the work. For a European or American, to acquire a living Oriental language, root and branch, and make it his own, is quite a different thing from his acquiring a cognate language of the West, or any of the dead languages, as they are studied in the schools. One circumstance may serve to illustrate this. I once had occasion to devote a few months to the study of French ; I have now been above two years engaged in the Burman. If I were to choose between a Burman and a French book to be examined in,

* A greater difficulty perhaps, though not so closely affecting his familiarity with the language, is that of finding, among a heathen nation, words to convey the Christian ideas of Sin, Holiness, Heaven and Hell, spirituality of mind, and many others, the corresponding terms for which have been perverted by idolatry to signify what is always alien and often opposite to their Christian meaning.—Ed.

† Xavier himself tells us that he preached through an interpreter.—Ed.

without previous study, I should, without the least hesitation, choose the French. When we take up a Western language, the similarity in the characters, in very many terms, in many modes of expression, and in the general structure of the sentences, its being in fair print (a circumstance we hardly think of,) and the assistance of Grammars, Dictionaries, and Instructors, render the work comparatively easy. But when we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the Earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth ; when we find the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we had ever met with, and these words, not fairly divided and distinguished, as in Western writing, by breaks, and points, and capitals, but run together in one continuous line—a sentence or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word ; when, instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm leaves, strung together, and called a book ; when we have no Dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language, before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher—

"Hoc opus, hic labor est!"

I had hoped, before I came here, that it would not be my lot to have to go alone, without any guide, in an unexplored path, especially as Missionaries had been here before. But Mr. Chater had left the country ; and Mr. Carey was with me very little, before he left the Mission and the Missionary work altogether.

I long to write something more interesting and encouraging to the friends of the Mission ; but it must not yet be expected. It unavoidably takes several years to acquire such a language, in order to converse and write intelligibly on the great truths of the Gospel. Dr. Carey once told me that, after he had been some years in Bengal, and thought he was doing very well in conversing and preaching with the natives, they (as he was afterwards convinced) knew not what he was about. A young Missionary, who expects to pick up the language in a year or two, will probably find that he has not counted the cost. If he should be so fortunate as to obtain a good interpreter, he may be useful by that means. But he will learn, especially if he is in a new place, where the way is not prepared, and no previous ideas communicated, that to qualify himself to communicate divine truth intelligibly by his voice or pen, is not the work of a year. However, notwithstanding my present incompetency, I am beginning to translate the New Testament, being extremely anxious to get some parts of scripture at least into an intelligible shape, if for no other purpose than to read, as occasion offers, to the Burmans with whom I meet.

But Judson was the very man to contend with, and to overcome, such difficulties ; and he became as powerful in discourse, as he was clear, correct and erudite in writing Burman.

Judson's study of French, the language which he brings into contrast with the Burman, appears to us to have been useful to him. It made him acquainted with Pascal, who always remained a favourite ; and, we think, the pregnant, suggestive writings of this author, with their close antithetical style of reasoning, unknown perhaps or unobserved by Judson, came into play, when he had to wield the Burmese language as a

dialectic weapon. The structure of this really difficult language forbids long involved sentences, in which the sense can be suspended, with the view of arraying and bringing before the mind a many-sided comprehensive survey of closely associated subjects. Concise reasoning in few words is indispensable; and, when we read Judson's account of the line of argument he adopted with Oo-yan, one of the semi-atheistic school of Buddhists, it strikes the ear, not as a plagiarism, but like a vibration of Pascal's mind: "No mind, no wisdom; temporary 'mind, temporary wisdom; eternal mind, eternal wisdom." The harmonic note is so truly in accord, that the reader might expect, when he next opened Blaise Pascal, to find this among the Pensées. Well might Judson modestly add—"Now, as all 'the semi-atheists firmly believe in eternal wisdom, this concise 'statement sweeps, with irresistible sway, through the very joints 'and marrow of their system; and, though it may seem rather 'simple and inconclusive to one unacquainted with Burman rea-'soning, its effect is uniformly decisive."

Sentences are the formulæ of thought; words are the algebraic symbols of such formulæ; and, according to the richness, flexibility, and structure of different languages, the same thought will have to be expressed by a more or less perfect array and concatenation of these symbols into the requisite formulæ. In Mathematics, as is well known, a very concise formula may be the exponent of a widely applicable, and almost universal law; but, in general, to arrive at this formula, much ground must be previously gone over; and, at the various stages of the elimination, the same truth and the same thought are before the mathematician, although the number of symbols and their form of expression may be presented, in the course of the series of equations, under every variety of aspect, from that of the most complicated, to that of the apparently most simple and concise. The student of mathematics soon finds that the simplest-looking formula is not always either the easiest to arrive at, or to apply when found; and he learns to be thankful to those, who do not scorn to show the steps, by which they reach their resulting expressions, and to value the intermediate (more complicated, but often more easily apprehended) forms of symbolical enunciation Some languages, however, and the Burman is one, seem to mould themselves with great difficulty to the elimination of thought in the intermediate stages of a continued chain of close argument. In such languages an argument, or train of reasoning, appears to advance by abrupt steps, the mind being left to trace and fill up their connexion; the resulting formula has to be reached, dropping out, as it were, some of the intermediate equa-

tions. Let our readers for a moment dwell upon the difficulty, in their own powerful Saxon tongue, of discoursing upon free-will, predestination, and many other such subjects, and then endeavor to realize to themselves how infinitely more difficult the attempt must be, in a language of a monosyllabic foundation and structure—its very polysyllables being the roughest possible mosaic of monosyllables, and the genius and construction of the tongue, such, that even the simple language of the Gospels (the sentences of which are in general so remarkably plain and free from complication) is beyond its flexibility—the simplest sentences in the Gospels of Mark or John having to be chopped up and decomposed, in order to adopt them to this peculiar language. Let our readers imagine, if they can, the wonderful command requisite of so awkward an instrument, in order to be enabled to answer an Oo-yan—"How are sin and eternal 'misery reconcilable with the character of an infinitely holy, 'wise, and powerful God?" or, to meet the subtleties of a Moung Shwa-gnong,* arguing on his fundamental doctrine, "that Di-'vine wisdom, not concentrated in any existing spirit, or em-'bodied in any form, but diffused throughout the universe, and 'partaken in different degrees by various intelligences, and in 'a very high degree by the Budhs, is the true and only God." Yet, so completely was Judson master of this very difficult tongue, and of the modes of thought of its people, that he could, by his replies and arguments, impart to an Oo-yan intense satisfaction, and a joy, which exhibited itself by the ebullitions, natural to a susceptible temperament; and in the end could force a subtle Moung Shwa-gnong to yield to the skill of a foreign disputant.

In reply to a tyro in Burmese, who observed upon the want of flexibility, attested by the necessity for decomposing sentences of ordinary length into still shorter ones, and how incomprehensible it was that a person could be eloquent in a tongue of such remarkable abruptness and curtness of construction, Judson acknowledged the fact of the need for the remoulding of sentences of ordinary length into others of simpler and shorter form; but long habit had not only made him lose sight of this characteristic of the language, which, when then stated, struck him both as a novel and a correct observation, but also to the essential difficulties, which oppose themselves to a continuous flow of eloquence in such a tongue. In fact, it had become a mother-tongue to him; and a mere tyro could note difficulties, of which Judson had long ceased to be aware. He thought in Burman,

* *Oo* and *Moung*, are honorary prefixes, denoting age:—Oo being applied to an elderly, and *Moung* to a young man.

with as much facility as in English, as was proved by his own acknowledgment, that he preferred preaching in Burman to preaching in English, and felt that he did so better. Certain it is that he addressed a Burman congregation with a confidence and a power, that will hardly be rivalled by his successors; and we have heard from those present on the occasion of a farewell discourse, when about to sail for America, that he seemed to express his own deep solemn feelings in such pure, heart-touching language, that his Burman flock melted into tears, and wept.

Powerful as a teacher of the word; searching and acute in argumentation; having success given to him in a moderate but encouraging degree, in the effectual conversion of Burman disciples to the faith, and therefore the founder of a true, though as yet a small, Christian Church; Judson, besides accomplishing these things, was spared to fulfil the aspiration of his first wife—"We do hope to live to see the Scriptures translated into the 'Burman language, and to see a Church formed from among 'the idolaters." That first noble companion of his toils and sufferings did not indeed live to witness the fulfilment of her ardent prayers with respect to the Scriptures, though she not only saw, but was instrumental in aiding to lay the foundation of the spiritual Burman Church. She seemed, however, clearly to anticipate, from the indefatigable study and the thorough grounding in the language to which her husband was devoting years of energetic toil, that nothing less than a complete translation of the whole Bible, a truly gigantic labour for any single man, was to crown his efforts;—and she was right. Long years of toil were to be endured; and she, the heroic companion of the first and most eventful years of his career, was not in her mortal frame to witness the consummation of this single-handed achievement; but she had a prophetic feeling that her husband's meed was to be the imperishable honour of completing this great work:—and it came to pass. To Judson it was granted, not only to found the spiritual Burman Church of Christ, but also to give it the entire Bible in its own vernacular, thus securing that Church's endurance and ultimate extension—the instances being few or none of that Word, after once it has struck root in any tongue, being ever wholly suppressed. Divine and human nature alike forbid such a result: for, when once it has become incorporated in a living tongue, holiness and love join hands with sin and weakness to perpetuate that Word's life and dominion. We honor Wickliffe and Luther for their labours in their respective mother-tongues; but, what meed of praise is due to Judson for a translation of the Bible, perfect as a li-

terary work, in a language originally so foreign to him as the Burmese? Future ages, under God's blessing, may decide this point, when his own forebodings, as he stood and pondered over the desolate, ruinous scene at Pah-gan, shall be fulfilled.

"*January* 18, 1820.—Took a survey of the splendid Pagodas and extensive ruins in the environs of this once famous city. Ascended, as far as possible, some of the highest edifices; and, at the height of one hundred feet, perhaps, beheld all the country round, covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size; some in utter ruin, some fast decaying, and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us. The pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque, dilapidated relic of antiquity, checkered the motley scene. All conspired to suggest those elevated and mournful ideas, which are attendant on a view of the decaying remains of ancient grandeur; and though not comparable to such ruins as those of Palmyra and Balbec (as they are represented), still deeply interesting to the antiquary, and more deeply interesting to the Christian Missionary. Here, about eight hundred years ago, the religion of Budh was first publicly recognized, and established as the religion of the Empire. Here Shen-ah-rah-han, the first Buddhist apostle of Burmah, under the patronage of King An-aur-al-ah-men-yan, disseminated the doctrines of atheism, and taught his disciples to pant after annihilation as the supreme good. Some of the ruins before our eyes were probably the remains of Pagodas, designed by himself. We looked back on the centuries of darkness, which are passed. We looked forward, and Christian hope would fain brighten the prospect. Perhaps we stand on the dividing line of the Empires of darkness and light. O, shade of Shen-ah-rah-han! weep over thy fallen fanes; retire from the scenes of thy past greatness! But thou smilest at my feeble voice; —linger, then, thy little remaining day. A voice mightier than mine—a still small voice—will ere long sweep away every vestige of thy dominion. The Churches of Jesus will soon supplant these idolatrous monuments, and the chaunting of the devotees of Budh will die away before the Christian hymn of praise.

True, Judson; and those Christian hymns of praise will ascend heavenward, either in your own pure rendering of the words of the sweet psalmist of Israel, or, in the poetical versions and original compositions of the talented being, the second partner of your labours and trials.

One-and-twenty years after his first landing at Rangoon, Judson finished his translation of the whole Bible; but not satisfied with this first version, six more years were devoted to a revision of this great work; and, on the 24th October, 1840, the last sheet of the new edition was printed off. The revision cost him more time and labour than the first translation: for what he wrote in 1823 remained the object of his soul:—"I ' never read a chapter without a pencil in hand, and Griesbach ' and Parkhurst at my elbow; and it will be an object with me ' through life to bring the translation into such a state, that it

' may be a standard work." The best judges pronounce it to be all that he aimed at making it, and also (what with him never was an object) an imperishable monument of the man's genius. We may venture to hazard the opinion that as Luther's Bible is now in the hands of Protestant Germany, so, three centuries hence, Judson's Bible will be the Bible of the Christian Churches of Burmah.

His labours were not confined to this his *magnum opus*. Early in 1826 a Dictionary of his compilation was published in Calcutta, at a time when the fate of the prisoners at Oungpen-la was still unknown. This work, in Burmese and English, proved most valuable, and was praised by every one but himself for its extreme utility. With a far larger, and much more complete Dictionary of the language in view, at the perfecting of which he was assiduously labouring to the close of his life, it was natural that he should esteem the smaller and less finished work but lightly, however eminently useful. He published also another work, a Grammar, of no pretension and of very small dimensions, yet a manual which indicated the genius of the man perhaps more strikingly than any thing else except his Bible. He has managed, from a thorough knowledge of the language, to condense into a few short pages a most complete Grammar of this difficult tongue ; and as the student grows in knowledge, *pari passu*, this little volume rises in his estimation : for its lucid, comprehensive conciseness becomes the more and more manifest. In our limited acquaintance with languages, whether of the East or West, we have seen no work in any tongue, which we should compare with it for brevity and completeness : yet we have in our day had to study and wade through some long, and some would-be-short, Grammars.

With respect to his great Dictionary, which is left, in his own opinion, unfinished, we would venture the suggestion that the world will gain much by its being printed off exactly as he has left it. The conjecture may be very safely hazarded, that it will be found (what other ripe scholars, were there any capable of giving a competent opinion, would pronounce) complete, and that it will be many years before any one arises, fitted by acquirements and erudition to finish it, in Judson's sense of the word—" finish." Such a work is too valuable to be botched by inferior, though it might be zealous, hands; and it would argue sad presumption to find this attempted by any one of much shorter apprenticeship, less unremitted toil, and less indubitable genius than Judson. It should be considered a national work : and America should see to it, for it will be found a work worthy of her rising name. If America decline the honour, we

venture to hope that the East India Company will come forward, and offer to meet all the expence of the printing and publication of this great work. As it will be not less useful in a secular than in a spiritual light, and as it must prove invaluable to the Company's servants on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, the cost should not be allowed to fall on the Baptist Mission of America, unless by that body's own wish. Whoever may undertake this great and truly important task, we trust that it may be done rapidly and well; and that the world may be quickly in possession of a work, which had so much of Judson's time and assiduous care, and which, from a sense of its utility to others, he had so much and so long at heart. His Bible is secure of life: but we should very much regret, now that the 'mighty are fallen in the midst of the battle," to see any of 'the weapons of war perished."

These monuments of the labours of Judson may not, to outward appearance, be such brilliant trophies of success, as Xavier is recorded to have left behind him. A Dictionary, a Bible, and a small Church of true Christian converts are the fruits of the devoted life of the Baptist Missionary. These results may seem of less gigantic proportions than those of the Jesuit; yet, to our minds, there is in reality no comparison, either on the point of stability, or of ultimate effect. The "sword of the spirit," which Judson leaves unsheathed, will be wielded by men of a different stamp from Xavier's followers, of whom it was truly said—"Que, 'quand ils se trouvent en des pays, où un Dieu crucifié passe 'pour folie, ils suppriment le scandale de la croix, et ne prechent 'que Jésus Christ glorieux, et non pas Jésus Christ souffrant: 'comme ils ont fait dans les Indes et dans la Chine, où ils ont 'permis aux Chrétiens l'idolâtrie même, par cette subtile invention 'de leur faire cacher sous leurs habits une image de Jésus Christ a 'laquelle ils leur enseignent de rapporter mentalement les adora-'tions publiques, qú ils rendent a l' idole Cachinchoam et a leur 'Keum-fucum, comme Gravina, Dominicain, le leur reproche; et 'comme le temoigne le mémoire, en Espagnol, presenté au Roi d' 'Espagne, Philippe IV., par les Cordeliers des Iles Philippines, 'rapporté par Thomas Hurtado dans son livre du Martyre de la 'Foi, 427."*

* "That, when they find themselves in countries, where a crucified God is looked upon as "foolishness," they suppress the reproach of the cross, and preach only Jesus Christ glorious, and not Jesus Christ suffering;—as they have done in the E. Indies and China, when they have permitted idolatry itself to their Christians, by the subtle invention of making them conceal in their dress an image of Jesus Christ, to which they teach them mentally to refer the public adoration, which they offer to the idol Kachin Choam, and to their Keum-fucum (Confucius?) as Gravina, a Dominican, reproaches them with; and as is testified in a memoir in Spanish, presented to Philip IV. of Spain, by the Cordeliers of the Philippine islands, given by Thomas Hurtado in his book on Martyrdom for the Faith."

We hope that the American Baptists will continue to occupy the ground they have won, and fill up the gaps, as men fall in the contest. Their που στω may as yet be small; but the firm foot needs little space on which to plant itself, to sling the pebble that overthrows a Goliath. Let them, however, always bear in mind Judson's advice:—"In encouraging young 'men to come out as Missionaries, do use the greatest caution. 'One wrong-headed, conscientiously obstinate man would ruin us. 'Humble, quiet, persevering men; men of sound, sterling talents, 'of decent accomplishments, and some natural aptitude to acquire 'a language; men of an amiable yielding temper, willing to take 'the lowest place, to be the least of all and the servants of all; 'men who enjoy much closet religion, who live near to God, and 'are willing to suffer all things for Christ's sake, without being 'proud of it;—these are the men we need."

The religious principles and dogmata of a Protestant and of a Papist Missionary are scarcely in more violent contrast, than are their social existences. What would the celibate Xavier have thought of a soldier of the Cross, going forth upon his Mission, trammelled by the company of a delicate help-mate, by the tender bonds of a wife? To our mind, few circumstances are more remarkable in Judson's career, than that he should have been the husband of three such wives. A Xavier himself would, however, have been shaken in his celibate notions, and struck with astonishment and admiration, could he have witnessed the indomitable spirit and courage, which neither the most severe sufferings and privations, nor the presence of imminent danger could for a moment quell; but which, enduring the most appalling physical pain and misery unaided, strong in the love borne to a husband, strong in the love borne to Christ and his cause, trod under foot despair, and braved all danger, and endured untold misery, in order to alleviate the captivity of her husband by such kind offifice and attention, as exhausted strength, but the unquenchable spirit of a woman's love, could effect. The prison of Oung-pen-la, though the name be not euphonious, merits an immortality of renown: for never on earth was witnessed a more truly heroic example of the unconquerable strength of a Christian lady's love and fortitude, than was exhibited at Oung-pen-la by Ann Judson. What the mother and the wife must have endured, we will not endeavour to depict; it must be gathered from her own words;—we know not where to quote from that unpretending record of female heroism and devotion. Our readers must turn to her letter of the 26th May, 1826, for a tale of trial, suffering, and fortitude, such as few could imagine, and, we trust, none may ever witness. In every line, her character speaks; and

when, hopeless of recovery, during a short absence at Ava, whither she had gone to procure food and medicines, she says, "my only anxiety now was to return to Oung-pen-la, to die near the prison," near her fettered husband and her famishing babe, one feels that the words might have been her epitaph.

In every scene of her life, whether, when driven from Calcutta in 1812, alone in a tavern half way between Saugor Island and the City-of-Palaces, uncertain where Judson was, when he would come, or what treatment she might meet with at the tavern; or, during Judson's temporary absence in 1818, when alone at Rangoon; or, at Ava, and the prison of Oung-pen-la—we find displayed a constancy and a courage, rising superior to the natural timidity of her sex, to the example of faint-hearted desertion in others, and at last, to a complication of the most appalling sufferings and trials of her own. We know not who the writer was; but the following, from a Calcutta paper, written after their liberation, by one of the English prisoners, who had shared Judson's imprisonment at Ava and Oung-pen-la, we cannot refrain from laying before our readers :—

Mrs. Judson was the author of those eloquent and forcible appeals to the Government, which prepared them by degrees for submission to terms of peace, never expected by any, who knew the hauteur and inflexible pride of the Burman Court.

And while on this subject, the overflowings of grateful feelings, on behalf of myself and fellow-prisoners, compel me to add a tribute of public thanks to that amiable and humane female, who, though living at a distance of two miles from our prison, without any means of conveyance, and very feeble in health, forgot her own comfort and infirmity, and almost every day visited us, sought out and administered to our wants, and contributed in every way to alleviate our misery.

While we were all left by the Government destitute of food, she, with unwearied perseverance, by some means or other, obtained us a constant supply.

When the tattered state of our clothes evinced the extremity of our distress, she was ever ready to replenish our scanty wardrobe.

When the unfeeling avarice of our keepers confined us inside, or made our feet fast in the stocks, she, like a ministering Angel, never ceased her applications to the Government, until she was authorised to communicate to us the grateful news of our enlargement, or of a respite from our galling oppressions.

Besides all this, it was unquestionably owing, in a chief degree, to the repeated eloquence and forcible appeals of Mrs. Judson, that the untutored Burman was finally made willing to secure the welfare and happiness of his country by a sincere peace.

What must have been the anguish of Judson, that she, who had been the Guardian Angel of his prison, who had assuaged his sufferings at the expence of her own health and strength, braving and enduring for his sake more than words can tell, was alone—he far from her side—when she laid down her head and

died! Well might he write of her, as "one of the first of women, the best of wives."

A highly gifted and a most noble lady then passed away from earth—but neither more talented, more intrinsically noble, nor more lovely and amiable, than she, who, eight years after, became Mrs. Sarah Judson. She was known to say, "never woman had two such husbands;" whilst Judson wrote, thanking God that he had been blest with two of the best of wives. It would be difficult to judge which of the two had the most truth in their remark; but we do know that Sarah B. Judson was a character of very rare excellence; one of those angelic beings to whom Heaven seems to rejoice in pouring out its best and highest gifts; one of nature's own gentlewomen. Exquisite sensibility, a poet's soul and imagination, great natural abilities, thorough unselfishness, and a woman's depth of love and affection, all, shrouded by the most unpretending Christian meekness and devotion, were some of the elements, which blended together to form a character of extreme beauty. Her countenance harmonized with her spirit: for, even after years of toil, of maternal sufferings and sorrows, of exposure, and exposure too, in such a climate—after undergoing all, calculated to break down and exhaust the strength of a delicate and feminine form—as she lay, on the eve of her final embarkation from Moulmein, with the hand of Death upon that worn, pallid visage, it could not touch the uneffaceable lineaments of beauty, which seemed to outlive all suffering, and to smile upon their approaching enemy.

All medical skill had been exhausted; she had returned from a trip down the Coast, touching at Tavoy and Mergui, "weaker and nearer the grave than when she set out." Perhaps this was not much to be wondered at: for to a person of acute sensibility, coupled with great debility, sailing down that Coast must have been a painful review of scenes hallowed by the remembrance of the tender ties of early love, hope, labour, and bereavements. Her stay at Tavoy, so long her happy home, but the spot where Boardman and her eldest child were laid, and where she again met old and dear friends, did her health no good. Nor was the stay at Mergui and the Pali Chan more successful; though at times she seemed to rally and gave hopes of amendment. No disease however is on that Coast more treacherous and deceptive than that under which she laboured; and long years of residence in that trying climate had effectually sapped her strength. After her return to Moulmein, it was evident that, humanly speaking, the only chance of saving her valuable life lay in removal from the Coast and a voyage to America. It was a forlorn hope: and, in her state of extreme debility, Judson could not leave her to en-

counter such a voyage alone. Two high duties were in apparent antagonism; and for a time he hesitated and was in suspense. The devotion of the Missionary to his cause and his wish to die at his post seemed in conflict with the solemn duties of the man and the husband. Many may fancy themselves qualified to judge of the effect upon the mind and feelings from the undeniable claim of the latter class of duties; but few can presume to estimate the weight of the former. That he decided as he did must afterwards have proved a source of much consolation and of deep thankfulness, for he was thereby saved the anguish of thinking that Sarah Judson had been left to die alone.

He sailed with her, and had the happiness at first of seeing her rally; and there was so promising an amendment, that he resolved to return to Moulmein from St. Helena. On this occasion she wrote the lines, which follow:—

"We part on this green islet, love,
Thou for the Eastern main,
I for the setting sun, love—
Oh, when to meet again!
My heart is sad for thee, love,
For lone thy way will be;
And oft thy tears will fall, love,
For thy children and for me.
The music of thy daughter's voice
Thou'lt miss for many a year,
And the merry shout of thine elder boys
Thou'lt list in vain to hear.
When we knelt to see our Henry die,
And heard his last faint moan,
Each wiped the tear from the other's eye—
Now each must weep alone.
My tears fall fast for thee, love:
How can I say farewell!
But go, thy God be with thee, love,
Thy heart's deep grief to quell,
Yet my spirit clings to thine, love,
Thy soul remains with me;
And oft we'll hold communion sweet,
O'er the dark and distant sea.
And who can paint our mutual joy,
When all our wanderings o'er,
We both shall clasp our infants three,
At home, on Burmah's shore.
But higher shall our raptures glow,
On yon celestial plain,
When the loved and parted here below
Meet, ne'er to part again.
Then gird thine armour on, love,
Nor faint thou by the way—
Till the Budh shall fall, and Burmah's sons
Shall own Messiah's sway.

Their parting was destined however to be of another kind; and he landed at St. Helena to commit to the grave what was

mortal of Sarah B. Judson. What he felt we leave him to express :—

Barque Sophia Walker, at Sea, September, 1845.

My dear Mrs. ——— I was so overwhelmed with grief after the death of my beloved wife at St. Helena, that it never occurred to me to write a single line to any of my friends. The only communication therefore which will have probably reached you, is a letter to Mr. Osgood a few days before her death, in which I stated that I had nearly given up all hope of her recovery.—I have just written another letter to Mr. Osgood, to be forwarded from America, which I request him to send for your perusal. I feel that my next is due to you, and dear———, for your many and great kindnesses to the dear departed, and on account of the great affection and respect which she felt for you both. She has frequently told me how much she enjoyed your society on board the *Ganges*, and when, during her seasons of convalescence, we conversed about returning to Moulmein, she would always mention the great pleasure she anticipated in again meeting you: and now, I trust, that though that meeting be deferred, it will ultimately be a more joyful one, in the realms of life and immortality. Her death was not triumphant, as is sometimes the case ; but more composure and security, more unwavering trust in the Saviour, and more assured hope of being admitted, through grace, into the joys of Paradise, I never knew or heard of. For some months, no shadow of doubt or fear ever disturbed her peaceful soul. If she felt distressed at the thought of leaving her husband, she fled for refuge to the anticipation of a happy meeting and a joyful eternity together; if distressed at the thought of leaving her children, she fled to the throne of grace, and spent, as she told me, much of the time during her last days, in praying fervently for their early conversion. O, how much more valuable is a well grounded hope in Christ than all the riches and glories of this vain world ! and we never feel the value of such a hope so deeply, as when we assist in sustaining the steps of a dear friend towards the verge of the grave and of eternity;—nor shall we ever feel it more, until we are called ourselves to look into the dread abyss, and, losing all support from any earthly arm, find that we have nothing to cling to, but the arm of the Saviour. It affords me, and must afford all her friends, the richest consolation, that she departed clinging to His arm, and evidently supported thereby. It furnishes also some additional consolation, that instead of being consigned to the deep, as I expected would be the case, it was so ordered that she died in port, and was consigned to the grave with those funeral obsequies, which are so appropriate and desirable. I unexpectedly found in the place a dear brother Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Bertram, who came on board and conducted the body to the shore, where it was met by the Rev. Mr. Kempthorn, Colonial Chaplain, who performed the service at the grave: and, though we were perfect strangers, it seemed as if the whole population turned out to attend the funeral; and, would you believe it, these unknown friends, with our Captain, insisted on defraying all the expences of the funeral ! They even sent mourning suits on board for the three children ! After the funeral they took me to their homes and their hearths: and their conversation and prayers were truly consoling. I was however obliged to leave them the same evening. We immediately went to sea ; and, the next morning, we had lost sight of the rocky isle, where we had deposited all that remained of my beloved wife. The children are a great comfort to me in my loneliness, especially dear Abby Ann, who seems to have taken her mother's place in caring for the rest of us. But I must soon

part with them too, and probably for life. May their dying mother's prayers be heard, and draw down the great blessing on their hearts, and on the poor little orphans we have left at Moulmein and Amherst.

At the Isle of France, we left the *Paragon*, and embarked on an American vessel, bound direct to the United States; so that I shall not have the privilege of visiting ——'s friend in London. I have not heard a word from Moulmein since leaving. I am anxious to hear of your family affairs, and most anxious to hear whether poor little Charlie, your ship-mate in the *Ganges*, is still alive. If so, pray send for him some times, and look on his face, which I hope is not so thin and pale as formerly.

Your's affectionately,

A. Judson.

The letter was long in reaching its destination, and poor little Charlie had laid his pale face in the grave. Written after he had recovered composure under his heart-crushing bereavement, and in order to convey what he knew would be a life-long source of mournful happiness, the message of her "great affection"—written therefore in the confidence of friendship—we should not have given it publicity, but that we think the letter beautiful, characteristic, and sure to be treasured by all connected with Sarah Judson and her husband. To their children it will be one more record of their mother's love and prayers; and to Abby Ann in particular, it will be a wreath, though a cypress one, from her father's hand, at a time that peace, partly through her instrumentality, though a child, was returning to her pious father's breast.

That a man of Judson's eminence, and virtually the father of the American Baptist Mission to Burmah, should have been received, as he was in America, was to be expected.* Upon his short, but useful stay there, and his rapid return to the field of his life and labour, it is not our purpose to dwell: but we think our readers will thank us for the following farewell address read at Boston—Judson being at the time unable to sustain his voice through more than a few sentences:—

There are periods in the lives of men, who experience much change of scene and variety of adventure, when they seem to themselves to be subject to some supernatural illusion, or wild magical dream,—when they are ready

* Dr. Judson was received by the Christians of America with an affectionate and enthusiastic veneration, that knew no bounds. His eminent position, as the founder and pioneer of the Mission, his long and successful labours in the far East, his romantic and eventful life, associated with all that is most beautiful and lofty in human nature, his world-wide fame, and his recent affliction, encircled him in the people's mind with the halo of an Apostle. "The Judson Offering," a beautiful little perennial, spreading by tens of thousands through the country, deepened and widened the feeling which gave it birth. This was no vulgar and passing breath of popular applause; it was the heart given and worthy homage of the wise and the good. His whole Missionary life indeed was one long continued appeal to the imagination, the judgment, and the heart.—Ed.

amid the whirl of conflicting recollections, to doubt their own personal identity, and, like steersmen in a storm, feel that they must keep a steady eye to the compass, and a strong arm at the wheel. The scene, spread out before me, seems on retrospection, to be identified with the past, and, at the same time, to be reaching forward and foreshadowing the future. At one moment, the lapse of thirty-four years is annihilated; the scenes of 1812 are again present; and this assembly, how like that which commended me to God, on first leaving my native shores for the distant east! But, as I look around, where are the well known faces of Spring, and Worcester, and Dwight? Where are Lyman and Huntington, and Griffin? And where are those leaders of the baptized ranks, who stretched their arms across the water, and received me into their communion? Where are Baldwin and Bolles? Where Holcombe and Rogers, and Staughton? I see them not. I have been to their temples of worship, but their voices have passed away. And where are my early Missionary associates—Newell, and Hall, and Rice, and Richards, and Mills? But why inquire for those so ancient? Where are the succeeding labourers in the Missionary field for many years, and the intervening generation, who moved among the dark scenes of Rangoon, and Ava, and Tavoy? Where those gentle, yet firm spirits, which tenanted forms delicate in structure, but careless of the storm, now broken and scattered and strewn, like the leaves of autumn, under the shadow of overhanging trees, and on remote islands of the sea?

No; these are not the scenes of 1812; nor is this the assembly, that which was convened in the tabernacle of a neighbouring city. Many years *have* elapsed; many venerated, many beloved ones *have* passed away to be seen no more. "They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." And with what words shall I address those who have taken their places—the successors of the venerated and beloved—of the generation of 1812?

In that year, American Christians pledged themselves to the work of evangelizing the world. They had but little to rest on, except the command and promise of God. The attempts then made by British Christians had not been attended with so much success, as to establish the practicability, or vindicate the wisdom, of the Missionary enterprise. For many years the work advanced but slowly. One denomination after another embarked in the undertaking: and now American Missionaries are seen in almost every land and every clime. Many languages have been acquired; many translations of the Bible have been made; the Gospel has been extensively preached; and Churches have been established, containing thousands of sincere, intelligent converts. The obligation, therefore, on the present generation to redeem the pledge given by their fathers, is greatly enhanced. And it is an animating consideration, that with the enhancement of the obligation, the encouragements to persevere in the work, and to make still greater efforts, are increasing from year to year. Judging from the past, what may we rationally expect, during the lapse of another thirty or forty years? Look forward with the eye of faith. See the Missionary spirit universally diffused, and in active operation throughout this country—every Church sustaining, not only its own minister, but, through some general organization, its own Missionary in a foreign land. See the Bible faithfully translated into all languages—the rays of the lamp of Heaven transmitted through every medium, and illuminating all lands. See the Sabbath spreading its holy calm over the face of the earth—the Churches of Zion assembling, and the praises of Jesus resounding from shore to shore; and, though the great majority may still remain, as now in this Christian country, "without hope and without God in this world," yet the barriers in the way of the descent and operations of

the Holy Spirit removed, so that revivals of religion become more constant and more powerful.

The world is yet in its infancy. The gracious designs of God are yet hardly developed. "Glorious things are spoken of Zion, the city of our God." She is yet to triumph, and become the joy and glory of the whole earth. Blessed be God, that we live in these latter times—the latter times of the reign of darkness and imposture. Great is our privilege, precious our opportunity, to co-operate with the Saviour in the blessed work of enlarging and establishing His kingdom throughout the world. Most precious the opportunity of becoming wise in turning many to righteousness, and of shining, at last, as the brightness of the firmament and the stars, for ever and ever.

Let us not, then, regret the loss of those who have gone before us, and are waiting to welcome us;—nor shrink from the summons that must call us thither. Let us only resolve to follow them "who through faith and patience inherit the promises." Let us so employ the remnant of life, and so pass away, as that our successors will say of us, as we of our predecessors, "Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord. They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

Though under the necessity of having the foregoing read for him, yet he was able distinctly, but with marked emotion, to speak the following words, prophetic of what has come to pass:—"I wish however with my own voice, to praise God for 'the proofs, which He has given of His interest in Missions; and 'to thank you, from the bottom of my heart, for the kindness 'which I have received from you. I regret that circumstances 'beyond my controul have prevented my being much in this 'city, to make more intimate acquaintance with those, whom a 'slight acquaintance has taught me so much to love. I am soon 'to depart; and, as is in the highest degree probable, never to 'return. I shall no more look upon this beautiful city—no 'more visit your temples, or see your faces. I have one favour to 'ask of you—pray for me, and my associates in the Missionary 'work; and, though we meet no more on earth, may we at last 'meet, where the loved and the parted here below meet never to 'part again."

We have observed that it was the lot of Judson to have, for the companions of his life and toil, women remarkable in a high degree for their abilities, attainments, and characters. They were as different in cast and qualities of intellect, and in the shades of distinctive character, as they were in personal presence. In one respect, however, they have been essentially alike; if they shared Judson's toil and labours, they also not only shared his glory, but brightened its light with their own effulgence. The lot of the one might be heroically to sustain and assuage, in the dawn of his career, in the first sharp struggles for Mission life, in the dark hour of imprisonment, suffering, and impend-

ing violent death, which threatened to cut short the hope of that life; the lot of the second, to encourage, soothe, and cheer through long years of labour; that of the third to sweeten the close of the long years of toil, and to lend an arm to the edge of the grave; but one and all filled their respective posts, performed their appointed duties in a manner, which associate with Judson's name, bright tender rays of their own shedding. They were the stars of three distinct eras of his life—the active and militant, the contemplative and laborious, the hopeful and triumphant. We have not attempted to depict the peculiarities of the life and difficulties of a Missionary's wife in Burmah. These must be witnessed to be understood; but the most cursory attention cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that everything they accomplish (and they accomplished much) must be done in addition to the duties, which a family devolves upon them, and in a climate where a delicate American frame and constitution are ill calculated for the almost menial toil and labour, which very circumscribed means, and a consequent want of attendants and aid, necessarily cast upon them. Without a murmur, without a wish that it were otherwise, glorying in the cause of Christ, and taxing their frail, delicate frames to the uttermost, fulfilling all family and household duties under the most trying, and sometimes the most health-destroying, circumstances, these noble women have acheived more than many men, free from infirmities, and unembarrassed by the daily care and the multifarious duties of a family, would have accomplished. Whether we contemplate the heroine of his suffering and militant era, or the seraph of his less chequered, but not less useful, period, the wonder is, how could they find time (great as their abilities undoubtedly were) to master difficult languages, found, and teach in, schools, and aid in the work of conversion! We must answer, by a self-devotion fatally exhaustive of health and strength. To our mind there is no comparison whatever, between what the Missionary has to bear, and what his wife has to endure, in the American Baptist Mission on the Tenasserim Coast.

As Emily Judson survives, we have said little of the companion of the close of Judson's life.* The following poems

* Under the literary name of "Fanny Forester," Mrs. Judson was a popular favourite in America, as the writer of many spirited and genial sketches of rural life and scenery, both in prose and verse. These have since been collected into two pleasant volumes, entitled "Alderbrook." In her "Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Judson," undertaken at Dr. Judson's special desire, she has struck a higher key; and, we believe, that in gifts of the head and of the heart, as a wife and as a Christian, she is well worthy to take her place in the noble group of "the Judsons."—Ed.

will, if not before known to our readers, give them some slight notion of the present Mrs. Judson :—

To my Mother.

Give me my old seat, mother,
With my head upon thy knee ;
I've passed through many a changing scene,
Since thus I sat by thee.
O ! let me look into thine eyes !
Their meek, soft, loving light
Falls like a gleam of holiness
Upon my heart to-night.

I've not been long away, mother ;
Few suns have rose and set,
Since last the tear-drop on thy cheek
My lips in kisses met.
'Tis but a little time, I know,
But very long it seems ;
Though every night I come to thee,
Dear mother, in my dreams.

The world has kindly dealt, mother,
By the child thou lov'st so well ;
Thy prayers have circled round her path ;—
And 'twas their holy spell
Which made that path so dearly bright,
Which strewed the roses there,
Which gave the light, and cast the balm
On every breath of air.

I bear a happy heart, mother—
A happier never beat ;
And, even now, new buds of hope
Are bursting at my feet.
O ! mother, life may be a dream ;
But if such *dreams* are given,
While at the portal thus we stand,
What are the *truths* of Heaven ?

I bear a happy heart, mother !
Yet, when fond eyes I see,
And hear soft tones and winning words,
I ever think of thee :
And then, the tear my spirit weeps,
Unbidden fills my eye ;
And, like a homeless dove, I long
Unto thy breast to fly.

Then I am very sad, mother,
I'm very sad and lone ;
Oh ! there's no heart, whose inmost fold
Opes to me like thine own.
Though sunny smiles wreathe blooming lips,
While love tones meet my ear ;
My mother, one fond glance of thine
Were thousand times more dear.

Then with a closer clasp, mother,
Now hold me to thy heart ;
I'd feel it beating 'gainst my own
Once more before we part.
And, mother, to this love-lit spot,
When I am far away,
Come oft—too oft, thou canst not come—
And for thy darling pray.

Boston, July, 1846.

Verses like these need no praise of ours ; and the following lines, written in Burmah, will shew that her genius lost none of its powers under the blaze of an Eastern sun :—

Ere last year's moon had left the sky,
A birdling sought my Indian nest,
And folded, oh ! so lovingly,
Her tiny wings upon my breast.

From morn to evening's purple tinge,
In winsome helplessness she lies :
Two rose-leaves with a silken fringe
Shut softly on her starry eyes.

There's not in Ind a lovelier bird :
Broad earth owns not a happier nest.
O God ! Thou hast a fountain stirred,
Whose waters never more shall rest.

This beautiful mysterious thing,
This seeming visitant from heaven,
This bird with the immortal wing,
To me, to me, Thy hand has given.

The pulse first caught its tiny stroke,
The blood its crimson hue from mine :
This life, which I have dared invoke,
Henceforth is parallel with Thine.

A silent awe is in my room,
I tremble with delicious fear ;
The future, with its light and gloom,
Time and eternity are here.

Doubts, hopes, in eager tumult rise,
Hear, oh, my God ! one earnest prayer—
Room for my bird in Paradise ;
And give her angel plumage there.

Since these lines were written, alas ! the spoiler has found his way again and again into that happy nest. But " the great trial " we must give (by permission) in her own beautiful words.*

Last month I could do no more than announce to you our painful bereavement, which, though not altogether unexpected, will, I very well know, fall upon your

* They are taken from a letter addressed by her to a near relative of Dr. Judson's.

heart with overwhelming weight. You will find the account of your brothers' last days on board the Barque *Aristide Marie*, in a letter written by Mr. Ranny, from the Mauritius, to the Secretary of the Board ; and I can add nothing to it with the exception of a few unimportant particulars, gleaned in conversations with Mr. R. and the Coringa servant. I grieve that it should be so that I was not permitted to watch beside him during those days of terrible sufferings ; but the pain, which I at first felt, is gradually yielding to gratitude for the inestimable privileges, which had been granted me.

There was something exceedingly beautiful in the decline of your brother's life—more beautiful than I can describe, though the impression will remain with me as a sacred legacy, until I go to meet him, where suns shall never set, and life shall never end. He had been, from my first acquaintance with him, an uncommonly spiritual Christian, exhibiting his richest graces in the unguarded intercourse of private life ; but, during his last year, it seemed as though the light of the world, on which he was entering, had been sent to brighten his upward pathway.

Every subject on which we conversed, every book we read, every incident that occurred, whether trifling or important, had a tendency to suggest some peculiarly spiritual train of thought, till it seemed to me, that, more than ever before, "Christ was all his theme." Something of the same nature was also noted in his preaching, to which I was then deprived of the privilege of listening. He was in the habit however of studying his subject for the Sabbath audibly, and in my presence ; at which times he was frequently so much affected as to weep, and sometimes so overwhelmed with the vastness of his conceptions, as to be obliged to abandon his theme, and choose another. My own illness, at the commencement of the year, had brought eternity very near to us, and rendered death, the grave, and the bright heaven beyond it, familiar subjects of conversation.

Gladly would I give you, my dear sister, some idea of the share borne by him in these memorable conversations ; but it would be impossible to convey, even to those who knew him best, the most distant conception of them. I believe he has sometimes been thought eloquent, both in conversation, and in the sacred desk :—but the fervid, burning eloquence, the deep pathos, the touching tenderness, the elevation of thought, and intense beauty of expression, which characterized these private teachings, were not only beyond what I had ever heard before, but such, as I felt sure, arrested his own attention, and surprised even himself.

About this time he began to find unusual satisfaction and enjoyment in his private devotions ; and seemed to have new objects of interest continually rising in his mind, each of which in turn became special subjects of prayer. Among these, one of the most prominent, was the conversion of his posterity. He remarked that he had always prayed for his children, but that of late he had felt impressed with the duty of praying for their children, and their children's children, down to the latest generation. He also prayed most earnestly, that his impressions on this subject might be transferred to his sons and daughters, and thence to their offspring, so that he should ultimately meet a long unbroken line of descendants, before the Throne of the Lord, where all might join together in ascribing everlasting praises to the Redeemer.

Another subject, which occupied a large share of his attention, was that of brotherly love. You are perhaps aware, that like all persons of his ardent temperament, he was subject to strong attachments and aversions, which he sometimes had difficulty in bringing under the controlling influence of divine grace. He remarked, that he had always felt more or less of an affectionate interest in his brethren, as brethren, and that some of them he had loved very dearly for their personal qualities ; but he was now aware he had never placed his standard of love high enough. He spoke of them as children of God, redeemed by the Saviour's blood, watched over and guarded by His love, dear to His heart, honoured by Him in the election, and to be honoured hereafter before the assembled universe ; and, he said, it was not sufficient to be kind and obliging to such,

to abstain from evil speaking, and make a general mention of them in our prayers, but our attachment to them should be of the most ardent and exalted character. It would be so in heaven, and we lost immeasureably by not beginning now. "As I have loved you, so ought ye also to love one another," was a precept continually in his mind; and he would often murmur as though unconsciously. "As I have loved you; as I have loved you"—then burst out with the exclamation, "oh the love of Christ! the love of Christ!"

His prayers for the Mission were marked by an earnest grateful enthusiasm; and, in speaking of Missionary operations in general, his tone was one of elevated triumph,—almost of exultation: for he not only felt unshaken confidence in their final success, but often exclaimed "What wonders! oh. what wonders, God has already wrought!" I remarked that, during this year, his literary labours, which he had never liked, and upon which he had entered unwillingly and from a feeling of necessity, were growing daily more irksome to him; and he always spoke of them as "his heavy work."—"his tedious work—that wearisome Dictionary." &c. Though this feeling led to no relaxation of effort, he longed however to find some more spiritual employment—to be engaged in what he considered more legitimate Missionary labour; and he drew delightful pictures of the future, when his whole business would be but to preach and pray.

During all this time, I had not observed any failure in physical strength: and, though his mental exercises occupied a large share of my thoughts when alone, it never once occurred to me, that it might be the brightening of the setting sun. My only feeling was that of pleasure, that one, so near to me. was becoming so pure. and elevated in his sentiments, and so lovely and Christ-like in his character. In person he had grown somewhat stouter than when in America; his complexion had a healthful hue, compared with that of his associates generally; and. though by no means a person of uniformly firm health, he seemed to possess such vigour and strength of constitution, that I thought his life as likely to be extended twenty years longer, as that of any member of the Mission. He continued his system of morning exercise, commenced when a student at Andover, and was not satisfied with a common walk on level ground, but always chose an uphill path, and then went frequently bounding on his way with all the exuberant activity of boyhood. He was of a singularly active temperament, although not of that even cast, which never rises above a certain level, and is never depressed. Possessing acute sensibilities, suffering with those who suffered, and entering as readily into the joys of the prosperous and happy, he was variable in his mood: but religion formed such an essential element of his character, and his trust in Providence was so implicit, and habitual, that he was never gloomy, and seldom more than momentarily disheartened. On the other hand, being accustomed to regard all the events of this life. however minute, or painful, as ordered in wisdom, and tending to one great and glorious end, he lived in almost constant obedience to the Apostolic injunction—"Rejoice evermore." He often told me, that. although he had endured much personal suffering, and passed through many fearful trials in the course of his eventful life, a kind providence had hedged him round with precious, peculiar blessings, so that his joys had far out-numbered his sorrows.

Towards the close of September, last year, he said to me one evening, "What deep cause have we for gratitude to God! Do you believe there are any other two persons in the world so happy as we are?"—enumerating in his own earnest manner several sources of happiness, in which our work as Missionaries, and our eternal prospects occupied a prominent position. When he had finished his glowing picture. I remarked (I scarcely know why, but I felt immeasurably depressed that evening), "We are certainly very happy now; but it cannot be so always. I am thinking of the time, when one of us must stand helplessly by the bed, and see the other die." "Yes," he said. "that will be a sad moment. I felt it most deeply a little while ago; but now it would not be strange if your life were prolonged beyond mine, though I should wish, if it were possible, to spare you that pain. It is the one left alone, who suffers—not

not the one who goes to be with Christ. If it should only be the will of God, that we might die together, like young James and his wife – but He will order all things well, and we can safely trust our future to His hand."

That same night we were roused from sleep, by the sudden illness of one of the children. There was an unpleasant, chilling dampness in the air, as it came to us through the openings in the straw above the windows, which affected your brother very sensibly: and he soon began to shiver so violently, that he was obliged to return to his couch, where he remained under a warm covering till morning. In the morning, he awoke with a severe cold, accompanied by a degree of fever; but as it did not seem very serious, and our three children were all suffering from a similar cause, we failed to give it any especial attention. From that time he was never well; though in writing to you before, I think I dated the commencement of his illness from the month of November, when he laid aside his studies. I know that he regarded this attack as trifling; and yet, one evening, he spent a long time in advising me with respect to my future course, if I should be deprived of his guidance; saying that it is always wise to be prepared for exigencies of this nature. After the month of November, he failed gradually, occasionally rallying in such a manner as to deceive us all, but, at each relapse, sinking lower than at the previous one; though still full of hope and courage, and yielding ground only inch by inch, as compelled by the triumphant progress of disease. During some hours of every day, he suffered intense pain: but his naturally buoyant spirits and uncomplaining disposition led him to speak so lightly of it, that I used sometimes to fear, that the doctor, though a very skilful man, would be fatally deceived. As his health declined, his mental exercises at first seemed deepened; and he gave still larger portions of his time to prayer, conversing with the utmost freedom on his daily progress, and the extent of his self-conquest. Just before our trip to Mergui, which took place in January, he looked up from his pillow one day with sudden animation, and said to me earnestly, "I have gained the victory at last. I love every one of Christ's redeemed, as I believe He would have me love them;—in the same manner, though not probably to the same degree, as we shall love one another, when we go to be with Him in heaven; and gladly would I prefer any one, who bears His name, before myself." This he said in allusion to the text, "In honour preferring one another," on which he had frequently dwelt with great emphasis. After some further similar conversation, he concluded, "And now here I lie, at peace with all the world, and, what is better still, at peace with my own conscience; I know that I am a miserable sinner in the sight of God, with no hope but in the blessed Saviour's merits; but I cannot think of any particular fault, any peculiar besetting sin, which it is now my duty to correct. Can you tell me of any?"

And truly, from this time, no other word would so truly express his state of feeling as that one of his own choosing—*peace*. He had no particular exercises afterwards, but remained even and serene, speaking of himself daily as a great sinner, who had been overwhelmed with benefits, and declaring that he had never in his life before, had such delightful views of the unfathomable love and infinite condescension of the Saviour, as were now daily opening before him. "Oh the love of Christ! the love of Christ!"—he would suddenly exclaim, while his eye kindled, and the tears chased each other down his cheeks—"we cannot understand it now; but what a beautiful study for eternity!"

After our return from Mergui, the doctor advised a still farther trial of the effects of sea air, and sea bathing; and we accordingly proceeded to Amherst, where we remained nearly a month. This to me was the darkest period of his illness—no medical adviser, no friend at hand, and he daily growing weaker and weaker. He began to totter in walking, clinging to the furniture and walls, when he thought he was unobserved (for he was not willing to acknowledge the extent of his debility), and his wan face was of a ghastly paleness. His sufferings, too, were sometimes fearfully intense, so that, in spite of his habitual self-controul, his groans would fill the house. At other times a kind of lethargy seemed to steal over him; and he would sleep almost incessantly for twenty-four hours, seeming annoyed if he were aroused or disturbed. Yet there were por-

tions of the time, when he was comparatively comfortable, and conversed intelligibly ; but his mind seemed to revert to former scenes, and he tried to amuse me with stories of his boyhood, his college days, his imprisonment, and his early Missionary life. He had a great deal also to say on his favourite theme—"the love of Christ"; but his strength was too much impaired for any continuous mental effort ; even a short prayer, made audibly, exhausted him to such a degree, that he was obliged to discontinue the practice.

At length I wrote to Moulmein, giving some expression of my anxieties and misgivings ; and our kind Missionary friends, who had from the first evinced all the tender interest and watchful sympathy of the nearest kindred, immediately sent for us—the doctor advising a sea voyage. But as there was no vessel in the harbour, bound for a Port sufficiently distant, we thought it best in the mean time, to remove from our old dwelling, which was in an unhealthful situation, to another Mission house fortunately empty. This change was at first attended with the most beneficial results ; and our hopes revived so much, that we looked forward to the approaching rainy season for entire restoration. But it lasted a little while only ; and both of us became convinced that though a sea voyage involved much that was deeply painful, it yet presented the only prospect of recovery, and could not therefore without a breach of duty be neglected.

"Oh if it were only the will of God to take me now—to let me die here," he repeated over and over again, in a tone of anguish, while we were considering the subject. "I cannot, cannot go. This is almost more than I can bear!—Was there ever suffering, like our suffering?" and the like broken expressions, were continually falling from his lips.

But he soon gathered more strength of purpose ; and, after the decision was fairly made, he never hesitated for a moment, rather regarding it with pleasure. I think the struggle, which this resolution cost, injured him very materially, though probably it had no share in bringing about the final result. God, who sees the end from the beginning, had counted out his days, and they were hastening to a close.

Until this time, he had been able to stand, and to walk slowly from room to room ; but, as he attempted to rise from his chair one evening, he was suddenly deprived of his small remnant of muscular strength, and would have fallen to the floor, but for timely support. From that moment his decline was rapid. As he lay helplessly on his couch, and watched the swelling of his feet and other alarming symptoms, he became very anxious to commence his voyage ; and I felt equally anxious to have his wishes gratified. I still hoped he might recover. The doctor said that the chances of life and death were in his opinion equally balanced ;—and then he loved the sea so dearly! There was something exhilarating to him in the motion of the vessel ; and he spoke with animation, of getting free from the almost suffocating atmosphere incident to the hot season, and drinking in the fresh sea, breezes. He talked but little more, however, than was necessary to indicate his wants—his bodily sufferings being too great to allow of conversation ; but several times he looked up to me with a bright smile, and exclaimed, as heretofore, "Oh the love of Christ, the love of Christ!" I found it difficult to ascertain from expressions casually dropt from time to time his real opinion with regard to his recovery ; but I thought there was some reason to doubt whether he was fully aware of his critical situation. I did not suppose he had any preparation to make at this late hour, and I felt sure that, if he should be called ever so unexpectedly, he would not enter the presence of his Maker with a ruffled spirit. But I could not bear to have him go away, without knowing whether our next meeting would not be in eternity ; and perhaps too, in my own distress, I might still have looked for words of encouragement and sympathy to a source, which had never before failed.

It was late in the night, and I had been performing some little sick-room office, when suddenly he looked up to me, and exclaimed "This will never do. You are killing yourself for me, and I will not permit it. You must have some one to

relieve you ; if I had not been made selfish by suffering, I should have insisted upon it long ago."

He spoke so like himself, with the earnestness of health, and in a tone to which my ear had of late been a stranger, that for a moment I felt bewildered with sudden hope. He received my reply to what he had said, with a half pitying, half gratified smile, but in the meantime his expression had changed.—the marks of excessive debility were again apparent, and as I looked at him I could not forbear adding, "It is only a little while you know." "Only a little while," he repeated mournfully ; "this separation is a bitter thing, but it does not depress me now as it did : I am too weak." "You have no reason to be depressed," I said, "with such glorious prospects before you. You have often told me, it is the one left alone who suffers—not the one who goes to be with Christ." He gave me a rapid, questioning glance ; then resumed for several moments an attitude of deep thought ; finally he slowly unclosed his eyes, and, fixing them on me, said in a calm earnest tone, "I do not believe I am going to die. I think, I know why this illness was sent upon me ; I needed it. I feel that it has done me good : and it is my impression that I shall now recover, and be a better, and a more useful man." "Then it is your wish to recover ?" I inquired. "If it should be the will of God, yes. I should like to complete the Dictionary, on which I have bestowed so much labour, now that it is so nearly done : for, though it has not been a work that pleased my taste, or quite satisfied my feelings, I have never under-rated its importance. Then after that, came all the plans that we had formed. Oh I feel, as though but just beginning to be prepared for usefulness."

"It is the opinion of most of the Mission," I remarked, "that you will not recover." "I know it is" he replied ;" and I suppose they think me an old man, and imagine it is nothing for one like me to leave a world so full of trials ; but, I am not old, at least in that sense. You know I am not. Oh, no man ever left this world with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes, or warmer feelings —warmer feelings," he repeated, and burst into tears His face was perfectly placid, even while the tears broke through his closed lids, and dropped one after another down to the pillow. There was no trace of agitation, or pain, in his manner of weeping ; but it was evidently the result of acute sensibilities, combined with physical weakness. To some suggestion, which I ventured to make, he replied, "It is not that ; I know all that, and feel it in my inmost heart ; lying here on my bed, when I could not talk, I have had such views of the loving condescension of Christ, and the glories of heaven, as I believe are seldom granted to mortal man. It is not because I shrink from death, that I wish to live ; neither is it because the ties that bind me here, though some of them are very sweet, bear any comparison with the drawings I at times feel towards heaven; but a few years would not be missed from my eternity of bliss, and I can well afford to spare them, both for your sake, and for the sake of the poor Burmans. I am not tired of my work, nor am I tired of the world. Everything is bright and pleasant about me. Yet when Christ calls me home, I shall go with the gladness of a boy bounding away from his school. Perhaps I feel something like the young bride, when she contemplates resigning the pleasant associations of her childhood for a yet dearer home ; though only a very little like her, for there is *no* doubt resting on my future." "Then death would not take you by surprise," I remarked, "even if it should come before you could get on board-ship?" "No," he said, "death will never take me by surprise ; do not be afraid of that. I feel too strong in Christ. He has not led me so tenderly thus far, to forsake me at the very gate of heaven. No, no ! I am willing to live a few years longer, if it should be so ordered ; and, if otherwise, I am willing, and glad to die now. I leave myself entirely in the hands of God, to be disposed of according to His holy will."

The next day some one mentioned in his presence, that the Native Christians were greatly opposed to the voyage, and that many other persons had a similar feeling with regard to it. I thought he seemed troubled : and, after the visitors had withdrawn, I enquired if he still felt as when he conversed with me the

night previous. "Oh yes; that was no evanescent feeling; it has been with me to a greater or less degree for years, and will be with me I trust to the end I am ready to go to-day—if it should be the will of God, this very hour; but I am not anxious to die—at least when I am not beside myself with pain."

"Then why are you so anxious to go on board?" I inquired, "I should think it would be a matter of indifference to you." "No," he answered quietly, "my judgment tells me it would be wrong not to go; the doctor says *criminal*. I shall certainly die here; if I go away, I may recover. There is no question with regard to duty in such a case; and I do not like to see any hesitation, even though it should spring from affection."

He several times spoke of a burial at sea, and always as though the prospect were agreeable. It brought, he said, a sense of freedom and expansion, far pleasanter than the confined, dark, narrow grave, to which he had committed so many, that he had loved; and he added that although his burial place was a matter of no importance, yet he believed it was not in human nature to be altogether without a choice.

I have already given you an account of the embarkation, of my visits to him while the vessel remained in the river, and of our last sad, silent parting; and Mr. Ranny has finished the picture.

You will find in this closing part, some dark shadows, that will give you pain: but you must remember that his present felicity is enhanced by those very sufferings; and we should regret nothing that seems to brighten his crown in glory. I ought also to add, that I have gained pleasanter impressions, in conversation with Mr. Ranny, than from his written account; but it would be difficult to convey them to you; and, as he, whom they concern, was accustomed to say of similar things, "You will learn it all in heaven."

During the last hour of your sainted brother's life, Mr. Ranny bent over him, and held his hand, while poor Pinapah stood at a little distance, weeping bitterly. The table had been spread in the cuddy as usual, and the officers did not know what was passing in the cabin, till summoned to dinner. Then they gathered about the door, and watched the closing scene with solemn reverence. Now, thanks to a merciful God, his pains had left him: not a momentary spasm disturbed his placid face, nor did the contract on of a muscle denote the least degree of suffering. The agony of death was past; and his wearied spirit was turning to its rest, in the bosom of the Saviour. From time to time he pressed the hand in which his own was resting—his clasp losing in force at each successive pressure; while his breath (though there was no struggle, no gasping, as if it came and went with difficulty) gradually grew fainter and softer, until it died upon the air, and he was gone. Mr. Ranny closed the eyes, and composed the passive limbs; the ship's officers stole softly from the door; and the neglected meal was left upon the board untasted They lowered him to his ocean grave without a prayer; for his freed spirit soared above the reach of earthly intercession, and, to the foreigners who stood around, it would have been a senseless form. And there they left him in his unquiet sepulchre; but it matters little: for while we know that the unconscious clay is drifting on the shifting currents of the restless main, nothing can disturb the hallowed rest of the immortal spirit; neither could he have a more fitting monument than the blue waves, which visit every coast: for his warm sympathies went forth to the ends of the earth, and included the whole family of man. It is all as God would have it; and our duty is but to bend meekly to His will, and wait in faith and patience, till we also shall be summoned home.

With prayers that, when that solemn hour shall come, we may be as well prepared, as was the Saint we mourn, and with feelings of deep sympathy for your share in this heavy affliction,

Believe me, my dear Sister,

Most affectionately yours,

EMILY JUDSON.

What striking traits of Judson's character come out in this beautiful account of his end! "Let me die here;"—at his post, amid his small Church and flock, where he so long laboured, usefully, earnestly, faithfully;—beneath the banner he had planted on the enemy's breach. I do not believe I am going to die!" How was it possible for him—in whom the mere physical frame was a wholly subordinate constituent, and who was essentially spirit and intellect—how was it possible for such a man to feel that he *could* die? He might feel that his unfinished labour could be brought to an untimely close; that a sphere of usefulness, widening upon his spiritual vision, might be veiled by the pall; that all tender ties might be rudely snapped by the touch of death; that he was ready "though no man ever left this world with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes, or warmer feelings," joyously to obey such a summons, and enter into that future, upon which, for him, no doubts rested. But a spirit in such a frame, whatever the state of the body, feels no weakness. It "hath everlasting life," and, unconscious of any debility, or lack of energy, analogous to that taking place in the failure of the vital forces of the body, its natural expression must ever be, "I do not believe that I am going to die." The two are not yet separate; and the one, still the organ (though the fainting organ) of the other, fails clearly to apprehend that the eternal is already asserting its superiority to the transitory; that the spirit, youthful in hope, in love, and in life, is pluming itself for its upward flight to everlasting joy and light, whilst the body, shattered, worn, and unstrung, being on the edge of dissolution, can no longer respond to its superior. Their connexion is almost at an end; and, though the spirit, in parting, unfurl, even for the body, hope's standard on the brink of the yawning grave, yet the union is fading, and the soul is about to wing its way to Heavenly mansions.

Affection, when bereaved, yearns for a spot to which the heart can turn, either in reality or in contemplation, and say, "There lies one I loved, not lost, but gone before;" and therefore Judson's consolation, derived from Sarah Judson's sepulture on the rock of St. Helena, was as natural, as that his own elastic spirit should have preferred in contemplation for his body's rest the wide ocean to the narrow grave:—and, whether the solemn dirge of ocean's billows continue long to resound upon earth's shores, or that anthem's swell be doomed shortly to cease, whenever that hour, which no man knoweth, cometh, and the sea gives up her dead, there will rise from her abyss the body of no truer servant of Christ than that of Adoniram Judson.

We have made no allusion to the very important services, which he rendered to the British Indian Government, our attention being engaged by other and higher considerations; yet we should fail to convey even a faint sketch of the character and qualities of the man, were we to omit all notice of the aid he afforded, first to Sir A. Campbell, afterwards to Mr. Crawford, and subsequently to every Commissioner on the Tenasserim coast, who had occasion to solicit either information or advice. To the last he clung to the hope, that, through the instrumentality of our influence and power, Burmah would, sooner or later, be opened as a field for the exertion of Missionary labour; and to a Commissioner, who was leaving Moulmein, and was bidding farewell to Judson, his last words were, "In 'case of difficulties, or of war arising between the British 'Government and Burmah, I expect to see you again on this 'field; and mind, if ever you are sent, and you think I can be 'of any use to your Mission to Ava, if alive, I shall be happy 'to join you, and to be of every assistance in my power." That which had induced him to accompany Crawford, and to afford him invaluable aid—the hope of securing in the treaty concluded with Burmah a proviso favourable to religious toleration—would, to the close of his career, have led Judson again to come forward as a powerful auxiliary to a diplomatic Mission, and to devote his great abilities and thorough acquaintance with Burmah, its princes, and its people, to aid in the conduct of negotiations; which, if successful on the one point he had at heart, would, he felt assured, prove to the enduring advantage of Burmah, and therefore would richly recompense him for the sacrifices such a journey and occupation must inevitably entail. Other reward, it is needless to add, found no place in his thoughts. The sum of money, presented to him by the British Government after Crawford's embasssy, went every farthing into the American Baptist Mission Fund, but swollen in amount by the addition of what constituted the whole of Judson's private property. Altogether he appears in 1827 and 1828 to have been able in this manner to pay into the Funds of the Board upwards of ten thousand dollars; that too, at a time, when such a sum was more needed, and of more importance to the Mission, than far higher amounts would be in the present day, when America has bestowed her sympathy and liberality on the cause of Missions.

These services were by no means all for which the Anglo-Indian Government stands indebted to Judson. Though the Burmans were his peculiar flock, and his Mission was specially

to the heathen, the British Soldier shared his love and sympathy; and many an officer, and many a private, whom the course of duty quartered at Moulmein, found that they had been led, in the inscrutable will of Providence, to that distant and uncivilized region, in order to hear a teacher, who touched their hearts, awakened their consciences, and turned them to the truth. Many a soldier left Moulmein, feeling that, whatever his future career, he must ever look back to that spot as the birth-place of his spiritual life. An old Italian proverb says, that there is often as much religion under the soldier's cap, as under the Bishop's mitre; and, in many a scene of death, whether stretched on his hospital bed, or bleeding away life on the field of battle, the spirit of the soldier, as it passed in peace and hope to immortality, will have given a parting blessing to his father in Christ, Adoniram Judson.

Very inadequately we have adverted to the loss, which not alone America and Burmah, but the whole Christian world, must deplore

> "With the dead
> In their repose, the living in their mirth,
> Who can reflect unmoved upon the round
> Of smooth and solemnized complacencies,
> By which, in Christian lands, from age to age,
> Profession mocks performance."

How different the contemplation of such a life, as that we have very faintly scanned. May that life's history be written and given to the world by some one able to do the subject justice! The example of Judson will be salutary to all, but most so to the Missionaries, whose destination is the East. The writing of that life is a duty, which America owes to one of her noblest sons, and three of her noblest daughters. It is a duty, which America owes to the whole Christian Church; and a duty, which, let us hope, will be religiously performed.

ART. VI.—*A Hunter's Life in South Africa. By R. Gordon Cumming. 2 Vols. 8vo. London.* 1850.

IT is with great diffidence and many misgivings that we undertake to comment on Mr. Cumming. For one who could not shoot a tom-tit without feeling remorse for the deed, to criticise the work of a mighty hunter is surely an act of no ordinary audacity. The presumption apart, too, we fear, that none but a hunter could do justice to a hunter's book. A blind man may lecture on light and colour; a deaf man may discourse eloquently on music. Memory with these may fill the place of the absent perceptives. But for a man possessing not the sense, which perceives sport in bloodshed and slaughter, to appreciate the beauties of a sporting subject, is a thing impossible. Under such circumstances, it may be suggested that we ought to leave Mr. Cumming to our contemporary of the *Sporting Review;* and, were it merely a matter of private and personal taste, so indeed we should do. But as the limits of our jurisdiction are coincident with those of the Company's Charter, and thus include Mr. Cumming's hunting grounds in South Africa, the task of reviewing the Lion Killer's work presents itself in the form of a duty.

In preparation for the performance of this duty, we have—as, if rumour speaks truth, critics not always do—diligently and perseveringly perused the two volumes, in which Mr. Cumming has recorded his exploits and experiences. Very hard reading we have found them; not, possibly, from any fault in their matter or style, but from our misfortune in being destitute of the power to perceive their beauties. An acquaintance, largely endowed with this faculty, makes his boast that he galloped through them with scarcely a check in a (to us) incredibly small number of hours.

We would not have it supposed, however, that we have plodded wearily from Dan to Beersheba, from dedication to "finis," and found *all* barren. Perhaps no book, not absolutely and thoroughly immoral, can be read through entirely without profit; and it would be marvellous indeed, if a work, detailing the five years' experiences of an educated man in an imperfectly explored country, and among strange varieties of the human and brute creation, left no trace of pleasant recollection, or useful knowledge on the reader's mind. We trust, that we shall be able to filter from the blood-stained and sordid "rivulets of type," in which Mr. Cumming's exploits are reflected, a refreshing draught, now

and then, for those who accompany us through the desert, which we have ventured to explore.

But to reach the oasis, we must dare the arid waste. Ere we can sit down to enjoy those scanty draughts of refreshing knowledge, which await us in the distance, we must hasten over the most disagreeable part of our journey. To drop metaphor, we will, in the first place, declare what we object to in Mr. Cumming and his book, and then get from them, and say for them, all the good we can. To come to the worst at once then, we think that Mr. Cumming—to use the words of Sir Charles Napier—" would have better consulted his own respectability," had he left much of the book unwritten, and many of the deeds recorded therein undone. Not that we think a man forfeits his respectability by becoming a sportsman, or by owning himself one. We believe he may be that, without ceasing to be a gentleman. Indeed, as we are credibly informed, he cannot be a perfect sportsman, unless he is a gentleman. But though the union of the two characters is thus practicable, it surely is not good, that they should be so blended together, as that the more graceful and delicate should be lost in the ruder and harder. The fine gold of the gentleman should gild the less precious metal of the sportsman, and not be melted up with it, and lost in the grosser mass. Sorry should we be to say, that so good a shot as Mr. Cumming is other than a gentleman. Our complaint against him is, that he too often disguises the character under the savage habits of desert life. Possessed of at least an average amount of intellect and education, boasting aristocratic connections, and placed, as we may assume, above the temptation of pecuniary necessity, he abandons an honourable profession, for which we should suppose him peculiarly fitted. He turns his back on civilized life, and assimilates himself, as nearly as possible, to the savages, his associates. Sordidly and grotesquely clad, grossly fed, ill-housed, to the detriment, as he tells us, of his health, he banishes himself for five years to the wilds of South Africa, for the purpose of indulging the three amiable propensities—combativeness, destructiveness, and acquisitiveness ! Can we be blamed if we fail to recognise the graceful high-minded British gentleman in the un-kempt cateran breakfasting on " coffee and rhinoceros," besmeared with the blood of the noble and beautiful animals, whom he has wantonly and uselessly slaughtered, or employing his Scottish shrewdness in outwitting (we fear we might say cheating) the brutish bipeds of the wild ? Here is little in common with the well-appointed English sportsmen, seeking healthful relaxation and excitement on the moor, in stubble, or in cover, or with

the bold hunter of Bengal, taking the field like a gentleman against the boar or the tiger. These devote their brief and probably well-earned seasons of leisure to the temperate gratification of those propensities, which find pleasure in the sports of the field. Mr. Cumming, impelled at once by a fierce lust of blood and the desire of gain, mis-spends a lustrum in wholesale slaughter. We say not that Mr. Cumming's employments were more cruel than those of more orthodox sportsmen, or that to shoot a hare is less barbarous than to shoot an elephant, though we *do* find some difficulty in reconciling ourselves to the contrary belief. It is to the quantity, rather than to the quality, of Mr. Cumming's slaughters that we object. His heartless indiscriminate massacres seem to us atrocious; and he has taken care that nothing of their repulsive effect shall be lost in the narrative. He is usually very particular in telling us how his victims died.

To begin at the beginning. Mr. Gordon Cumming thus introduces himself in the introduction of his book:—

> The early portion of my life was spent in the county of Moray, where a love of natural history and of sport early engendered themselves, and became stronger and more deeply rooted with my years. Salmon-fishing and roe-stalking were my favourite amusements; and, during these early wanderings by wood and stream, the strong love of sport and admiration of Nature in her wildest and most attractive forms became with me an all-absorbing feeling, and my greatest possible enjoyment was to pass whole days and many a summer night in solitude, where, undisturbed, I might contemplate the silent grandeur of the forest, and the ever-varying beauty of the scenes around. Long before I proceeded to Eton, I took pride in the goodly array of hunting trophies, which hung around my room.

The "admiration of Nature" and "love of natural history" are but very feebly developed in the book, which is declared to be almost a literal transcript from a journal, written while the impressions of "any thing worthy of attention" were yet fresh in the hunter's memory. With rare exceptions, and unless when recorded rather by the sportsman than the naturalist, Mr. Cumming's observations on natural history refer chiefly to the size of horns and tusks—the "trophies" of his achievements; and we must confess that, save for some brief hints as to the character of the climate and the country, in which and over which he followed the game, we close his volumes, as ignorant of the face which nature displayed to him, as when we first opened them. As we have already said, however, it is almost impossible for a book on such a subject to be entirely barren; and we trust to be able to shew our readers that Mr. Cumming's is no exception to the general rule.

Mr. Cumming came out to India in 1839, as an officer of the

4th Madras Cavalry; and on his way, he obtained at the Cape a foretaste of those savage delights, which he was afterwards so largely to enjoy. In this country he laid the foundation of a "collection of specimens of natural history, which has since swelled to gigantic proportions, and, under the name of the South African Museum, is to be seen at the Chinese Gallery in London" The climate of India did not agree with him; so he retired from the service and returned home. There he resumed his old habits and took to deer-stalking; but "growing weary of hunting in a country, where the game was strictly preserved, and where the continual presence of keepers and foresters took away half the charm of the chase, and longing once more for the freedom of nature and the life of the wild hunter—so far preferable to that of the mere sportsman—he resolved to visit the rolling prairies and rocky mountains of the far west, where his nature would find congenial sport with the bison, the wapiti, and the elk." Prompted by such laudable aspirations, he obtained a commission in the Royal Veteran Newfoundland Companies; but, finding that he should have little chance of playing the Nimrod, while attached to this corps, he exchanged into the Cape Rifles, and in 1843 found himself once more on the borders of that country, in which he was so peculiarly to distinguish himself.

He was again however disappointed in his expectations of combining the wild pleasures of the sportsman with the formal routine of military duty: and, "there being at that time no prospect of fighting," he made up his mind to sell out of the army, and to penetrate into the interior, farther than the foot of civilized man had yet trodden—"to vast regions," says he, "which would afford abundant food for the gratification of the passion of my youth, the collecting of hunting trophies and objects of interest in science and natural history." Elsewhere he admits a "secondary consideration," that of his "real interest"—the "rendering his expedition profitable" by the collection of ivory, &c. for sale. This "secondary consideration" would not of course do for a preface; though it peeps out rather too often, we think, in the course of the narrative.

Accordingly Mr. Cumming sold out of the army, and for five years waged relentless war with the brute tribes of the interior wilds. Yet within those five years, he might have found many opportunities of at once gratifying his ruling propensities and of winning military honours, as did his former comrades, engaged in a fierce struggle with the Kafirs far in his rear. Within those five years, British soldiers had fought and conquered at Gwalior, on the Sutlej, in the Punjab: and Mr. Cumming,

who could move about from corps to corps, from country to country, at his will, might with them, in the honourable path of duty, have won a renown far more enviable than any that his hunting exploits or their history can secure for him.

Passing over Mr. Cumming's account of his plans and preparations, his equipage and outfit, which those specially interested therein will seek in the work itself, we come upon him, as he is depicted in the vignette title-page, shock-haired, bearded, bare armed, bare legged, kilted and brogued, with shouldered rifle, tramping at the head of a long train of waggons, bullocks, horses, and Hottentots. Graham's Town is far behind him. He has accomplished in safety the "fearful descent of De Bruin's Poort," or pass. He has crossed the last obstructing fold of the Great Fish River. He is approaching the scene of his future triumphs. Let him describe what he saw and felt on the occasion:—

Having directed my men to proceed to the next farm along the banks of the Brak River, I rode forth with Cobus, and held a northerly course across the flats. I soon perceived herds of springbok in every direction, which, on my following at a hard gallop, continued to join one another until the whole plain seemed alive with them. Upon our crossing a sort of ridge on the plain, I beheld the whole country, as far as my eye could reach, actually white with springboks, with here and there a herd of black gnoos, or wildebeest, prancing and capering in every direction, whirling and lashing their white tails, as they started off in long files on our approach. Having pursued them for many hours, and fired about a dozen shots at these, and the springboks, at distances of from four to six hundred yards, and only wounded one, which I lost, I turned my horse's head for camp. The evening set in dark and lowering, with rattling thunder and vivid flashes of lightning on the surrounding hills. I accordingly rode hard for my waggon, which I just reached in time to escape a deluge of rain, which lasted all night. The Brak River came down a red foaming torrent, but fell very rapidly in the morning. This river is called Brak from the flavour of its waters, which, excepting in the rainy season, are barely palatable. My day's sport, although unsuccessful, was most exciting. I did not feel much mortified at my want of success, for I was well aware that recklessly jagging after the game, in the manner in which I had been doing, although highly exhilarating, was not the way to fill the bag. Delight at beholding so much noble game in countless herds on their native plains was uppermost in my mind, and I felt that at last I had reached the borders of those glorious hunting-lands, the accounts of which had been my chief inducements to visit this remote and desolate corner of the globe; and I rejoiced that I had not allowed the advice of my acquaintances to influence my movements.

As I rode along, in the intense and maddening excitement of the chase, I felt a glad feeling of unrestrained freedom, which was common to me during my career in Africa, and which I had seldom so fully experienced; and, notwithstanding the many thorns which surrounded my roses during the many days and nights of toil and hardship, which I afterwards encountered, I shall ever refer to those times as by far the brightest and happiest of my life.

A little further on his journey, he comes to the farm of one Hendrik Strydom, a hospitable Boer, to whom he thus introduces himself:—

On reaching my waggon, which I found outspanned at the desolate abode of Mynheer Hendrick Strydom, I took a mighty draught of gin and water, and then walked, followed by my interpreter carrying a bottle of Hollands and glasses, to the door of Strydom, to cultivate the acquaintance of himself and Frau, and wearing the garb of old Gaul, in which I generally hunted during my first expedition, to the intense surprise of the primitive Boers. Shaking Strydom most cordially by the hand, I told him that I was a "Berg Scott," or mountain Scotchman, and that it was the custom in my country, when friends met, to pledge one another in a bumper of spirits; at the same time, suiting the action to the word, I filled him a brimming bumper. This was my invariable practice on first meeting a Boer. I found it a never-failing method of gaining his goodwill, and he always replied that the Scotch were the best people in the world.

It is a strange thing that Boers are rather partial to Scotchmen, although they detest the sight of an Englishman. They have an idea that the Scotch, like themselves, were a nation conquered by the English, and that, consequently, we "trek" in the same yoke as themselves; and further, a number of their ministers are Scotchmen.

After coquetting awhile with springboks and such small deer, in company with Mynheer Strydom, our wild hunter backed by his Boer ally, aspires to deal with larger game. He thus narrates a nocturnal attack upon "what they took to be a herd of quaggas":—

Night was now fast setting in; so we descended from the hills, and made for home. As we passed down, we observed what we took to be a herd of quaggas, and a bull wildebeest, standing in front of us; upon which we jumped off our horses, and, bending our bodies, approached them to fire.

It was now quite dark, and it was hard to tell what sort of game we were going to fire at. Strydom, however, whispered to me that they were quaggas, and they certainly appeared to be such. His gun snapped three times at the wildebeest, upon which they all set off at gallop. Strydom, who was riding my stallion, let go his bridle, when he ran in to fire, taking advantage of which the horse set off at a gallop after them. I then mounted "The Cow," * and, after riding hard for about a mile, I came up to them. They were now standing still, and the stallion was in the middle of them. I could make him out by his saddle; so, jumping off my horse in a state of intense excitement, I ran forward, and fired both barrels of my two-grooved rifle into the quaggas, and heard the bullets tell loudly. They then started off; but the stallion was soon once more fighting in the middle of them. I was astonished and delighted to remark how my horse was able to take up their attention, so that they appeared heedless of the reports of my rifle.

In haste I commenced loading, but to my dismay I found that I had left my loading-rod with Hendrick. Mounting "The Cow," I rode nearer to the quaggas, and was delighted to find that they allowed my horse to come within easy shot. It was now very dark; but I set off in the hope to fall

* One of his horses was so designated.

in with Hendrick on the wide plain, and galloped along, shouting with all my might, but in vain. I then rode across the plain for the hill, to try to find some bush large enough to make a ramrod. In this, by the greatest chance, I succeeded; and, being provided with a knife, I cut a good ramrod, loaded my rifle, and rode off to seek the quaggas once more. I soon fell in with them; and, coming within shot, fired at them right and left, and heard both bullets tell, upon which they galloped across the plain, with the stallion still after them. One of them, however, was very hard hit, and soon dropped astern. The stallion remained to keep him company.

About this time the moon shone forth faintly. I galloped on after the troop; and, presently coming up with them, rode on one side, and dismounting, and dropping on my knee, I sent a bullet through the shoulder of the last quagga; he staggered forward, fell to the ground with a heavy crash, and expired. The rest of the troop charged wildly around him, snorting and prancing like the wild horses in Mazeppa, and then set off at full speed across the plain. I did not wait to bleed the quagga, but mounting my horse, I galloped on after the troop. but could not, however, overtake them. I now returned and endeavoured to find the quagga, which I had last shot; but, owing to the darkness, and to my having no mark to guide me on the plain, I failed to find him. I then set off to try for the quagga, which had dropped astern with the stallion; having searched some time in vain, I dismounted, and laid my head on the ground, when I made out two dark objects, which turned out to be what I sought. On my approaching, the quagga tried to make off, when I sent a ball through his shoulder, which laid him low. On going up to him in the full expectation of inspecting for the first time one of these animals, what was my disappointment and vexation to find a fine brown gelding, with two white stars on his forehead! The truth now flashed upon me. Strydom and I had both been mistaken. Instead of quaggas, the waggon-team of a neighbouring Dutchman had afforded me my evening's shooting! I caught my stallion, and rode home, intending to pay for the horses, which I had killed and wounded; *but*, on telling my story to Strydom, with which he seemed extremely amused, he told me not to say a word about it, as the owners of the horses were very avaricious, and would make me pay treble their value; and that, if I kept quiet, it would be supposed they had been killed either by lions or wild Bushmen.

Oh that *but!* So you did not pay for the property you had carelessly destroyed, because a mischievous Dutch Boer told you that you would have to pay a high price for it. Fie! fie! Mr. Cumming. Was this worthy of a Scottish gentleman, claiming relationship with the noble house of Gordon? But see how much more acute is Mr. Cumming's sense of justice, when he himself is the sufferer by the carelessness of others. The Bakalahari, or people living on the borders of the great desert of Kalahari, make covered pitfalls in the neighbourhood of their villages, for the purpose of catching and destroying the wild beasts. Into one of these a young mare of Mr. Cumming's fell, and was suffocated. The owner of the unfortunate animal was pleased to assume that, on his approach, all these pitfalls ought to be laid open to view to prevent accidents to his cattle. Let us see how he promulgates his *ex post facto* law, and punishes

its infraction. In the heading of the chapter, in which the occurrence is narrated, we are told of "a Chief flogged for catching, and consuming a horse;" but the story imputes no such degree of guilt to the luckless savage:—

When the waggons came up, I detected the head Bakalahari of the kraal, beside which my mare had been killed; he was talking with my cattle herds, with whom he seemed to be on very intimate terms. This killing of my horse was either intentional, or most culpably careless, as the pits were left covered, and the cattle driven to pasture in the middle of them. I accordingly deemed it proper that this man should be made an example of; so, calling to my English servant, Carey, to assist me, we each seized an arm of the guilty chief, and I then caused Hendrick to flog him with a sea-cow jambok; after which I admonished him, and told him that, if the holes were not opened in future, I would make a more severe example as I proceeded. The consequence of this salutary admonition was, that all the pitfalls along the river were thrown open in advance of my march—a thing which I had never before seen among the Bechuana tribes.

Judged by his own law, of how many stripes was Mr. Cumming worthy at the hands of the Dutchmen, whose horses he had shot? The natural effect of this display of heavy-handed injustice was manifest next morning, when he "found himself minus his hired natives; these ruffians fearing to receive a chastisement similar to that of the chief of the Bakalahari, which they felt they deserved." How much more tender the conscience of the savage than that of the civilized man!

Here is another lamentable proof of how much the barbarian has to learn ere he can cope with the civilised man, when the latter condescends to encounter him with his own weapons of superstition and deceit:—

It happened in the course of my converse with the chief, that the subject turned on ball-practice, when, probably relying on the power of his medicine, the king challenged me to shoot against him for a considerable wager, stipulating at the same time that his three brothers were to be permitted to assist him in the competition. The king staked a couple of valuable karosses against a large measure filled with my gunpowder; and we then at once proceeded to the waggon, where the match was to come off, followed by a number of the tribe. Whilst Sichely was loading his gun, I repaired to the fore-chest of the waggon, where, observing that I was watched by several of the natives, I proceeded to rub my hands with sulphur, which was instantly reported to the chief, who directly joined me, and, clapping me on the back, entreated me to give him a little of my medicine for his gun, which I of course told him he must purchase. Our target being set up, we commenced firing; it was a small piece of wood six inches long by four in breadth, and was placed on the stump of a tree, at the distance of one hundred paces. Sichely fired the first shot, and very naturally missed it; upon which I let fly, and split it through the middle. It was then set up again, when Sichely and his brothers continued firing, without once touching it, till night setting in put an end to their proceedings. This of course was solely attributed by all present to the power of the medicine I had used.

If Mr. Cumming was not at this time the guest of Dr. Livingstone, the excellent missionary, he was at all events encamped on the scene of that good man's labours and his influence. Of course, as our wild hunter naively tells us, when Dr. Livingstone was informed of this circumstance, he was very much shocked, declaring, that "in future the natives would fail to believe him, when he denounced supernatural agency, having now seen it practised by his own countrymen." How much easier it is to do harm than to do good. This silly joke of Mr. Cumming—we will not regard it as any thing worse, for he does not tell us that he actually then sold any of his gun-medicine to the natives—may have had an injurious effect on the good missionary's labours for months or even years.

But the following is still worse; it is a clear case of obtaining goods under false pretences; and we are astonished to find even Mr. Cumming chronicling it with so much self-complacence:—

In the forenoon, Matsaca arrived from the carcase of the borélé. He brought with him a very fine leopard's skin kaross, and an elephant's tooth; these were for me, in return for which I was to cut him, to make him shoot well. This I did in the following manner: opening a large book of natural history, containing prints of all the chief quadrupeds, I placed his forefinger successively on several of the prints of the commonest of the South African quadrupeds; and, as I placed his finger on each, I repeated some absurd sentence, and anointed him him with turpentine. When this was accomplished, I made four cuts on his arm with a lancet, and then, anointing the bleeding wounds with gunpowder and turpentine, I told him that his gun had power over each of the animals which his finger had touched, provided he held it straight. Matsaca and his retinue seemed highly gratified, and presently took leave and departed.

Did ever quack at country fair more richly deserve the stocks, for imposing his rubbish on the credulous bumpkins as valuable specifics, than did this well born and bred British gentleman, for thus practising on the ignorance and superstition of African savages for his own sordid profit? We fear that the civilized sojourners among heathen tribes, often, in their ordinary life and conversation, do much to check the diffusion of Christian truth, without being conscious of it; but a few Cummings, scattered about in the dark places of the earth, would do more mischief in an hour, than the missionaries, whom Christian piety and Christian benevolence have sent forth, could repair in a year. We trust, however, that few of our countrymen are capable of such practices, as those which Mr. Cumming avows, not only without shame, but with very obvious satisfaction.

More than once does our eccentric friend record his performance of those incantations—never done for nothing. Thus we

find him again obtaining valuable property by the pretended exercise of supernatural power. The process is thus particularly described:—

I also exchanged some assagais for ammunition; and obtained other articles of native manufacture in payment for cutting the arms of two or three of the nobility, and rubbing medicine into the incisions, to enable them to shoot well. Whilst performing this absurd ceremony, in which the Bechuanas have unbounded faith, I held before the eye of the initiated sportsman prints of each of the game quadrupeds of the country; at the same time anointing him with the medicine (which was common turpentine), and looking him most seriously in the face, I said, in his own language, "Slay the game well; let the course of thy bullet be through the hearts of the wild beasts, thine hand and heart be strong against the lion, against the great elephant, against the rhinoceros, against the buffalo," &c.

Our merchant-hunter has no excuse for having thus juggled the savages out of their property: for the profits, which he might regard as perfectly legitimate, were certainly very handsome. For a musket, which cost sixteen shillings, he demanded ivory which he valued at 30*l.*—"being about 3,000 per cent, which," he says, with an obvious chuckle, "I am informed, is reckoned among mercantile men to be a very fair profit." The price, which the largest ivory fetches in the English market, Mr. Cumming tells us, is from 28*l.* to 32*l.* per cwt., and he obtained pairs of tusks, which weighed considerably more than this. But then, as he informs us, he voted the trading an immense bore; and, even in his elephant-shooting expeditions, he was tempted to forget his "real interests—" the making his expedition profitable—by the inducement to select and secure the largest tusks for his collection of curiosities.

The varying character of South African sport may be inferred from the following imperfect list of the game found in one district only—and the smallest and least important item in the catalogue, it must be remembered, is the antelope in various species:—

In the course of the day I saw the fresh spoor of about twenty varieties of large game, and most of the animals themselves, viz. elephant, black, white, and long-horned rhinoceros, hippopotamus, camelopard, buffalo, blue wildebeest, zebra, waterbuck, sassayby, koodoo, pallah, springbok, serolo-mootlooque, wild boar, duiker, steinbok, lion, leopard. This district of Africa contains a larger variety of game than any other in the whole of this vast tract of the globe, and perhaps more than any district throughout the world; for, besides the game which I have just noted, the following are not uncommon, viz. keilton, or two-horned black rhinoceros, eland, oryx, roan antelope, sable antelope, hartebeest, klipspringer, and grys steinbuck: the rietbuck is also to be found, but not abundantly.

Any of the names in this catalogue, which the reader does not recognize, may safely be regarded as those of different kinds of antelopes. These fleet, graceful, and timid inhabitants

of the desert, associated often in countless herds, supplied Mr. Cumming with recreation, during (what we may call) his leisure hours, spared from the more exciting, and often more profitable, pursuit of the larger and rarer game. His accounts of the long streams of antelopes on their annual migrations are really marvellous. The havoc, that he made among them, may readily be imagined. Darting through the herd, firing right and left, or singling out a fine specimen, and "stalking" it, or perhaps knocking it down, or seeing it escape after a long chase—this was the best of the sport with which this species of game supplied him. Here is his description of one of the finest and most remarkable of these antelope tribes:—

The Oryx, or gemsbok, to which I was now about to direct my attention more particularly, is about the most beautiful and remarkable of all the antelope tribe. It is the animal, which is supposed to have given rise to the fable of the unicorn, from its long straight horns, when seen, *en profile*, so exactly covering one another, as to give it the appearance of having but one. It possesses the erect mane, long sweeping black tail, and general appearance of the horse, with the head and hoofs of an antelope. It is robust in its form, squarely and compactly built, and very noble in its bearing. Its height is about that of an ass, and in colour it slightly resembles that animal. The beautiful black bands, which eccentrically adorn its head, giving it the appearance of wearing a stall collar, together with the manner in which the rump and thighs are painted, impart to it a character peculiar to itself. The adult male measures 3 feet 10 inches in height at the shoulder.

The gemsbok was destined by nature to adorn the parched karroos and arid deserts of South Africa, for which description of country it is admirably adapted. It thrives and attains high condition in barren regions, where it might be imagined that a locust would not find subsistence; and, burning as is the climate, it is perfectly independent of water, which, from my own observation, and the repeated reports both of the Boers and Aborigines, I am convinced it never by any chance tastes. Its flesh is deservedly esteemed, and ranks next to the eland. At certain seasons of the year they carry a great quantity of fat, at which time they can more easily be ridden into. Owing to the even nature of the ground, which the oryx frequents, its shy and suspicious disposition, and the extreme distances from water to which it must be followed, it is never stalked, or driven to an ambush, like other antelopes, but is hunted on horseback, and ridden down by a long, severe, tail-on-end chase. Of several animals in South Africa, which are hunted in the manner, and may be ridden into by a horse, the oryx is by far the swiftest and most enduring. They are widely diffused throughout the centre and western parts of Southern Africa.

Touching what is here said as to the origin of the fable of the unicorn, we suspect that the unicorn of heraldry dates from times, when the gemsbok, or oryx, of South Africa was unknown to Europeans. More probably the composite animal, which figures so prominently in coat-armoury, is entirely an ideal creation, suggested, by the reference to the unicorn in the book of Job, to men who knew nothing of the rhinoceros.

But ere long our wild hunter came on nobler game than these elegant and gentle antelopes. We must make room, at some sacrifice of space, for the record of his first impressions of, and subsequent experiences with, the royal tribe of Leo. Few have had Mr. Cumming's opportunities of observing and studying the nature and habits of the terrible king of beasts in his native deserts: and the account here given is on many points novel, and in all highly interesting:—

The night of the 19th was to me rather a memorable one, as being the first on which I had the satisfaction of hearing the deep-toned thunder of the lion's roar. Although there was no one near, to inform me by what beast the haughty and impressive sounds, which echoed through the wilderness, were produced, I had little difficulty in divining. There was no mistake about it; and, on hearing it, I at once knew, as well as if accustomed to the sound from my infancy, that the appalling roar, which was uttered within half a mile of me, was no other than that of the mighty and terrible king of beasts. Although the dignified and truly monarchical appearance of the lion has long rendered him famous amongst his fellow quadrupeds, and his appearance and habits have often been described by abler pens than mine, nevertheless I consider that a few remarks, resulting from my own personal experience, formed by a tolerably long acquaintance with him both by day and by night, may not prove uninteresting to the reader. There is something so noble and imposing in the presence of the lion, when seen walking with dignified self-possession, free and undaunted, on his native soil, that no description can convey an adequate idea of his striking appearance. The lion is exquisitely formed by nature for the predatory habits which he is destined to pursue. Combining in comparatively small compass the qualities of power and agility, he is enabled, by means of the tremendous machinery with which nature has gifted him, easily to overcome and destroy almost every beast of the forest, however superior to him in weight and stature.

Though considerably under four feet in height, he has little difficulty in dashing to the ground, and overcoming the lofty and apparently powerful giraffe, whose head towers above the trees of the forest, and whose skin is nearly an inch in thickness. The lion is the constant attendant of the vast herds of buffalos, which frequent the interminable forests of the interior; and a full-grown one, so long as his teeth are unbroken, generally proves a match for an old bull buffalo, which in size and strength greatly surpasses the most powerful breed of English cattle. The lion also preys on all the larger varieties of the antelopes, and on both varieties of the gnoo. The zebra, which is met with in large herds throughout the interior, is also a favourite object of his pursuit.

Lions do not refuse, as has been asserted, to feast upon the venison that they have not killed themselves. I have repeatedly discovered lions of all ages, which had taken possession of, and were feasting upon, the carcases of various game quadrupeds, which had fallen before my rifle. The lion is very generally diffused throughout the secluded parts of Southern Africa. He is, however, nowhere met with in great abundance—it being very rare to find more than three, or even two, families of lions frequenting the same district, and drinking at the same fountain. When a greater number were met with, I remarked that it was owing to long-protracted droughts, which, by drying nearly all the fountains, had compelled the game of various

districts to crowd the remaining springs; and the lions, according to their custom, followed in the wake. It is a common thing to come upon a full-grown lion and lioness associating with three or four large young ones nearly full grown. At other times, full grown males will be found associating and hunting together in a happy state of friendship; two, three, and full-grown male lions may thus be discovered consorting together.

The male lion is adorned with a long, rank, shaggy mane, which in some instances almost sweeps the ground. The colour of these manes varies—some being very dark, and others of a golden yellow. This appearance has given rise to a prevailing opinion among the Boers, that there are two distinct varieties of lions, which they distinguish by the respective names of "Schwart fore life" and "Chiel fore life:" this idea, however, is erroneous. The colour of the lion's mane is generally influenced by his age. He attains his mane in the third year of his existence. I have remarked that at first it is of a yellowish colour; in the prime of life it is blackest; and, when he has numbered many years, but still is in the full enjoyment of his power, it assumes a yellowish-grey-pepper-and-salt sort of colour. These old fellows are cunning and dangerous, and most to be dreaded. The females are utterly destitute of a mane, being covered with a short, thick, glossy coat of tawny hair. The manes and coats of lions, frequenting open-lying districts utterly destitute of trees, such as the borders of the great Kalahari desert, are more dark and handsome than those inhabiting forest districts.

One of the most striking things connected with the lion is his voice, which is extremely grand and peculiarly striking. It consists at times of a low deep moaning, repeated five or six times, ending in faintly audible sighs; at other times he startles the forest with loud, deep-toned, solemn roars, repeated five or six times in quick succession, each increasing in loudness to the third or fourth, when his voice dies away in five or six low muffled sounds, very much resembling distant thunder. At times, and not unfrequently, a troop may be heard roaring in concert—one assuming the lead, and two, three, or four more regularly taking up their parts, like persons singing a catch. Like our Scottish stags at the rutting season, they roar loudest in cold, frosty nights; but on no occasions are their voices to be heard in such perfection, or so intensely powerful, as when two or three strange troops of lions approach a fountain to drink at the same time. When this occurs, every member of each troop sounds a bold roar of defiance at the opposite parties; and when one roars, all roar together, and each seems to vie with his comrades in the intensity and power of his voice. The power and grandeur of these nocturnal forest concerts is inconceivably striking and pleasing to the hunter's ear. The effect, I may remark, is greatly enhanced, when the hearer happens to be situated in the depths of the forest, at the dead hour of midnight, unaccompanied by any attendant, and ensconced within twenty yards of the fountain, which the surrounding troops of lions are approaching. Such has been my situation many scores of times; and, though I am allowed to have a tolerably good taste for music, I consider the catches, with which I was then regaled, as the sweetest and most natural I ever heard.

As a general rule, lions roar during the night—their sighing moans commencing, as the shades of evening envelop the forest, and continuing at intervals throughout the night. In distant and secluded regions, however, I have constantly heard them roaring loudly, as late as nine and ten o'clock on a bright sunny morning. In hazy and rainy weather they are to be heard at every hour in the day; but their roar is subdued. It often happens that when two strange male lions meet at a fountain, a terrific

combat ensues, which not unfrequently ends in the death of one of them. The habits of the lion are strictly nocturnal; during the day he lies concealed beneath the shade of some low bushy tree, or wide-spreading bush, either in the level forest, or on the mountain side. He is also partial to lofty reeds, or fields of long rank yellow grass, such as occur in low-lying vleys. From these haunts he sallies forth, when the sun goes down, and commences his nightly prowl. When he is successful in his beat, and has secured his prey, he does not roar much that night, only uttering occasionally a few low moans—that is, provided no intruders approach him, otherwise the case would be very different.

Lions are ever most active, daring, and presuming in dark and stormy nights; and consequently on such occasions the traveller ought more particularly to be on his guard. I remarked a fact connected with the lions' hour of drinking peculiar to themselves: they seemed unwilling to visit the fountains with good moonlight. Thus, when the moon rose early, the lions deferred their hour of watering until late in the morning; and, when the moon rose late, they drank at a very early hour in the night. By this acute system many a grisly lion 'saved his bacon,' and is now luxuriating in the forests of South Africa, which had otherwise fallen by the barrels of my "Westly Richards." Owing to the tawny colour of the coat, with which nature has robed him, he is perfectly invisible in the dark; and, although I have often heard them loudly lapping the water under my very nose, not twenty yards from me, I could not possibly make out so much as the outline of their forms. When a thirsty lion comes to water, he stretches out his massive arms, lies down on his breast to drink, and makes a loud lapping noise in drinking, not to be mistaken. He continues lapping up the water for a long while, and, four or five times during the proceeding, he pauses for half a minute as if to take breath. One thing conspicuous about them is their eyes, which, in a dark night, glow like two balls of fire. The female is more fierce and active than the male, as a general rule. Lionesses, which have never had young, are much more dangerous than those which have. At no time is the lion so much to be dreaded, as when his partner has got small young ones. At that season he knows no fear, and, in the coolest and most intrepid manner, he will face a thousand men. A remarkable instance of this kind came under my own observation, which confirmed the reports I had before heard from the natives. One day, when out elephant-hunting in the territory of the "Baseleka," accompanied by two hundred and fifty men, I was astonished suddenly to behold a majestic lion slowly and steadily advancing towards us, with a dignified step and undaunted bearing, the most noble and imposing that can be conceived. Lashing his tail from side to side, and growling haughtily, his terribly expressive eye resolutely fixed upon us, and displaying a show of ivory well calculated to inspire terror amongst the timid "Bechuanas," he approached. A headlong flight of the two hundred and fifty men was the immediate result; and, in the confusion of the moment, four couples of my dogs, which they had been leading, were allowed to escape in their couples. These instantly faced the lion, who, finding that by his bold bearing he had succeeded in putting his enemies to flight, now became solicitous for the safety of his little family, with which the lioness was retreating in the back ground. Facing about, he followed after them with a haughty and independent step, growling fiercely at the dogs, which trotted along on either side of him. Three troops of elephants having been discovered a few minutes previous to this, upon which I was marching for the attack, I, with the most heartfelt reluctance, reserved my fire. On running down the hill side, to endeavour to recall my dogs,

I observed, for the first time, the retreating lioness with four cubs. About twenty minutes afterwards two noble elephants repaid my forbearance.

Among Indian Nimrods a certain class of royal tigers is dignified with the appellation of "man-eaters." These are tigers, which, having once tasted human flesh, show a predilection for the same; and such characters are very naturally famed and dreaded among the natives. Elderly gentlemen of similar tastes and habits are occasionally met with among the lions in the interior of South Africa; and the danger of such neighbours may be easily imagined. I account for lions first acquiring this taste in the following manner; the Bechuana tribes of the far interior do not bury their dead, but unceremoniously carry them forth, and leave them lying exposed in the forest or on the plain, a prey to the lion and hyæna, or the jackal and vulture; and I can readily imagine that a lion, having thus once tasted human flesh, would have little hesitation, when opportunity presented itself, of springing upon and carrying off the unwary traveller, or "Bechuana," inhabiting his country. Be this as it may, man-eaters occur; and, on my fourth hunting expedition, a horrible tragedy was acted one dark night in my little lonely camp by one of these formidable characters, which deprived me, in the far wilderness, of my most valuable servant.

In winding up these few observations on the lion, which, I trust, will not have been tiresome to the reader, I may remark that lion hunting, under any circumstances, is decidedly a dangerous pursuit. It may, nevertheless, be followed, to a certain extent with comparative safety, by those who have naturally a turn for that sort of thing. A recklessness of death, perfect coolness and self-possession, an acquaintance with the disposition and manners of lions, and a tolerable knowledge of the use of the rifle, are indispensable to him, who would shine in the overpoweringly exciting pastime of hunting this justly-celebrated king of beasts.

The "tragedy," to which Mr. Cumming here briefly alludes, was truly a horrible one. It is noted at great length, and with soul-harrowing minuteness, in a subsequent part of the book. The poor wretch was actually dragged by the terrible brute from among his companions sleeping by the watch fire; and the lion lay all night, growling over the prey, which he was devouring, within forty yards of Mr. Cumming and his terrified followers. We must confess that we were somewhat surprised to find Mr. C. so soon assuming that his unfortunate servant was beyond the reach of aid, and postponing his attack on the man-eater till next morning. He was not usually so much averse to a contest in the dark, even with lions more than one. When day-light came, however, he amply revenged the death of poor Hendrik by that of his destroyer:—

The lion held up the river's bank for a short distance, and took away through some wait-a-bit thorn cover, the best he could find, but nevertheless open. Here, in two minutes, the dogs were up with him, and he turned, and stood at bay. As I approached, he stood, his horrid head right opposite to me, with open jaws growling fiercely, his tail waving from side to side.

On beholding him, my blood boiled with rage. I wished that I could take him alive, and torture him; and, setting my teeth, I dashed my steed forward within thirty yards of him, and shouted, "*Your* time is up, old

fellow," I halted my horse, and, placing my rifle to my shoulder, I waited for a broadside. This, the next moment, he exposed, when I sent a bullet through his shoulder, and dropped him on the spot. He rose, however, again, when I finished him with a second in the breast. The Bakalahari now came up in wonder and delight. I ordered John to cut off his head and forepaws, and bring them to the waggons; and, mounting my horse, I galloped home, having been absent about fifteen minutes. When the Bakalahari women heard that the man-eater was dead, they all commenced dancing about with joy, calling me *their father*.

Mr. Cumming's first encounter with a member of the royal family well nigh brought his wanderings and adventures to a close. His antagonist was a bold lioness, who showed fight most resolutely, and was not despatched, till she had nearly killed Mr. Cumming's horse. The female indeed seems always to have proved herself a more formidable opponent than the male, who, even when numbers might have made him more bold, would get away if he could. Here is an account of a serio-comic interview with one of the queens of the wild :—

Ruyter came towards me, and I ran forward to obtain a view beyond a slight rise in the ground to see whither the lionesses had gone. In so doing, I came suddenly upon them, within about seventy yards; they were standing looking back at Ruyter. I then very rashly commenced making a rapid stalk in upon them, and fired at the nearest, having only one shot in my rifle. The ball told loudly, and the lioness, at which I had fired, wheeled right round, and came on, lashing her tail, showing her teeth, and making that horrid murderous deep growl, which an angry lion generally utters. At the same moment her comrade, who seemed better to know that she was in the presence of man, made a hasty retreat into the reeds. The instant the lioness came on, I stood up to my full height, holding my rifle, and my arms extended, and high above my head. This checked her in her course: but on looking round and missing her comrade, and observing Ruyter slowly advancing, she was still more exasperated, and, fancying that she was being surrounded, she made another forward movement, growling terribly. This was a moment of great danger. I felt that my only chance of safety was extreme steadiness: so, standing motionless as a rock, with my eyes firmly fixed upon her, I called out in a clear commanding voice, "Holloa! old girl, what's the hurry? take it easy; holloa! holloa!" She instantly once more halted, and seemed perplexed, looking round for her comrade. I then thought it prudent to beat a retreat, which I very slowly did, talking to the lioness all the time. She seemed undecided as to her future movements, and was gazing after me, and snuffing the ground, when I last beheld her.

In the following anecdote the lion is represented as playing for the hunter that part, which the jackal is popularly believed to perform for the lion himself. The statement is somewhat marvellous; but we presume Mr. Cumming repeats it on the best authority :—

This is a very remarkable and not unfrequent occurrence. Often, when a springbok is thus wounded, one or more jackals suddenly appear, and assist the hunter in capturing his quarry. In the more distant hunting-lands of the interior, it sometimes happens that the lion assists the sports

man in a similar manner with the larger animals; and, though this may appear like a traveller's story, it is nevertheless true; and instances of the kind happened both to myself and to Mr. Oswell of the H.E.I C.S., a dashing sportsman, and one of the best hunters I ever met, who performed two hunting expeditions into the interior. Mr. Oswell and a companion were one day galloping along the shady banks of the Limpopo, in full pursuit of a wounded buffalo, when they were suddenly joined by three lions, who seemed determined to dispute the chace with them. The buffalo held stoutly on, followed by the three lions—Oswell and his companion bringing up the rear. Very soon the lions sprang upon the mighty bull, and dragged him to the ground, when the most terrific scuffle ensued. Mr. Oswell and friend then approached, and opened their fire upon the royal family; and, as each ball struck the lions, they seemed to consider it was a poke from the horns of the buffalo, and redoubled their attentions to him. At length the sportsmen succeeded in bowling over two of the lions; upon which the third, finding the ground too hot for him, made off.

This Mr. Oswell, of the Hon'ble East India Company's Service, is a Madras civilian, who is spending his leave *to England* in warring with the brute tribes of South Africa. We saw it mentioned in the papers very lately, that he was still shooting elephants on the banks of the Limpopo. Let us hope that, though he is a hunter after Mr. Cumming's own heart, he does not intend to make that gentleman in all respects his model.

Elephant-shooting may be a very noble pursuit in the eyes of true sportsmen: but we must confess that to us there is something very repulsive in Mr. Cumming's accounts of his slaughter-work on this half-reasoning, inoffensive inhabitant of the wild. The very bulk of the living mass pleads against its needless and needlessly cruel destruction. But take a specimen of our wild hunter's dealings with this sagacious brute:—

In the mean time I was loading and firing as fast as could be, sometimes at the head, and sometimes behind the shoulder, until my elephant's forequarters were a mass of gore; notwithstanding which he continued to hold stoutly on, leaving the grass and branches of the forest scarlet in his wake.

On one occasion, he endeavored to escape by charging desperately amid the thickest of the flames; but this did not avail, and I was soon once more alongside. I blazed away at this elephant, until I began to think that he was proof against my weapons. Having fired thirty-five rounds with my two-grooved rifle, I opened fire upon him with the Dutch six-pounder; and, when forty bullets had perforated his hide, he began for the first time to evince signs of a dilapidated constitution. He took up a position in a grove; and, as the dogs kept barking round him, he backed stern foremost among the trees, which yielded before his gigantic strength. Poor old fellow! he had long braved my deadly shafts, but I plainly saw that it was now all over with him; so I resolved to expend no further ammunition, but hold him in view until he died. Throughout the chase this elephant repeatedly cooled his person with large quantities of water, which he ejected from his trunk over his back and sides; and, just as the pangs of death came over him, he stood, trembling violently beside a thorny tree, and kept pouring water into his bloody mouth until he died, when he

pitched heavily forward, with the whole weight of his fore-quarters resting on the points of his tusks.

A most singular occurrence now took place. He lay in this posture for several seconds; but the amazing pressure of the carcase was more than the head was able to support. He had fallen with his head so short under him, that the tusks received little assistance from his legs. Something must give way. The strain on the mighty tusks was fair; they did not, therefore, yield; but the portion of his head, in which the tusk was imbedded, extending a long way above the eye, yielded and burst with a muffled crash. The tusk was thus free, and turned right round in his head, so that a man could draw it out; and the carcase fell over, and rested on its side. This was a very first-rate elephant: and the tusks he carried were long and perfect.

It almost sickens us to read what Mr. Cumming here records in so business-like a manner. A little further on, he tells us how, having secured an elephant with a single shot, rendering him instantly dead-lame, he resolved to devote a short time to the contemplation of the noble animal, who was "eying his pursuers with a resigned and philosophic air;" and how, having enjoyed a cup of coffee, and some pleasing reflections on his position, as "a chief over boundless forests," with "one of the finest elephants in Africa, awaiting his pleasure beside a neighbouring tree," and after having "admired" the said elephant for a considerable time, he "resolved to make experiments for vulnerable points!" So approaching very near, he fired several bullets at different parts of the enormous skull. They "did not seem to affect the elephant in the slightest degree, as he only acknowledged the shots with a salaam-like movement of his trunk, with the point of which he gently touched the wound with a striking and peculiar action." Poor wretch! Possibly he *felt* the balls in his head. Even Mr. Cumming at length was "surprised and shocked" to find that he was "only tormenting and prolonging the sufferings of the noble beast, which bore his trials with such dignified composure;" and he mercifully "resolved to finish the proceeding with all possible despatch:"—

I resolved to finish the proceeding with all possible despatch; accordingly I opened fire upon him from the left side, aiming behind the shoulder; but, even there, it was long before my bullets seemed to take effect. I first fired six shots with the two-grooved, which must have eventually proved mortal, but as yet he evinced no visible distress; after which I fired three shots at the same part with the Dutch six-pounder. Large tears now trickled from his eyes, which he slowly shut and opened; his colossal frame quivered convulsively; and, falling on his side, he expired. The tusks of this elephant were beautifully arched, and were the heaviest I had yet met with, averaging 90 lbs. weight a-piece.

Shooting elephants from an ambush hole, as they come to drink at night, is an achievement, which calls for no great display of either skill or courage, we should think; but it is one in

which Mr. Cumming was highly successful: though he complains that many of the unfortunate brutes, whom he knew to be mortally wounded, were lost to him: and he subsequently adhered to the practice of hunting them with dogs and horses, by day or night.

Mr. Cumming dignifies his attacks on the elephants with the designation of "fighting,"—such fighting, we should say, as might be betwixt a battering-ram and a light six-pounder! The onset of the elephant is of course irresistible; but, it is only accident, that can give him an opportunity of bringing his strength into play against a well-mounted hunter, or even an active man on foot. One more illustration of Mr. Cumming's "sport" with the elephants, and we will release the reader from the contemplation of a not very pleasant subject:—

At first he made vain attempts to escape, and then to charge; but, finding he could neither escape nor catch any of us, he stood at bay, beside a tree, and my after-riders began to assail him. It was curious to watch his movements, as the boys, at about twenty yards distance, pelted him with sticks, &c. Each thing, as it was thrown, he took up, and hurled back at them. When, however, dry balls of elephants' dung were pitched at him, he contented himself with smelling at them with his trunk. At length wishing to put an end to his existence, I gave him four shots behind the shoulder, when he at once exhibited signs of distress; water ran from his eyes, and he could barely keep them open; presently his gigantic form quivered, and, falling over, he expired. At night, we again watched the fountain. Only one elephant appeared; late in the night he came up to leeward, and got our wind. I, however, shot two fine old muchocho, or white rhinoceroses, and wounded two or three borélé, which were found by the natives.

Of course it will not be supposed that all the victims to the prowess of our mighty hunter submitted to their fate as philosophically as the much-enduring elephant, or were as easy of conquest, as the timid antelope and the helpless camelopards, who fell weeping before his rifle. The lion was sometimes provoked to take an offensive position, when even Mr. Cumming was not quite insensible to its terrors; and the rhinoceros and the buffalo would occasionally make a furious and dangerous charge. Even the elephant, when hard pressed, would turn upon his pursuer with his formidable but unwieldy strength. Much of Mr. Cumming's "sport" was, what we should hope even an ardent sportsman of the most orthodox school would regard as mere butcher-work; but, on the other hand, he had occasionally encounters, which would have called forth all the coolness and courage of the best and boldest soldier. The king of beasts did not always maintain his proverbial reputation for dignified intrepidity in the presence of man or brute. He often, it must be confessed, shewed his teeth only when

he found that he could not safely display his heels. But his queen seldom failed to vindicate the character of the royal family, when the opportunity offered.

The rhinoceros seems to have wanted nothing but activity to make him a very formidable antagonist for the hunter. Mr. Cumming tells of one which chased him round and round a bush ; but the light-footed biped had it all his own way eventually, and, with a raking shot, sent his pursuer to the right about. This ungainly brute, as well as the still clumsier hippopotamus, is, according to our author, attended by a very strange ally, bound to his fortunes by the strong tie of self-interest. As the mouse is said in the fable to have saved the life of the lion, so the rhinoceros, according to Mr. Cumming, often owes the continuance of his existence to a little bird, whom in return he provides with a luxurious living—to his own comfort and advantage, nevertheless :—

These rhinoceros-birds are constant attendants upon the hippopotamus and the four varieties of rhinoceros, their object being to feed upon the ticks and other parasitic insects that swarm upon these animals. They are of a greyish colour, and are nearly as large as a common thrush ; their voice is very similar to that of the mistletoe-thrush. Many a time have these ever-watchful birds disappointed me in my stalk, and tempted me to invoke an anathema upon their devoted heads. They are the best friends the rhinoceros has, and rarely fail to awaken him, even in his soundest nap. "Chukroo" perfectly understands their warning ; and, springing to his feet, he generally first looks about him in every direction, after which he invariably makes off. I have often hunted a rhinoceros on horseback, which led me a chase of many miles, and required a number of shots before he fell, during which chase several of these birds remained by the rhinoceros to the last. They reminded me of mariners on the deck of some bark sailing on the ocean, for they perched along his back and sides ; and, as each of my bullets told on the shoulder of the rhinoceros, they ascended about six feet into the air, uttering their harsh cry of alarm, and then resumed their position. It sometimes happened that the lower branches of trees, under which the rhinoceros passed, swept them from their living deck, but they always recovered their former station. They also adhere to the rhinoceros during the night. I have often shot these animals at midnight when drinking at the fountains ; and the birds, imagining they were asleep, remained with them till morning, and on my approaching, before taking flight, they exerted themselves to their utmost to awaken Chukroo from his deep sleep.

Our author says, that this feathered guardian attended the hippopotamus, as well as the rhinoceros: but, we should suppose, that the amphibious habits of the former would but seldom allow him to benefit by the warning voice. Certainly, when swimming and diving in deep water, the winged sentry must have forsaken his post ; and then it was that the unwary "sea cow" became an inglorious victim to the hunter's rifle.

In justice to Mr. Cumming we must acknowledge, that his

wholesale slaughters were not always useless. They furnished on many occasions an unwonted supply of food to savage tribes, seldom able to obtain for themselves the luxury of a flesh diet. He frequently makes mention, as in the following note, of large bodies of hungry people, following his caravan to feed on the prey, which fell in the hunter's track; and it will be seen, that the consciousness of thus doing good to these wretched barbarians, helped, with the pleasant reflection that he was making money for himself, to give zest to sport, which might, when otherwise viewed, have appeared a wanton waste of life:—

It was ever to me a source of great pleasure to reflect that, while enriching myself in following my favourite pursuit of elephant-hunting, I was feeding and making happy the starving families of hundreds of the Bechuana and Bakalahari tribes, who invariably followed my waggons, and assisted me in my hunting, in numbers varying from fifty to two hundred at a time. These men were often accompanied by their wives and families; and, when an elephant, hippopotamus, or other large animal was slain, all hands repaired to the spot, when every inch of the animal was reduced to biltongue, viz. cut into long narrow strips, and hung in festoons upon poles, and dried in the sun: even the entrails were not left for the vultures and hyænas, and the very bones were chopped to pieces with their hatchets to obtain the marrow, with which they enriched their soup.

We can thus more readily understand how Nimrod, the mighty hunter, became a king. He, who can give a luxury to the pampered, and food to the hungry, when they are too ignorant, too weak, or too indolent, to obtain it for themselves, will ever have his claims to allegiance readily allowed. The wild races of Africa regarded Mr. Cumming as possessing, and able to communicate, a supernatural skill and success in the capture and slaughter of game—a belief, which, as we have seen, Mr. Cumming was not ashamed to practice upon for his own profit. We can hardly doubt that, had he claimed from them royal or even divine honours, his claim would have been readily allowed. Modest and self-denying, as he was in this particular, who shall say what place may be held, in the traditions of those tribes, by the strong white chief of unerring aim, who passed through the land, leaving behind him a fat feast for the hungry inhabitants, wherever he moved?

Mr. Cumming congratulates himself on his thus feeding and making happy these starving people: but it may be questioned whether the good, which he did in this way, was not more than counterbalanced by the evil, which the practices, in which he indulged from thoughtlessness or the love of gain, were calculated to effect. He supplied a few of the savages with an occasional and precarious supply of food for the body; but then, with his gun medicines, his incantations, and his pretensions to supernatural power, he, doubtless, greatly hindered the work of those, who laboured to supply them with a lasting store of intellectual

and spiritual sustenance. He acknowledges, and not without good reason, the help and hospitality so freely afforded him by the Missionaries, Mr. Moffat and Dr. Livingstone; but it was an unworthy return for these good offices thus to throw discredit on the teaching and example of those good men. It is, however, quite refreshing, after toiling through the blood-stained records of his achievements against the savages, man and beast, to come upon a description like the following—an oasis in the desert indeed :—

On the following day we reached Kuruman, or New Litakoo, a lovely green spot in the wilderness strongly contrasting with the sterile and inhospitable regions, by which it is surrounded. I was here kindly welcomed and hospitably entertained by Mr. Moffat and Mr. Hamilton, both missionaries of the London Society, and also by Mr. Hume, an old trader, long resident at Kuruman. The gardens at Kuruman are extensive and extremely fertile. Besides corn and vegetables, they contained a great variety of fruits; amongst which were vines, peach-trees, nectarines, apple, orange, and lemon trees, all of which in their seasons bear a profusion of the most delicious fruit. These gardens are irrigated with the most liberal supply of water from a powerful fountain, which gushes forth, at once forming a little river, from a subterraneous cave, which has several low narrow mouths, but within is lofty and extensive. This cave is stated by the natives to extend to a very great distance under ground. The natives about Kuruman and the surrounding districts generally embrace the Christian religion. Mr. Moffat kindly showed me through his printing establishment, church, and school-rooms, which were lofty and well built, and altogether on a scale, which would not have disgraced one of the towns of the more enlightened colony. It was Mr. Moffat, who reduced the Bechuana language to writing and printing; since which he has printed thousands of Sichuana New Testaments, as also tracts and hymns, which were now eagerly purchased by the converted natives. Mr. Moffat is a person admirably calculated to excel in his important calling. Together with a noble and athletic frame, he possesses a face, on which forbearance and Christian charity are very plainly written; and his mental and bodily attainments are great. Minister, gardener, blacksmith, gunsmith, mason, carpenter, glazier—every hour of the day finds this worthy pastor engaged in some useful employment—setting, by his own exemplary piety and industrious habits, a good example to others to go and do likewise.

Of course we should not expect Mr. Cumming to follow the example, which he thus commends to others. He has evidently no vocation that way; but we wonder that it never occurred to him, how strongly his employments and proceedings stood in contrast with those of the excellent men, whom, to his credit so far, he so freely and heartily applauded.

Scattered through these two volumes, are various incidental notices (some of the most interesting in the form of foot notes) of the more prominent features of the country in which our hunter roved, and of its products and inhabitants, mineral, vegetable and animal. We would, had we left ourselves space, have collected his accounts of the habits of the elephant, the

hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the camelopard, the wild dog, the ostrich, &c. We do not know, however, that Mr. Cumming adds much to our stock of information on these subjects. But, passing over his description of the gigantic awana, a remarkable tree adorning the far interior wilds, we must bespeak the reader's admiration for the singularly wonderful and appropriate provision, which the God of Nature has made for the relief of the most urgent and distressing want of man and beast in the arid desert—the want of water. A record of the fact, that Mr. Cumming, when suffering severely from thirst, found relief from eating the bulb, which he dug from the sands of a parched plain, is continued in the following note, descriptive of the "water root," and similar productions of the sandy desert:—

This interesting root, which has doubtless saved many from dying of thirst, is met with throughout the most parched plains of the Karroo. It is a large oval bulb, varying from six to ten inches in diameter, and is of an extremely juicy consistence, with rather an insipid flavour. It is protected by a thin brown skin, which is easily removed with the back of a knife. It has small insignificant narrow leaves, with little black dots on them, which are not easily detected by an inexperienced eye. The ground round it is generally so baked with the sun, that it has to be dug out with a knife. The top of the bulb is discovered about eight or nine inches from the surface of the ground, and the earth all round it must then be carefully removed. A knowledge of this plant is invaluable to him, whose avocations lead him into these desolate regions. Throughout the whole extent of the great Kalahari desert, and the vast tracts of country adjoining thereto, an immense variety of bulbs and roots of this juicy description succeed one another monthly—there being hardly a season in the year, at which the poor Bakalahari, provided with a sharp-pointed stick hardened in the fire, cannot obtain a meal, being intimately acquainted with each and all the herbs and roots, which a bountiful hand has provided for his sustenance. There are also several succulent plants, having thick juicy leaves, which in like manner answer the purpose of food and drink.

Above all, a species of bitter water-melon is thickly scattered over the entire surface of the known parts of the great Kalahari desert. These often supply the place of food and water to the wild inhabitants of those remote regions; and it is stated by the Bakalahari, that these melons improve in flavour as they penetrate farther to the west. Most of these roots are much eaten by the gemsboks, which are led by instinct to root them out.* The elephants also, apprised by their acute sense of smell of their position, feed upon them; and whole tracts may be seen ploughed up by the tusks of these sagacious animals, in quest of them.

The native inhabitants, whom Mr. Cumming encountered, either are naturally a somewhat uninteresting race, or he has managed to make them appear so. Of course the most advanced of them are little removed above the merest savages; and most of them seem to have been in the most stupidly benighted state. For instance, our author tells us of the chief

* This perhaps explains why they do not taste water.

and elders of a place, with the most appropriate name of Booby, scorched and blown to death, while trying to "medicine" some gunpowder by the agency of fire. The extreme barbarism of some of the tribes may be inferred from the following description of their substitute for an implement, which among half-civilized nations is often brought to a high degree of adaptation and elegance :—

The Bechuana pipe is of a very primitive description, differing from any I had ever seen. When they wish to smoke, they moisten a spot of earth, not being particular whence they obtain the water. Into this earth, they insert a green twig, bent into a semicircle, whose bend is below the said earth, and both ends protruding. They then knead the moist earth down with their knuckles on the twig, which they work backwards and forwards until a hole is established, when the twig is withdrawn, and one end of the aperture is enlarged with the fingers, so as to form a bowl to contain the tobacco. The pipe is thus finished and ready for immediate use; when tobacco and fire are introduced, and the smoker drops on his knees, and, resting on the palms of his hands, he brings his lips in contact with the mud at the small end of the hole, and thus inhales the grateful fumes. Large volumes of smoke are emitted through the nostrils, while a copious flow of tears from the eyes of the smoker evinces the pleasure he enjoys. One of these pipes will serve a large party, who replenish the bowl, and relieve one another in succession.

In contrast with this ludicrously rude contrivance, however, we may notice a singularly ingenious one, the remarkable offspring of that fertile mother of invention—necessity, and adopted by the weak and timid people of the desert. It is thus described by Mr. Cumming :—

This day I detected a most dangerous trap constructed by the Bakalahari for slaying sea-cows. It consisted of a sharp little assagai, or spike, most thoroughly poisoned, and stuck firmly into the end of a heavy block of thorn-wood, about four feet long and five inches in diameter. This formidable affair was suspended over the centre of a sea-cow path, at a height of about thirty feet from the ground, by a bark cord, which passed over a high branch of a tree, and thence to a peg on one side of the path beneath, leading across the path to a peg on the other side, where it was fastened. To the suspending cord were fastened two triggers, so constructed that, when the sea cow struck against the cord, which led across the path, the heavy block above was set at liberty, which instantly dropped with immense force with its poisonous dart, inflicting a sure and mortal wound. The bones and old teeth of sea-cows, which lay rotting along the bank of the river here, evinced the success of this dangerous invention.

We must now take our leave of Mr. Cumming, as he stands wistfully looking back to the desert, in which he has dwelt for nearly five years, and from which he reluctantly departs, laden and enriched with the spoils of its inhabitants, won at the cost, confessedly of some detriment to his physical constitution, and, as we are unwillingly compelled to believe, at some sacrifice of respectability. Thus he records his resolution to return to England and the reasons for it :—

When I entered Colesberg, I had almost made up my mind to make

another shooting expedition into the interior ; but a combination of circumstances induced me at length to leave Africa for a season, and re-visit my native land. I felt much sorrow and reluctance in coming to this resolution ; for, although I had now spent the greater part of five seasons in hunting in the far interior the various game of Southern Africa, I nevertheless did not feel in the slightest degree satiated with the sport, which it afforded. On the contrary, the wild, free, healthy, roaming life of a hunter had grown upon me, and I loved it more and more. I could not help confessing to myself, however, that in the most laborious yet noble pursuit of elephant-hunting, I was over-taxing my frame, and too rapidly wearing down my constitution. Moreover, the time, required to reach those extremely distant lands frequented by the elephant, was so great, that it consumed nearly one-half of the season in going and returning, and I ever found that my dogs and horses had lost much of their spirit by the time they reached those very remote districts. My nerves and constitution were considerably shaken by the power of a scorching African sun ; and I considered that a voyage to England would greatly recruit my powers, and that, on returning, I should renew my pursuits with increased zest.

Our judgment on Mr. Cumming and his book has been an unfavourable one ; but it is honest and unprejudiced. His volumes have been reviewed by many critics at home : but, that our verdict might be uninfluenced by theirs, we have scrupulously abstained from reading any thing that has been written on the subject. Only now, as we are concluding our notice of it, we are told that none of the English reviewers have touched upon those points in Mr. Cumming's desert career, which have excited our disapprobation. Perhaps it may be thought that we ought to have done as they, and confined our remarks to the literary character of the work, and to the amount of valuable and interesting information to be obtained from it. With views thus directed, we should have found much to approve ; and to the merits of the book in this way we willingly give our testimony. But we have felt ourselves compelled to regard the book in that point of view, in which it struck us most forcibly ; and we leave our readers to say if we have written of it aught, which is not fully justified by the facts and records on which we have animadverted. We do not fear that many of our Anglo-Indian gentlemen, in or out of the public service, will be inclined to make Mr. Cumming their model, although they may for awhile follow his " spoor " in the hunting grounds of South Africa. But there may be those among them, who, dazzled by the spurious renown of the lion hunter, might mistake his errors and misdoings for essential parts of the true sportsman's character, and be tempted to imitate, or at all events not be sufficiently careful to avoid them, should they ever find themselves surrounded by the scenes and the circumstances so glowingly described by Mr. Cumming.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq.*

THE book, which we anew introduce to our readers, is one familiar no doubt to many of them: for it appeared some years ago, and was noticed at the time—but so partially, that the Indian topics, which occupy more than half its pages, were scarcely touched upon. The great celebrity of Mackintosh, as a philosopher and a man of letters, is, it is true, European; yet the influence he exercised on the small circle in this country, into which it was his lot to be cast, and his impressions of "farthest Ind," give an interest to his private history, which belongs to that of hardly any other individual, who has visited these remote shores. That there have been men of a career more brilliant, we do not for a moment question; but we feel certain there have been none, whose memoirs possess an equal charm. The dull routine of life in India was peculiarly fitted to draw out the talents of one like him, whose world was his library; as it led him with redoubled zeal to seek in literature relief from the *ennui* of ordinary Indian society. His criticisms on books are specimens of exquisite taste and extensive reading. Conversation, in the highest sense of the word, was to be met with in his company. His visitors did not come for the purpose of listening to the dissertations of a lecturer; but, on the contrary, he possessed the rare charm of imparting instruction without the appearance of doing so. Of those, who enjoyed the privilege of mixing in his circle at Parell, there remain, we believe, none now at Bombay: the greater portion are, like himself, gathered to their fathers, and the few have long since retired from the service. It was but a little while ago, that the newspapers announced another blank in the list—the old merchant-banker, Sir Charles Forbes. The book under review brings us acquainted, in an interesting manner, with society at Bombay, as it existed in those days. We flatter ourselves, therefore, that we shall be at once consulting the tastes of our readers, and discharging a debt, which we feel to be due to the memory of Mackintosh, by giving a connected narrative of his residence in India.

Our hero was born at Aldourie, near Inverness, in 1765. He was an only child; and, his father being often absent on regimental duty, his mother had more even than the common share of her sex in directing the early dispositions of her child.

She is represented to have been a woman of a very superior stamp, and to have been in the habit of encouraging her son in his early taste for study, somewhat in opposition to the wishes of her husband, who, though in other respects a kind and indulgent parent, complained that the boy would become nothing better than "a mere pedant." In 1779, he lost his kind mother, who died at Gibraltar, whither she had followed her husband, and where, thirty years afterwards, her son erected a monument to her memory. At the age of fifteen, we find him in Aberdeen College, where he remained for four years, wrote poetry, acquired a taste for philosophy, and made the acquaintance of Robert Hall. In 1784, he went to Edinburgh to study medicine; and in 1788, proceeded, for the first time, to London.

The period was one of great political excitement. It was the era of liberty, or at any rate of what was done in its name. The French Revolution was on the point of bursting; America had all but achieved her independence; Wilberforce was striving to abolish slavery. But the most remarkable circumstance of all, at least to the Indian reader, was the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Among the crowd assembled in Westminster Hall to listen to the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan, and to witness the deportment of a man, who, in his day, had held the destinies of millions, but who was now a culprit at the bar of the High Court of Parliament, was one, then poor and unknown to fame, but who was destined soon after to break a lance with the Demosthenes of that hour—the noble Burke; and himself to sit in judgment over those nations, "living under strange 'stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters, 'from right to left," among whom the orator was transporting his audience. Little could Sir James have thought, that he would ever have any connection with the country, whose guidance was on that day held up to public reprobation; and perhaps still less could he have foreseen the renown and the consequences of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*.

But it is not our intention to dwell upon these scenes; we shall rather press on to the period of Mackintosh's sojourn in India, contenting ourselves, *en passant*, with one or two only of the leading circumstances of his life prior to that event. In London he made the acquaintance of several of the leading men of the day, among whom we find as his most intimate friends, Sidney Smith, Whishaw of the Chancery Bar, Joseph Phillimore, Hallam, Chief Justice Mansfield, Francis Horner, Attorney General Law, and Scarlett (since Lord Abinger). By some of this number he was persuaded to abandon the medical

profession, and turn his attention to the study of law. He also, at that time, married; and first appeared as a public writer in the columns of the '*Oracle*' newspaper, to which he contributed articles upon the politics of France and Belgium. This occupation, while it fell in with his taste for discussion, produced him a moderate salary. He continued thus employed till the year 1791, when the publication of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, and its rapid sale through three successive editions, at once stamped his reputation as a scholar and an author. A few years afterwards, he succeeded to an excellent practice at the Bar, which, when the appointment of Recorder of Bombay was offered to him and accepted, was said to be worth £1,200 a year.

Sir James's object in accepting the Recordership, was, we are told, a pecuniary one. The magnitude of the salary tempted him. Under the impression that his household expenses in the East would be comparatively light, and that he would save a proportion of his income, sufficiently large, to enable him to return to his native country after a few short years, he took the fatal step—fatal to his greater renown, of relinquishing the charms of London society for those of a dull and infant coterie abroad. But soon all his visions of early affluence were dispelled; and he had to regret, like Edmund Spenser,

> "My luckless lot
> That banished had myself, like wight forlore,
> Into that waste where I was quite forgot."

We do not however consider, that, in sending men of distinguished ability like Mackintosh to India, they are "thrown away." We believe on the contrary, that India especially requires men of the highest abilities.

We cannot, therefore, agree with Robert Hall, Mackintosh's early friend, who, when bidding him farewell, writes —"I am surprised that a great empire can furnish no scene 'of honour and rewards for men of genius (a race always 'sufficiently rare, and now almost extinct), without sending 'them to its remotest provinces. It seems to me to betray 'a narrowness of mind in the persons, who compose the 'administration; as if, while they felt the necessity of re-'warding, they were not fond of the vicinity of superior 'talent." We should rather attribute these remarks to the sentiment of regret, which must have filled Hall's breast, at parting with an early and distinguished friend. We might fill pages, indeed, with extracts expressive of the regret, which Sir James's most distinguished friends experienced at his departure for India. We, however, refrain, attractive as the matter is; but Francis Horner's tribute

we cannot pass over in silence: In a letter to Mr. William Erskine, he says :—"Give my respects to Sir James and 'Lady Mackintosh, when you see them. I never pretend-'ed to express to either of them my sense of the great 'kindness, they have shown me, since I came to London, 'because I could not express it adequately; I shall ever feel it 'with gratitude, if I am good for anything. To Mackintosh, 'indeed, my obligations are of a far higher order than those even 'of the kindest hospitality; he has been an intellectual master 'to me, and has enlarged my prospects into the wide regions 'of moral speculation, more than any other tutor I have ever 'had in the art of thinking: I cannot, even except Dugald 'Stewart, to whom I once thought I owed more than I could ever 'receive from another. Had Mackintosh remained in England, 'I should have possessed, ten years hence, powers and views, 'which are now beyond my reach. I never left his conversation, 'but I felt a mixed consciousness, as it were, of inferiority and 'capability; and I have now and then flattered myself with this 'feeling, as if it promised that I might make something of 'myself."

The *Winchelsea*, Captain Campbell, the ship in which Sir James and his family embarked, quitted the Downs on the 13th February, 1804, and, after a favourable voyage of less than four months, arrived at Bombay. The season was, perhaps, the worst which could have been chosen—the end of May, when the monsoon is gathering in all directions, preparatory to a burst the month following. Of this, a fortnight after, Sir James had full proof. Writing to Mr. Sharp, he says :—

"The rain tumbled from the heavens in such floods, that 'it seemed absurd to call them by the same name with the 'little sprinkling showers of Europe. Then the air was de-'lightfully cooled, and we all exulted in our deliverance; but 'we were too quick in our triumph; we soon fouud that we were 'to pay in health, for what we got in pleasure. The whole frame 'is here rendered so exquisitely susceptible of the operation of 'cold and moisture, by so long a continuance of dry heat, that 'the monsoon is the usual season for the attack of those disor-'ders of the bowels, which, when they are neglected or ill treat-'ed, degenerate into an inflammation of the liver, the peculiar 'and most fatal disease of this country. Dr. Moseley's para-'dox I now perfectly understand, that the diseases of hot coun-'tries arise chiefly from cold. No doubt, cold is the immediate 'cause of most of them. In the monsoon, heat succeeds so 'rapidly to damp and comparative cold, and they are so

'strangely mixed together, that we find it very difficult to 'adapt our dress and our quantity of air to the state of the wea- 'ther. We, new comers, threw open every window, and put on 'our thinnest cotton jackets to enjoy the coolness. The expe- 'rienced Indians clothed themselves thickly, and carefully ex- 'cluded currents of air. We soon found that they were right. 'Lady M. (Sir James's second wife, the former having died in 'April 1797) has suffered considerably, and I a little, from the '*cold* of Bombay. You may judge how troublesome the strug- 'gle between damp and heat must be, when I tell you, that I 'had on yesterday a very thin cotton jacket and vest; but 'that, having been obliged to take one dose of Madeira and 'another of Laudanum, I have this day put on an English 'coat and waistcoat, though the thermometer be (I dare say) 'at 84°."

Jonathan Duncan was Governor of Bombay at the time. He kindly made over to Mackintosh his country residence at Parell, preferring as a bachelor the old Government House within the Fort walls for his own abode. This act of kindness can only be properly appreciated by calling to mind the state of Bombay then, as compared with what it is now. Few lived beyond the Esplanade: the *élite* of society occupied houses in Rampart Row. Malabar Hill was one dense jungle, frequented only by toddy-men, and infested with snakes; whereas now we find it accessible by a handsome carriage road, and studded with the country houses of the English. Parell, it is true, was something better. The high road to Mahim at least passed near it; though this was so execrably bad, that in the dry season a cut across the flats was commonly preferred. The house at Parell has undergone little or no change. It was at that time, as it is now, to quote from one of Sir James's letters, "a large, airy, and hand- 'some house, with two noble rooms, situated in the midst of 'grounds, that have much the character of a fine English Park."

But, even with the advantage of a residence in the country, we find him soon lamenting how much he had sacrificed, by leaving England, and withdrawing from a society, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments. The consideration of salary, which had tempted him, he found to be little better than a vain shadow. He says—"I feel it somewhat discouraging to look at all my toil and 'economy for the two first years, as being little more than 'enough to clear my expences in coming out and establishing 'myself.....You speak to me of leaving India:—would to 'heaven that I had any near prospect of such an emancipation! 'The prospect of liberty and leisure in my old age allured 'me to a colony; but the prospect is distant and uncertain,

'and the evil is such, that, if I had known it, no prospect 'could have tempted me to encounter it.' He often sighed for the "King of Clubs," that choice company of *beaux esprits*, of which he was the founder, and which held its monthly meetings at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand. "I defy your ingenuity and vivacity to extract an amus- 'ing letter out of this place. There is a languor and le- 'thargy among the society here, to which I never elsewhere 'saw any approach. Think of my situation—become (as I 'once ventured to tell you) too fastidious in society, even in 'London; and, for the same reason (shall I confess it?) not so 'patient of long continued solitude, as I hoped that I should 'be. You see the mischief of being spoiled by your society. 'The 'King of Clubs' ought only to transport its members 'in very atrocious cases. The Governor, as I told you in 'my overland despatch, is indeed an ingenious and intelligent 'gentleman;* but every Englishman, who resides here very long, 'has, I fear, his mind either emasculated by submission, or cor- 'rupted by despotic power. There are many things, which might 'look amusing enough to you in a letter, of which the effect is, in 'truth, soon worn out. I am carried in my palankeen by bear- 'ers from Hydrabad. I have seen monkies and their tricks 'exhibited by a man from Oujein. I condemned a native of Ah- 'medabad to the pillory. I have given judgment on a bill, for 'brandy supplied by a man who kept a dram-shop at Púnah. 'I have decided the controversies of parties, who live in Cutch, 'and granted commissions to examine witnesses at Cambay. I 'have, in the same morning, received a visit from a Roman Ca- 'tholic Bishop, of the name of Ramazzini, from Modena, a 'descendant of the celebrated physician, Ramazzini, a rela- 'tion of Muratori, who wondered that an Englishman should 'be learned enough to quote Virgil; of an Armenian Archbishop 'from Mount Ararat; of a shroff (money-dealer) from Benares, 'who came hither by the way of Jyenagur, and who can draw 'bills on his correspondents at Cabul; and of the Dustúr, or 'Chief Priest, of the Parsís at Surat, who is copying out for 'me the genuine works of Zoroaster. All this jumble of na- 'tions and usages and opinions looks, at a distance, as if it 'would be very amusing, and for a moment it does entertain; 'but it is not all worth one afternoon of free and rational con-

* Jonathan Duncan was something more than this. He did not consider himself a mere bird of passage, and labour only for money, and long for "emancipation" from his work. He was a conscientious and philanthropic public servant, devoting his time and his talents to the welfare of Hindustan. His noble exertions to put down infanticide (had he done nothing else) give him a juster title to the respect of right-thinking men, than all the conversational triumphs of the "King of Clubs."—Ed.

'versation at the "King of Clubs." If ever I rise again from 'the dead, I shall be very glad to travel for the sake of seeing 'clever men, or beautiful countries; but I shall make no tours 'to see fantastic or singular manners, and uncouth usages. It 'is all a cheat; at least it is too trifling and short-lived to de- 'serve the pains that must be taken for it. I should rather 'travel to the Temple, and then try to keep Porson quiet for a 'week, and make a voyage down the Thames, to force my way into 'Jeremy Bentham's in Queen-square place. These are mon- 'sters enough for me; and, fierce as one of them is, they suit 'me much better than Mullahs or Pundits."

The picturesque scenery of the island of Bombay did not escape the eye of Mackintosh; but it lost much of its beauty by being the scene of his banishment. Another cause was the difficulty of enjoying it—the heat during the greater part of the day confining him to the house, and the morning, or evening, ride being necessarily of too short duration to permit of his going any distance from home. He was in the habit, however, of riding at day-break, and being in the saddle before six. On his return, about eight o'clock, breakfast was waiting him; "when, to shew the enervating effects of the climate, I eat only 'two eggs and a large plate of fish and rice, called kedgeree; 'not to mention two cups of coffee, and three of tea." When not engaged in his duties at the court, he devoted the forenoon to study. The baneful system of "tiffins in mid-day—of over- 'loading the stomach with various meats, and clouding the brain 'with draughts of thick ale, when the heat is at its greatest, and 'when the slightest exertion of the frame excites profuse 'perspiration"—was not then in fashion; all classes followed the London habit, which was to take the principal meal at four in the afternoon, leaving the evening—the luxury of a tropical climate—to the enjoyment of a walk, or a ride. The hour or two preparatory to retiring to rest, Sir James em- ployed in his favourite diversion—that of reading aloud to his family. His favourite author was Addison; but all the new books, as he received them from England, after having undergone his previous revisal, were made to contribute to the evening en- tertainment. His wife, a lady of intellectual acquirements, but without any tincture of the *bas-bleu*, used to divide with him this delightful task. To her it fell, by her readings, to bring up their little audience to a just appreciation of the genius of Shakes- peare. Without doubt a good recital of the plays is worth all the commentaries that were ever written. Shakespeare is easier than his commentators. Lady Mackintosh's readings, we are told, were marked by a delicate perception of the

lights and shades of the several characters introduced by our great poet: she individualized each one of them. Her acquirements as a writer, if we may take the judgment of her husband—naturally perhaps a partial one—were no less distinguished. "Our readings in Milton produced 'one good effect—a criticism on the Allegro and Penseroso 'in Lady M.'s journal, less idolatrous than Tom Warton's; 'less spiteful than Johnson's; better thought, better felt, and 'better worded than either." We can never pass the gates of Parell, and glance up the noble vista of trees leading to the house, without being reminded of these scenes, and without a spirit of veneration stealing over us for the great name, whose presence once graced the spot. First, a nursery for Jesuitism—at present, a seat for the representative of royalty—Parell house derives its chief celebrity from having been the residence of Mackintosh.

Though possessed of considerable facility in the acquirement of languages, being a thorough French and Italian scholar, and so well versed in German, as to be able to peruse with ease the speculative writings of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, Mackintosh made no attempt to master any of the Eastern tongues. In this respect he was right. At the time of life he had reached, when he accepted the Recordership of Bombay, he was aware that many years of his prime would have to be sacrificed, to the exclusion of all other studies, should he undertake the study of Sanscrit, or indeed any of the more modern and easy languages of the East. Whatever exertions he might choose to make, he could scarcely hope to distinguish himself in a field already so ably occupied by a Jones, a Wilkins, and a Colebrook. On this point Francis Horner, in a letter to Mr. Thomson of Edinburgh, remarks:—"Mackintosh carries 'out such a library with him as never, I presume, was known 'in Asia; for his plans of metaphysical and political reading, 'it is admirably selected. He has fortunately no desire to 'make himself particularly acquainted with either the language 'or the antiquities of Hindustan; but he has got permission 'from the Board of Controul and Directors to circulate, under 'their authority, statistical and political queries among all 'the servants of the Company in the different establishments. 'This may produce a little. In a few days, the author of 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ is to receive the honor of Knighthood."*

Sir James's first care, after his professional duties, was the creation of a literary taste among the English residents

* Memoirs and Correspondence of F. Horner, M. P., edited by his brother, Leonard Horner, Esq., F. R. S., vol. I, page 218.

at Bombay. He found society lamentably deficient in that respect. Those, who held the chief offices under Government, had grown to be men in India: on leaving home they had been mere boys. It could therefore have scarcely been expected that they should be *au courant* of affairs in the world of letters. To create "a literary atmosphere," to use his own words, was one of Sir James' first objects upon his arrival. After some negociations with the leading European residents, a meeting was held at Parell-house, on the 26th November, 1804, for the purpose of instituting a society in Bombay, to be called the "Literary Society." Its objects were explained in an elegant discourse, written by the President, and read by him on that day before the Governor and several of the leading inhabitants, from among whom his future son-in-law, Mr. W. Erskine, and the late Sir C. Forbes were elected Secretary and Treasurer. As being the parent of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, the library of which is at once the most extensive and well selected, East of the Cape, and with which few of the circulating libraries (in the higher sense of the word) even in Europe can compare, the institution of the Literary Society is of the most interesting character. To it, and to its distinguished founder, is the present Society indebted for its most valuable books. So excellent was his discrimination in the selection of the library, that of the standard works, which at present adorn the shelves of the Asiatic Society, the greater proportion may be traced to him. In looking into the published volumes of the "Transactions of the Literary Society," we find a list of names not unknown to fame. Major David Price was eminent by his contribution towards a history of the Muhammadan dynasty in India; Dr. Robert Drummond, by the first grammar of the Canarese dialect; Dr. James Ross, by his attainments in Persian literature. Of Sir John Malcolm we need not speak. The present Society ranks among its members many distinguished oriental scholars, such as John Wilson and Dr. Stevenson—not to mention the Honorary Members of the Society, such as Garcin de Tassy, and a host of others: but it seems to wantt he freshness and energy of its predecessor.

In regard to the library, there is room for many improvements. The first should be a good catalogue. The number of medical works is also out of all proportion; and, with the exception, perhaps, of a dozen volumes, they are all antiquated. This seems the more absurd, because of late years no branch of knowledge has made more rapid strides than medicine. The incongruity, however, is to be traced to the Literary Society, which, when establishing itself in 1805, purchased the

whole of a library, which had been collected by several medical gentlemen of the Bombay establishment.

Of the numerous other faults in the library we shall for the present content ourselves with the mention of two—an *objection*, and a *want*. The former applies to the stock of trashy novels, which occupies a goodly array of shelves, and which, every spring, is augmented by the fresh crop, which appears as regularly as the rains. The *want* refers to the scanty supply of foreign works. Thanks to Sir James Mackintosh, the Asiatic Society possesses a few of the Italian and Spanish classics; but, (will it be credited?) the only German works to be found in the library are Schiller's. Goethe, were it not for an early and incorrect edition of the "Faust," would be an entire stranger. Jean Paul Richter, Ephraim Gottfried Lessing, Theodore Körner, Uhland, the Schlegels, Ranke, and all the other celebrities of German literature, are absent!

Sir James, in addition to the goodly assortment of books which he brought out with him, possessed a choice and extensive library at Parell. Here might be seen all the current literature of the day. There would scarcely pass a month, without the arrival of a ship, with a box of the newest publications from Paternoster Row. His friends were constantly reminded to keep him well supplied. Some passages in his letters are characteristic.

"Let me entreat you to miss no opportunity of writing me very long letters, and sending me very large packets of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, &c., of what you think *trash* in London. No memorial of the world, in which we have lived, is trifling to us. I am almost ashamed to own, that if I were to receive another Paradise Lost, and a large packet of newspapers by the same conveyance, I should open the last parcel with greater eagerness. Yet why not feel more interest in my friends and my country, than in the most delightful amusements of fancy? Let me remind you, also, of the German and French journals; and to the latter, I beg you to add a new one, *Les Archives de la Litterature, par Suard, Morellet*, &c. For my list of books I shall trust to my two former letters. I will only add that I believe I have stinted myself too much in Reviews and Magazines, so trifling in London, so invaluable here; and that I beg you to indulge me largely. Besides the regular bound sets of the Reviews, Morning Chronicles, and Cobbetts, I beg you to send by every opportunity as many loose ones as you can collect. Think of these things—so worthless in the midst of the luxury of London, but to me as delightful as a cup of your filthiest Wapping water might be between Bussorah and Alleppo."

How constantly Mackintosh's thoughts were turned towards home, the many allusions in his journal to the delights he experienced on the receipt of letters and newspapers may testify. Unlike the most of those, who come out to this country, he never abated in his private correspondence, or looked with an eye of indifference on a ship entering the harbour. "His heart was in the Hielands" always. It is not infrequent in his diary to find some elaborate criticism on history or literature come to an abrupt halt—for the *Bussora Packet* had just been signalled. Away with all previous speculations! His whole attention was given to the welcome announcement. The news of an Indian victory gave him not half the excitement, that the intelligence of a reverse to our arms in Europe caused. In writing to his friend Sharp, he says:—"I shall therefore hope that no overland dispatch will reach Bombay, during my residence here, without a little billet, and no English ship will enter the harbour without a voluminous epistle from you. If you can prevail on all our friends to take compassion on me, and to write to me with the same, or with nearly the same regularity, you will deprive exile of half its bitterness.—As to my answers, *you* do not need charity; and what I have to give would not be relief, if you did. Indian topics are very uninteresting in England—not to mention that I am in the most obscure corner of India; but nothing English is trifling, or little, or dull in our eyes at present. I should be very glad to have written to me the refuse of Debrett's (the publisher) shop, or even Dr. ———'s account of Ptolemy Philopater. *Forget me not—forget me not!*"

On another occasion he remarks:—"One great break in the importunity of our life arises from the packets from Bussorah, with the overland dispatches, which usually arrive every month or six weeks. I need not say how great an event, the arrival of the Europe ships (as we call the Indiamen) is to us." The picture is true even to the present day. The excitement is, perhaps, even greater, in consequence of the expectation being more regular. All classes know when the "*ág*-boat" may be looked for: though the (generally speaking) tortoise-paced and wretchedly equipped Steamers of the Indian Navy keep up, by their irregularity, a fever of disappointment.

The following extracts furnish amusing examples of his impatience.—"At five, news are brought that the "Exeter," is coming in. I went to the new Bunder (the Pelawa, or *Apollo*, probably), and I saw her just round the Light House. No letters or papers came till a little after ten. I could not sleep. I got up at half-past one, walked about the verandah, and read some packets sent at mid-night by the Governor.

4th April. In daily, and almost hourly, expectation of the "Cumbrian:" but as Madam de Staël says, "*La carosse de Caen n'en arriva pas plutôt.* 12th.—Seven months from the date of the last London news. A pause of unexampled length. 1st May. Mr. Cumbrian! you may go, and be hanged. Your month is out. My rounds and sirloins are, I fear, ruined. I now transfer my solicitude to the China ships, which may arrive in this month, and must arrive in six or seven weeks. 10th. —Finished my Report on Police, which is only seventy folio pages. No "Cumbrian." 2nd June.—A Yankee arrived at Calcutta; saw "La Nymphe," a French Frigate, on January 7th, in 5° N. and 19° W. This Nymph has, therefore, I fear, seized our "Cumbrian"—the time and place agree too well."

Sir James made several excursions into the interior of India, as well as two voyages down the coast. Of the latter, the first was a visit to Goa. He was much struck with the scenery around that ancient colony. The picturesque dwellings of the Portuguese fidalgos reminded him of the continent, could but the molten sky of India have been hidden from view. He says:—

"Colonel Adams agreed with me, that, if we were to exclude the mountainous background, we might have fancied ourselves rowing along the Scheldt, from the appearance of the houses, and the richness of the plain immediately adjoining to us on the right." The Lilliputian character of the Government of Goa amused our hero not a little, and the fact of there being two palaces, a viceroy, an archbishop, and a chancellor, while at Bombay, where we have an army of 25,000 men, we content ourselves with a governor, a recorder, and a senior chaplain." But the elegance of the churches made ample amends for all. The Franciscan Monastery and the church of Cajetan transported the historian back into the days of St. Francis Xavier, Vasco de Gama, and the band of adventurous spirits, who first doubled the Cape. Sir James visited the convent, and the library in the Augustine Monastery. From Goa, he proceeded to Tellichery, and thence on to Madras, where he made an interesting visit. In a few words, he thus graphically sketches this portion of his tour:—

"I accordingly left Lady M. and went in my palankeen through the awfully grand forests and mountains of Malabar and Coorg (which, if they were within reach of picturesque travellers, would be classed with Switzerland), to Mysore, near Seringapatam. Emboldened by my success, I ventured, after some days' repose, to run down to Madras. I passed six days there, and seven, going and returning, in Mysore, and was back again at the ship, exactly a month after I had left the coast of Malabar,

having travelled over about a thousand miles. The exterior of Madras is very striking. I doubt whether there be any town in Europe, north of the Alps, which can boast such a *diffusion* of architectural elegance. There are probably no three kingdoms, which differ more in every respect, than the three provinces of Malabar, Mysore, and the Carnatic, over which I ran. Malabar is one of the most beautiful countries in the world, inhabited by fierce and high spirited mountaineers. Mysore is a high and naked region, peopled by a martial, but industrious, race of husbandmen. The Carnatic is a boundless plain of sand, covered with the monuments of ancient cultivation and civilization, and still successfully cultivated by polished and ingenious slaves. All this variety of objects, natural and moral, amused me much; and I cannot say whether, even at Paris, I crowded more life into a month, than I did during this excursion."

It was not only in the establishment of a library at Bombay, that Sir James led the public of that Presidency. He was foremost in all good works; he was ever the first to head a subscription list, or wield his eloquent pen in the sake of misfortune. None of our readers, who have visited Bombay, can fail to have been struck with a marble monument to the memory of Captain Hardinge of the Royal Navy, erected in the Cathedral of that town. The following letter to the Editor of the *Bombay Courier* will explain its origin, as well as illustrate our remarks.

"Sir,—Yielding to the first impulse of those feelings, with which the heroic death of Captain Hardinge has filled my mind, I take the liberty of proposing to the British inhabitants of this residency a subscription for erecting a monument to his memory in the Church of Bombay. A grateful nation will doubtless place this monument by the side of that of Nelson. But the memorials of heroic virtue cannot be too much multiplied. Captain Hardinge fell for Britain; but he may more especially be said to have fallen for British India.

"I should be ashamed of presuming to suggest any reason for such a measure. They will abundantly occur to the lovers of their country. Nor can I at present bring my mind to consider any details of execution. If the measure in general be approved, such details can easily be arranged.

"I am your's, &c.

"James Mackintosh."

Sir James' goodness of heart may be further seen in his care for a young stranger, whom he judged of only from his poems. In a letter to Mr. Sharp he thus writes:—"I see a volume of

poems, published by Henry Kirke White of Nottingham, which are called by one of the Reviews extraordinary productions of genius. They are published, it seems, to enable the author, a lad of seventeen, to pursue and complete his studies. I particularly request that you will read the volume, and that, if you find it deserves but some part of the praise bestowed upon it, you will enquire into the circumstances of the author, and give him for me such assistance, as you think he may need, and as I ought to give. If you think the young poet deserve it, you can procure the contribution of others. You can scarcely, indeed, have a poorer contributor than I am, as you know very well; but nobody will give his mite more cheerfully."

We have not before spoken of Mackintosh on the bench:—

"12th May, 1810.—Day of my adjourned sessions. Charged the grand jury with more than usual solemnity, and informed them, that after near six years, in which I had the happiness of never once inflicting capital punishment, the present state of the calendar seemed to announce, that I must now show my regard to human life in another manner. The calendar contained four charges of murder. The fourth was a most difficult case. It was that of an Irish artillery-man, who, having wrested an officer's sword from his horse-keeper, ran two or three miles on the road with it, and at last killed a poor old, unarmed and unoffending sepoy of police. It had not a single circumstance, which could be considered as a mitigation: but the man was mortally drunk. To admit this as a defence, or even to allow it publicly as a mitigation, seems extremely dangerous. But as the example of punishment does not influence a man who is drunk, any more than one who is mad, it is plain, that to hang a man for what he does in such circumstances is to make drunkenness, when followed by an accidental consequence, a capital offence. The execution will not deter drunkards from murder; it only deters men, who are sober, from drunkenness.. ...After much consideration, I determined to pronounce sentence of death on the 'murderer,' or 'killer;' and, after letting the terror of it hang for some time over his head, either to respite him till the King's pleasure be known, or to commute the punishment into transportation. The sentence of death will be found in the newspapers. It was the first time that I had worn my condemnation cap, and I was considerably affected. I, however, contained my feelings; and, in the midst of humanity, did not, I hope, lose the proper firmness and dignity."

On the occasion of Sir James' last session, a complimentary address was presented to him by the grand jury, in which they requested he should sit for his picture, to be placed in the

hall "where he had so long presided with such distinguished ability."

The following refers to the death of the amiable and benevolent Governor, Jonathan Duncan.

"11th August, 1811.—After a wakeful and uneasy night, I saw from the verandah, about half-past seven the flag half-mast high, and about a quarter to eight, I received a note from Dr. Inverarity, with the information, that Jonathan Duncan breathed his last about seven, having remained insensible since Daw saw him yesterday forenoon.

> 'On some fond breast the parting soul relies;
> Some pious drops the closing eye requires;'

But no such solace or tribute attended his forlorn death. I wish that I were once more with my family. I shudder at the thought of 'my dying eyes' closed 'by foreign hands'.....Went to the Government House a little after three, to attend the funeral. On going up stairs, I found the coffin in the middle of the upper hall. The remains of poor Jonathan Duncan were deposited in a grave within the pale of the altar, on the right hand going up to it, immediately under the monument of General Carnac."

Bombay had already in those days, it appears, acquired a notoriety for ship-burning :—

"Last night, or rather this morning, about 2 o'clock, the 'Camden' took fire in the harbour, and is totally consumed. She was one of the Bombay and China ships, had just completed her lading, and was about to sail on Sunday or Monday..... We dined last night at the Rickards's. They had both been up all night, observing the unusual and awful phenomena of the 'Camden' drifting from her moorings to the Mahratta shore, moving ten miles across the harbour, like a mass of flame. At 10 o'clock last night (twenty hours after the ship took fire), the flame was still visible on the opposite coast."

We conclude with an extract, which lets us into a higher mood of his mind :—"I have just glanced over Jeremy Taylor on the Beatitudes. The selection is made in the most sublime spirit of virtue. To their transcendant excellence I can find no words to express my admiration and reverence. 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' 'Put on my beloved, *as the elect of God*, bowels of mercy.' At last the divine speaker rises to the summit of moral sublimity! 'Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness's sake.' For a moment, O blessed teacher, I taste the unspeakable delight of feeling myself to be

better. I feel, as in the days of my youth, that 'hunger and thirst after righteousness,' which long habits of infirmity, and the low concerns of the world, have contributed to extinguish."

This passage calls to our mind the beautiful lines of the great Goethe :—

"Was sucht ihr mächtig und gelind,
Ihr Himmelstöne, mich im Staube?
Klingt dort umher, wo weiche Menschen sind.
Die Botschaft hör ich wohl, allein mir fehlt der Glaube;
Zu jenen Sphären wag ich nicht zu streben,
Woher die holde Nachricht tönt;—
Und doch, an diesen Klang von Jugend auf gewöhnt,
Ruft er auch jezt zurück mich in das Leben.
Sonst stürzte sich des Himmels Liebe-kuss
Auf mich herab, in ernster Sabathstille;
Da klang so ahnungsvoll der Glockentöne Fülle,
Und ein Gebet war brünstiger Genuss;
Ein unbegreiflich holdes Sehnen
Trieb mich durch Wald and Wiesen hinzugehn,
Und under tausend heissen Thränen,
Fühlt' ich mir eine Welt entstehn.
Dies Lied verkündete der Jugend muntre Spiele,
Der Frühlingsfeier Glück;
Erinnrung hält mich nun, mit kindlichem Gefühle,
Vom letzten, ernsten Schritt zurück.
O tönet fort, ihr süssjen Himmelslieder!
Die Thräne quillt; die Erde hat mich wieder!"

On the 6th November 1811, Sir James Mackintosh quitted India. He had for some time past suffered from severe ill health. Here is the last entry in his journal :—"Day of departure.—Last sun-rise view of the Ghauts, with their hill-forts, &c. *Last* is a melancholy word!"

Yes; even in India!*

We owe a word of thanks to the editor of these volumes for the highly creditable manner in which he has acquitted himself. He writes comparatively little himself; though what he does write is both clever and very useful in connecting the parts of the story. He shows, with much real affection towards his father, an amount of discretion which is as sensible, as it is considerate and rare We trust that our brief notice will direct the attention of many of our readers to this excellent work.

* The Indian career of Sir James Mackintosh will add nothing to his high and well won fame. The "lions" of the literary world find no resting place here. The Mackintoshes and Macaulays look down upon us, as well they may: and we admire them very much, but are quite willing that they should stay at home. There seems to be something unwholesomely exciting in the atmosphere of the higher intellectual circles of London, which unfits the mind for ordinary society, and for earnest practical work. We want men here, who think it nobler and more truly great to labour for the welfare of a hundred millions of Hindus, than to shine in the clubs, or even to write works of real genius, like the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, the *History of England*, or the *Lays of Ancient Rome*.—Ed.

ART. VIII.—1. *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army, by Captain Arthur Broome. Vol. I. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co.* 1850.

2. *History of British India, by James Mill.*

3. *A Voyage to the East Indies, by Mr. Grose.*

4. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, by Robert Orme, Esq., F. A. S.*

5. *The Life of Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plassy, by Mr. Caraccioli.*

6. *Life of Lord Clive, by Major General Sir John Malcolm.*

7. *Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays.*

8. *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons.*

9. *The Seir Mutakherin.*

10. *Ives's Voyage and Historical Narrative.*

THERE is perhaps no task so difficult as that of having to blend together, and form into a connected narrative, a series of petty military actions, which, although highly important as a train of events all bearing upon one object, yet are in themselves apparently trivial and unimportant. The early history of our military exploits in India, as detailed in the pages of Orme, is a striking instance of the difficulty we allude to: and the *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, by Captain Broome, is only relieved from it by the skill with which the author has contrived to bring prominently forward such details, as are interesting even at the present day. The first volume of this history extends from the earliest period of our connection with India to the close of Lord Clive's second administration. It does little more than trace the progress of this now mighty kingdom from its infancy to the time when it first exhibited signs of its future power. It shows how our success in war has been generally owing to the triumph of discipline, skill, and energy, over the untrained and misdirected efforts of a brave, but inexperienced and unskilful, foe. It gives us many highly interesting details, which cannot be found in any other volume, but have been collected and condensed with a skill, patience, and perseverance, that are entitled to lasting praise. The military student of our early wars will here find the best and most connected narrative, that we have yet seen, of those transactions; and he will also find the authority for each fact or statement given with scrupulous fidelity.

Most of the works, to which Captain Broome has referred, are not procurable in Mofussil Stations in India; and even the best formed libraries are deficient in many of them. We have now before us an array of not less than fifty volumes, which we have collected for the purpose of reference; yet we have been unable to procure many works, to which we wished to refer in our examination of this work. Much of Captain Broome's information has been derived from the India House; and much labour and expence have been incurred by him in causing references to be made to the manuscripts existing there: indeed, we are convinced, that no pains have been spared to render the book substantially correct. We could have wished that a more copious detail at the head of each chapter had been added, to aid in our notice of the book; and a simple reprint of the running title at the head of each page, if prefaced to each chapter, would have added much to the value of the work.

The first chapter closes with the oft-told tale of the fatal night of the Black Hole; and the second as appropriately concludes with the narrative of the early death of the sanguinary tyrant, who caused that massacre. It is only in Eastern climes, where vice and profligacy are as rapid in their growth and as gigantic in their evil consequences, as the rank vegetation in the jungles around, that a monster, like this, could have been so precociously matured in evil, as to perish with such universal execration at the early age of twenty years, after a reign of only fifteen months.

We pass over the few unimportant military records of the first chapter, observing merely that the charges on that head for the five years preceding the capture of Calcutta by Suraj-ud-dowlah scarcely averaged £20,000 a year! It was by sea, and not by land, that the Company, trading to the East Indies, first prominently signalized themselves, by fitting out (what was for those days) large and expensive fleets: and had they been as successful in securing good naval, as they afterwards were in securing military, commanders, their power might have been more early and successfully developed.

An ensign and thirty men were sanctioned in 1652 in Bengal, to do honour to the principal agents there: and this small party was the nucleus of the present army at this Presidency. In 1653, this force had only increased to 250 men; although at that time a ship of war, mounting seventy-two guns, was employed in the Bay of Bengal to act against interlopers, who appeared to be the enemies then most dreaded by the Company. Aurungzebe, in 1685, was in the zenith of his

power: and yet, so conscious were the Company of their strength, even at that early period, that they did not hesitate to commence hostilities against him, and to appeal to arms, when the Nawab of Dacca tried to impose, in Bengal, a duty of three anda half per cent., which was customarily levied at Surat, but had hitherto not been imposed in Bengal. On this occasion, a fleet of no less than ten ships, of from seventy to twelve guns each, was fitted out in England, and the command given to Captain Nicholson, with the rank of Admiral. The orders were, that the Company's ships then in the Bay of Bengal should join this fleet, which would increase its numbers by nine vessels: and Chittagong was fixed upon as the place of debarkation and attack. Two hundred pieces of cannon were sent out to be placed on the works, which were ordered to be erected there:—

As soon as Chittagong should be captured, and put in a state of proper defence, the troops and the smaller vessels were to proceed against Dacca, which, it was contemplated, would offer but little resistance; and, when masters of his capital, terms were to be offered to the Nawàb on the following conditions: "*That he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, and pay the debts due by him; that he should allow rupees coined at Chittagong to pass current in the Province, and restore all privileges according to the ancient Phirmaunds—each party to bear their respective losses and expenses in the war. On these conditions alone, the Company would agree to re-settle the factories in Bengal.*"—*P.* 13.

Unforeseen and disastrous circumstances frustrated these plans of conquest. Contrary winds and bad weather detained or destroyed portions of the fleet; and, instead of going to Chittagong, the remnant of the fleet, when it arrived at the mouth of the Hugly, in October 1686, was ordered up to the English factory, which had been built at Hugly. Four hundred European troops had been that year brought round from Madras to that place; and the Nawab Shaistah Khan, alarmed by all these demonstrations, assembled a considerable force, both of horse and foot, in the immediate neighbourhood. A bazar row, which took place between some of his men and some of the English soldiers, ended in a regular fight, in which the English killed sixty of the enemy, wounded many more, spiked eleven guns, and, with the assistance of Admiral Nicholson's fleet, burnt or destroyed upwards of 500 houses in the town of Hugly. No pillage was allowed by Mr. Charnock, for which lenient conduct he was reprimanded by the Court, who remarked that such a measure "*would have convinced the natives of our power!*" The claims of the Company upon the Nawab then amounted to sixty-six laks. One item was "for protecting Haggerston from justice, 45,000 rupees"—which

was an easy way of recovering "*the debts remaining and owing us in the country.*" Admiral Nicholson appears to have undertaken nothing of importance, except the bombardment of Hugly; and the proceedings of Mr. Charnock and his council were characterized by so much irresolution, that the Court sent out Captain Heath with two more vessels, one of which mounted sixty-four guns, to re-inforce the expedition, and carry out their original intentions. This officer might well have been called "hasty Heath" and was said to be "*of a variable disposition, not far removed from craziness.*" He arrived off the village of Chutanutti in October 1688, resolved to commence hostilities immediately, and, for this purpose, ordered all the Company's servants to embark on board the fleet, which sailed for Balasore on the 8th November. Having captured and pillaged that place, he next proceeded to Chittagong; but, finding the works there stronger than he expected, he proceeded to Arracan, and proposed to the King to co-operate with him against the Mogul. On the rejection of these proposals, he tried, in order to obtain a settlement, to enter into a negotiation with a chief of some consequence, who had revolted against the King: but, being too hasty and impatient to wait even for an answer to his proposals, he sailed with the whole fleet to Madras—thus abandoning the trade in Bengal, and leaving the property there to be confiscated by the Emperor, who was now much incensed against the English.

About eighteen months after the failure of this mad expedition, Mr. Charnock, the founder of our capital, received permission to renew the trade in Bengal, and landed at Chutanutti in August 1690, with a guard of one officer and thirty men, the original military establishment, which power was increased to 100 men by the close of the year. The disputes between the old and the new East India Companies do not seem to have retarded the progress of the settlement in Calcutta; and their junction considerably increased the power of the British nation there. In the year 1707-8, the rival Companies were united, and in the same year, the Emperor Aurungzebe died. With him fell the power of the Mogul monarchy, which speedily passed into the hands of the United Company, which had just been formed. The coincidence was remarkable; but half a century elapsed ere they were able to avail themselves of the rapid decay of the Muhammadan power, which ensued on the death of Aurungzebe. During great part of this period, the Governors in Bengal were friendly to the English. But at length, in 1756, Suraj-ud-dowlah succeeded to the Government; and he, by his vices, his

ignorance, and his folly, soon paved the way for the conquests of the English in India. Captain Broome has given a very interesting account of the dissensions, which speedily ensued between the English and the Nawab; the siege and capture of the old fort of Calcutta; the cowardly and disgraceful conduct of many of the principal gentlemen in the service; and the sufferings and cruel fate of those, who were taken and imprisoned in the Black Hole.

The temporary downfall of Calcutta served but to increase its dominion, power, and splendour; and, under the able rule of Clive, it rose like a phœnix from its ashes. He arrived about the middle of December at Fultah, where the miserable remnant of the Presidency were then assembled, anxiously awaiting succour from Madras. The aspect of affairs was now soon changed. The fleet, which bore the expedition, constituted its main strength: and in this, as in all the early contests of the Company, there is nothing so remarkable as the disparity between the land and sea forces employed. Our power in the East had not at that time taken firm root in the soil: and it was necessary to have at hand the means of transplanting it at any moment to a new settlement. Hence the naval force employed was necessarily much greater in proportion, and even in actual amount of ships and guns, than it has been at any later period of our history.

Five large ships of war, the smallest mounting twenty guns, under two Admirals, with five of the Company's merchantmen as transports and store-ships, formed a force sufficient to have annihilated the whole power of the Nawab, had it consisted in naval strength. But unfortunately the ships could not proceed far up the rivers, and the land-forces of the expedition were inconsiderable, while the strength of the Muhammadans in Bengal was too far removed from the coast to be much affected by our superiority at sea. Suraj-ud-dowlah was however ignorant of this. He knew not the draft of water required for our ships, and his officers were probably equally ignorant;—so much so, that we find them even sinking large piles above the city of Múrshedabad, lest the English ships of war should proceed up the great branch of the Ganges, and then come down the smaller river to Múrshedabad. When we reflect therefore on what was then accomplished in Bengal, we must never lose sight of the great naval power, which we then had here, and the effect of the broadsides that was so rapidly shewn at Calcutta, and even at Chandernagore. The land forces on the other hand were inconsiderable. Clive's whole army at Plassey only amounted to 1,100 Europeans, and 2,100 native troops, with ten

field-pieces, against a nominal army of 18,000 horse and 50,000 foot, accompanied by fifty-three pieces of heavy ordnance, which were, however, too unwieldy to be of much real service.

Clive had been early trained in the Madras wars, and had but lately returned from the expedition against Angria, so that he had considerable experience in native warfare; and his stern, forcible and impetuous character led him to despise the armies of the native powers. Though he may be considered to have been on the whole the best leader, that our troops ever had, in those early days, in India, still we cannot quite subscribe to the opinion of Macaulay, that he exhibited rare talents for war: and the assertion of that talented writer, that Clive was the only man, except Napoleon, who had ever at so early an age, given equal proof of talents for war, can only have arisen from his own want of military experience.

How Clive landed below Budge-Budge; how he lost his route in the jungles, through the ignorance or treachery of his guides; how he was attacked, when sleeping on his post in rear of the fort, by Manik Chund; how he subsequently defeated that officer; and how Strahan, the drunken sailor, took the redoubtable fortress of Budge-Budge—are all detailed in the narrative before us with much spirit and faithfulness.

Calcutta was soon reduced by the fire of the ships. Indeed there is nothing in all this warfare, as far we have yet gone, to equal even the feeble resistance, which our troops experienced in China. Thus the forts of Tannah and Allyghur, which mounted fifty guns, were abandoned without firing a shot; and, although a few rounds were fired from the fort in Calcutta against the advancing squadron, which killed nine men on board the *Kent* and seven on board the *Tiger*, yet as soon as the ships "took up their position, and commenced to return the cannon-'ade, the fire from the fort slackened, and the enemy, ob-'serving that Clive with the troops had nearly invested the place 'on the land side, abandoned the defence, and hastened to seek 'safety in flight." This was on the 2nd January, 1757, just fifty years after the death of Aurungzebe and the junction of the two Companies.

A force was next sent up to attack Hugly, and it was equally successful. After battering the town for a whole day, the place was assaulted and taken—the enemy flying, as soon as our men had mounted the breach. Meanwhile, intelligence had been received that war had been declared between France and England, and it was naturally anticipated that the French, who had then a considerable force at Chandernagore, would join with the Nawab at once against us. This led Clive at first

to endeavour to open negociations with the Nawab: and there appears to be no reason to suppose that any thoughts of permanent conquests were then entertained by the English, or that they would not have been perfectly content, if left alone with the successes which they had already obtained. It was however otherwise destined. The Nawab would not listen to their overtures, and gave orders to march immediately with his whole force to Calcutta. Fortunately no official information had arrived of the breaking out of hostilities between the French and English: and, as the former had then at Chandernagore no man of ability able to seize the crisis of affairs which was at hand, that nation let slip the great opportunity, which was presented to them, of crushing the English by joining the Nawab, and left him single-handed to deal with the haughty islanders.

On the 30th January, the Nawab crossed the river, a few miles above Hugly, with a force of 18,000 horse, 15,000 foot, 1,000 pioneers, forty pieces of heavy cannon, fifty elephants, and a vast assemblage of camp-followers. The position, which Clive took up, had he intended to assail the army of the Nawab, while on its line of march, was a good one: but we cannot see that he properly availed himself of the advantages of his situation. He encamped about half a mile from the river, rather in advance of Perring's redoubt, which stood near the site of the present Chitpore suspension bridge. His head-quarters were thus not far distant from the junction of the Dum-Dum, Cossipore, and Barrackpore roads. The army of the Nawab swept round his position; and, although Clive marched out with the greater part of his force, supported by six field-pieces, and commenced a cannonade, yet he effected nothing, and gradually drew off his troops. This was on the 2nd February: and so completely was Clive's position now surrounded, that the followers of the Nawab's camp spread themselves beyond the Mahratta Ditch, and proceeded to plunder the town. A sally from the detachment, posted at Perring's redoubt, quickly stopped the plundering: but mass after mass of the enemy had by this time established themselves in force, and entrenchments had already been commenced a mile and half to the south-east of the British camp, which were in such a state of forwardness as to be able from their batteries to bring a fire of ten heavy guns on Clive's army, when it advanced that day. We are disposed to criticize Clive's conduct in thus permitting the Nawab to get into his rear, between the Mahratta Ditch and the Salt-water Lake, and to occupy the whole

plain of Chowringhi, where his cavalry had ample room to act, and to fix his head-quarters in Omichund's garden, within half a mile or less of Perring's redoubt. Had it been Clive's intention not to attack the Nawab's force, when on their line of march, we cannot help thinking, that, had he himself occupied Omichund's garden, it would have been a much better position for his forces; as he would then have been able to debouch, either by the Dum-Dum road, or by the two causeways leading to the end of the Salt-water Lake, in any attack he might make on the Muhammadan army. By taking up his position at Cossipore, and abandoning the line of the Mahratta Ditch, he permitted the enemy to avail themselves of the advantages which it afforded them; and when Clive attacked the camp of the Nawab on the 4th, after wandering about on the plain for a considerable time, being bewildered in a fog, he had to lead his men to the attack of the barricade, which the enemy had formed across the causeways, and was, in so doing, exposed to the fire of the guns, which they had posted along the whole circle of the Mahratta ditch. Our military readers will at once understand the radical defect in Clive's position and tactics on this occasion, by considering that he had permitted the Nawab's force to get into the interior of the circle; thus he was compelled to act on the circumference, while the troops of the latter had the more easy task of acting on the radius of the circle, with a ready-formed ditch to protect their position. Clive, after moving round the Nawab's position, and forcing an entrance at the barrier on their extreme right, succeeded in gaining the fort about noon, having been harassed by the enemy's cavalry and artillery almost the whole way, and having lost three officers, thirty-nine Europeans, and eighteen sepoys killed, and eighty-two Europeans and thirty-five sepoys wounded—a greater loss than was sustained at Plassey. The greater part of this mischief was done by the enemy's guns, mounted on the ramparts, inside our own ditch. The enemy had, however, suffered very considerably, having, it was said, 1,300 killed and wounded: but possibly this loss was exaggerated. Orme, in his account, could not help seeing, that, had Clive advanced from Perring's redoubt, direct on Omichund's garden, the attack might have been more successful. We think Clive is much to be blamed for this rash proceeding; for he had still the command of the direct road, leading through Perring's redoubt to the fort, by which he returned to his position at Cossipore in the evening, and could, by that road, have easily got within the circle of the Mahratta Ditch, and thus attacked the Nawab in a direct line, instead of

leading his men round the circumference of the circle, exposed to the fire of all the guns mounted along its face. Captain Broome says of this attack, that it was altogether "a dashing affair, and the conception not unworthy of the *Heaven-born General* who formed it:" but we are doubtful whether he intends to express any great praise of the design, however bold may have been its execution. Although the spirits of our men were damped by the result of this expedition, yet its discouraging effect on the Nawab was much greater. He was astonished and terrified by the courage and intrepidity displayed: and, on the following morning, he sent proposals of peace, and drew off his army to the northward of the Salt-water Lake, to be out of the reach of so daring a foe. A treaty of peace was concluded, on very advantageous terms for the English: and the Nawab on the 11th commenced his march homeward.

Clive immediately turned his attention to an attack on Chandernagore, and sounded the Nawab, as to the views which he entertained of the meditated attack on the French. The Nawab was greatly incensed, and accused the English of breach of faith: but this did not deter Clive from crossing the river on the 18th, and marching against Chandernagore. The Nawab was too much in fear of the English to commence hostilities again in person: but he peremptorily forbade them to commit any act of hostility, and ordered the Governor of Hugly to assist the French. Upon this Clive desisted for the present, and the troops re-crossed the river: but, adds Captain Broome, "he did not ultimately despair of obtaining the Nawab's consent, for which the English agents, Mr. Watts and Omichund, were directed to apply." Things remained in this uncertain state for some time; and the English Council, who were evidently afraid to act in a hostile manner without the Nawab's consent, endeavored to patch up a treaty of neutrality with the French: but, Chandernagore being subordinate to Pondicherry, a difficulty arose, by which the negociations were broken off. This was unfortunate for the French: as the Affghan invasion, which then occurred in Northern India, alarmed the Nawab, lest an attack should be made on him from that quarter, and induced him to give the English a tacit permission to attack their rivals. They speedily availed themselves of this permission; and the *Tiger*, the *Kent*, and the *Salisbury* were chosen to attack Chandernagore by water, while Clive attacked by land. The difficulty of getting these large vessels, mounting from fifty to sixty-four guns each, up the river, and placed in position opposite the fort, was

considerable: but, that difficulty once overcome, the fall of the place could be calculated on as certain. The *Tiger* got into position at 7 A. M. on the 23rd March; and, by 9 o'clock, the batteries were silenced, their parapets destroyed, and a flag of truce hung out by the garrison, upon which the cannonade was suspended. We do not think that the land forces materially influenced the reduction of the place; for though batteries had been erected, which opened their fire at sunrise, it appears to have been of little effect; whereas one well directed broadside from the *Tiger*, on its coming into action, completely cleared the defences of the ravelin next the river. It is the number of guns, which can concentrically be brought to bear on one spot, and the vast weight of shot, which can at the same instant be hurled by them upon a fortress, that renders the broadside of a man-of-war so effectual: and here, as at Algiers, and, in subsequent times, at Beirút, the enemy found it impossible to resist the fury of its power.

A sum of £130,000 sterling was acquired by the capture of Chandernagore: and the way was now paved for the destruction of the Nawab. Ignorant and irresolute, that prince at one time flattered the English, and the next instant strove to attach the French to his person: but finally he dismissed Monsieur Law, who had been chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, and to whom all those, who had escaped from Chandernagore, had fled, and thus formed a considerable party. The Nawab thus detached from him all those, who had the most interest in protecting him, while, at the same time, he continually weakened the fidelity of his own subjects by his cruelty and licentiousness.

The crooked policy, which was pursued at this time by the chiefs of the English factory, does not necessarily come under review in a consideration of the military details of the campaign: but it would be unpardonable to omit all notice of the conduct of our officers on this occasion. It is difficult for us now to realize the position in which they were then placed; without any thoughts of conquest, they found themselves solicited and courted by the most influential parties in the province to aid in overthrowing a ruler, whom able historians have united in painting as a monster, and as one who had uniformly exhibited himself as hostile to the English and their trade. The temptation to aid in this meritorious work was too strong to be resisted; and the moral delinquency of Clive and his confederates consisted in their plotting the destruction of Suraj-ud-dowlah, at the same

moment that they were outwardly professing friendship for him. Clive was evidently led into these dishonourable negotiations by the representations made to him of the character and cruelty of the Nawab, and the chances which were afforded by the excited feelings of his subjects against him, for the recovery and extension of the English power and trade. We look upon it as unfortunate, that any treaty was made with the Nawab in the first instance, and think that full reparation should have been exacted for our unfortunate officers and men, who fell victims to his cruelty in the Black Hole. Had Clive taken a higher and a bolder tone, he would not have left this stain upon his memory, and the English could not have been reproached with unfaithfulness in their engagements.

Three months were consumed in negociations with the conspirators: and, on the 13th of June, the whole force, which had assembled at Chandernagore, commenced their route—the Europeans with the ammunition and stores in boats, and the sepoys marching along the right bank of the river. On the same day, Mr. Watts, who had up to this time continued on terms of apparent amity with the Nawab, made his escape from Múrshedabad, and, with the gentlemen who were at Cossimbazar, fled to Aghardip, and thence in a small boat proceeded down the river to meet the expedition. His flight overwhelmed the Nawab with terror. He had been about to attack Mir Jaffir's house, when he heard of it: but he immediately endeavored to patch up a hollow truce with that old friend of his grandfather, and strove to detach him from the confederation. The Nawab moved out with all his force on the 19th, but halted at Munkarah; and Clive with all his force had, the previous evening, arrived at the small fort of Kutwa, where he found sufficient grain to supply an army of 10,000 men for a year. The rains set in with great violence on the 20th; but Clive felt he had now advanced too far to retreat; and, after some hours of mature reflection, on the 21st, and in opposition to the advice and opinion of a council of war, he determined to cross the river, and attack the Nawab. His situation at that moment was not devoid of peril. At a distance of 150 miles from his ships, and without either support or reserves, he could but cast all upon one throw; and, if he lost, with a rapid river in his rear, he was sure to be annihilated. Notwithstanding these considerations, there is no doubt that he acted right, not perhaps so much in a military point of view, as in a political; for we cannot believe, upon a careful review of the case, that Clive ever coolly calculated upon engaging and defeating the

vast force of the Nawab with 3,000 men and six guns. He was merely to play his part in the coming action, and the conspirators were to do the rest for him. Thus we find Clive taking up such a position at Plassey, as enabled him to sustain during the whole day the ineffectual cannonade of the Muhammadans; and, although he kept up a fire from his own guns on the enemy, yet his anger, when Major Kilpatrick advanced to attack the enemy's guns, showed that he wished rather to wait upon events, than to strive to bend them to his purpose. The conspirators persuaded the Nawab to retire from the action; and then the whole native army, ignorant of the intentions of their chiefs, and suspecting that each man was more a traitor than himself, speedily fled from the plain. The small French force made a decided stand; but, partly from the fire of Clive's guns, and partly from the pressure of the crowd of fugitives, they soon also gave way, and Clive remained master of the field.

Ours is not perhaps a very flattering view of an action, which generally has been considered so famous: but we do not think the praise, which has been bestowed on Clive and his army for their intrepidity, misplaced, although the courage exhibited by them, was more of a moral, than of a physical, nature. Had Mir Jaffier not been a traitor, Clive would probably have been destroyed; and to compare this action with the victories gained over the intrepid Mexicans by Cortez, is to assimilate things which are totally dissimilar. There was no fighting worth speaking of; and had a mob of totally unarmed men of equal numbers been assembled together, they could scarcely have opposed less resistance to the English than the Nawab's army did; or, if moved by such an extreme panic, as was exhibited on this occasion, could they well have separated with less loss. We are told that Clive cannonaded a body of 50,000 men for a whole day; yet their casualties only amounted to 500 killed and an equal number wounded: while on his own side, there were only 23 killed and 49 wounded.

After the battle, Clive hastened on towards Múrshedabad, and, on the 29th, he entered the city; when all the arrangements were made for the installation of the new Nawab, Mir Jaffier Khan, and the payment of the different sums to the English leaders, and the army and navy. A sum of Rs. 72,71,666, in coined silver, was paid as a first instalment, and a large part of the force was employed in the welcome duty of escorting it to Calcutta. Many disputes however arose as to the proper division of the spoil; and, when some of the military officers drew

up and signed a protest, remonstrating with Clive for the part which he found it necessary to take, he instantly put them all in arrest, and sent the ringleaders to Calcutta. His conduct, in apportioning so much of the gifts of Mir Jaffier to Admiral Watson and the fleet, shows a generous nature ; and the following letter, to the officers of the army who remonstrated on that occasion, is characteristic of the man : —

GENTLEMEN,—I have received both your remonstrance and protest. Had you consulted the dictates of your own reason, those of justice, or the respect due to your commanding officer, I am persuaded such a paper, so highly injurious to your own honour as officers, could never have escaped you.

You say you were assembled at a council to give your opinion about a matter of property. Pray, Gentlemen, how comes it that a promise of a sum of money from the Nabob, entirely negotiated by me, can be deemed a matter of right and property ? So very far from it, it is now in my power to return to the Nabob the money already advanced, and leave it to his option whether he will perform his promise or not. You have stormed no town, and found the money there ; neither did you find it in the plains of Plassey, after the defeat of the Nabob. In short, Gentlemen, it pains me to remind you, that what you are to receive is entirely owing to the care I took of your interest. Had I not interfered greatly in it, you had been left to the Company's generosity, who perhaps would have thought you sufficiently rewarded in receiving a present of six months' pay ; in return for which, I have been treated with the greatest disrespect and ingratitude ; and, what is still worse, you have flown in the face of my authority, for over-ruling an opinion, which, if passed, would have been highly injurious to your own reputation, being attended with injustice to the Navy, and been of the worst consequences to the cause of the nation and the Company.

I shall, therefore, send the money down to Calcutta, give directions to the agents of both parties to have it shroffed ; and when the Nabob signifies his pleasure (on whom it solely depends) that the money be paid you, you shall then receive it, and not before.

Your behaviour has been such, that you cannot expect I should interest myself any further in your concerns. I therefore retract the promise, I made the other day, of negotiating either the rest of the Nabob's promise, or the one-third, which was to be received in the same manner as the rest of the public money, at three yearly equal payments.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBT. CLIVE.

We must rapidly pass over much of what follows in Captain Broome's work. A detachment under Major Coote was sent in pursuit of the French, who had fled to the northward : but they succeeded in making good their retreat, and took refuge at Benares : and the detachment, after suffering considerable hardships at such an inclement season of the year, and having advanced as far as Chuprah, considered it prudent to return to Patna, which they reached on the 13th of August. The immediate object of the expedition was not accomplished ; but it was useful as showing

the determination of the English character; and it was possibly the means of keeping the Rajah Ram Narain of Patna from openly joining with the French, or raising his standard in revolt against the new Nawab. The situation, in which this prince now found himself, was by no means agreeable. The great Hindu and Muhammadan leaders at Patna, Midnapore, Dacca and Purneah, together with Rajah Dulub Ram, the Dewan and Chief of the Hindu faction, were all more or less inimical to him: and those, who did not actually revolt, were only restrained from it through fear of the English: wherever this fear did not extend, revolts and insurrections arose. Such was the state of the province of Bengal for several years.

Meanwhile, Clive sedulously applied himself to raising and training a body of native infantry of a superior description—those formerly entertained in this Presidency having been very inferior. When he first landed, he commenced what was a new system in Bengal, and supplied the men, not only with European arms and accoutrements, but with similar clothing to that of the Europeans, and drilled and exercised them in the same manner. Most of the men so raised were Muhammadans; for the natives of the province did not make good soldiers, and the Muhammadans, who came from the Upper Provinces to seek service with the native princes, were a much finer race of men than the people of Bengal. Clive had already raised and equipped one battalion, and the organization of the second was steadily progressing. The judgment, which he shewed in the formation of this force, is worthy of great praise, although he was by no means the first person, who sought to raise a native force after a European model. On Clive's return to Calcutta, after arranging affairs at Múrshedabad, he first turned his attention to the state of the fortifications in Fort William, which had been commenced in the close of the previous year, and were progressing but slowly. He soon had the outline of the *enciente* completed: and, in September 1758, the ravelins and the covered way were finished.

The Court of Directors, previous to the receipt of the intelligence of their brilliant prospects in Bengal, and of how much they were indebted to the one leading man there, had appointed a new council for Bengal, making no mention at all of Colonel Clive; but, when the orders came out, it was felt that it would have been highly injudicious to act upon them, and Clive continued at the head of the Government. The time was indeed critical: and few could have been found in India, who would have ventured to undertake the responsibility which Clive did. He exhibited far greater qualities as a statesman and a ruler

than as a general, and has this great praise, that he never shrank from incurring responsibility. Had he at this moment left the helm, the ship would have speedily foundered; the French would have triumphed at Madras, or the Dutch might have driven us from Bengal. But Clive remained; and, taking advantage of the opening presented by the Rajah of Chicacole and Rajahmundri, who solicited the aid of the English against the French, he fitted out an expedition under Colonel Forde, and sent it to Vizagapatam to cause a diversion there, and thus indirectly to aid Madras, which was then hard pressed by Monsieur Lally.

The Marquis de Conflans, who commanded the French force in the Northern Sircars, had under him a European battalion of 500 men, with thirty or forty guns, 500 native cavalry, and 6,000 sepoys. On the other hand, Colonel Forde could only muster 470 Europeans, 1,900 sepoys, and six field-pieces; his ally, the Rajah, had certainly 5,000 foot and 500 horse, but they were considered a miserable rabble. The sepoys under Forde were better trained, and probably better equipped, than the French native troops; and they advanced with all the *prestige* of victorious troops, as some of them had assisted to recover or conquer Bengal. Forde landed on the 20th October; and, after some delay and much difficulty, having made his arrangements with the Rajah, he marched against the enemy on the 8th December. We extract the whole of Captain Broome's animated description of the Battle of "Condore:"—

Here Colonel Forde took up his position again, determined to be guided by the movement of the enemy. Condore was as far from the French camp as the old position at Chambole, but with more advantageous ground to advance upon, and with a village half way, which would serve for an advanced post. M. Conflans, imagining that the possession of this village was the object of the English movement, pushed forward with his whole force to anticipate this supposed intention; and he attributed Colonel Forde's inaction, in letting him seize this post without an effort, to a consciousness of inferiority. Fearing that the English might now attempt to regain their old position, he determined upon an immediate attack, and, hastily forming his troops in line, advanced towards Condore. His European battalion was in the centre, as usual, with thirteen field-pieces divided on their flanks; immediately to the left of the battalion were the 500 cavalry, and, on either wing, 3,000 sipahis, supported by five or six heavy pieces of cannon.

Colonel Forde drew up his force in like manner, with the European battalion in the centre, and the six field-pieces divided, three on each flank; to the right was the 1st battalion of sipahis commanded by Captain Knox, with half of the Madras sipahis; to the left, the 2nd battalion of sipahis commanded by Captain-Lieutenant MacLean, with the remainder of the Madras sipahis; extended on either flank were such of the Rajah's troops as possessed fire-arms, and the remainder of the rabble in the rear. Cap-

tain Bristol, with his party and four field-pieces, took post with the three guns to the left of the European battalion.

Both sides now advanced—the English steadily and deliberately, without firing a shot—the French moving more rapidly, but keeping up a hot cannonade from their artillery, as they approached. When they came near, the impetuosity of the French infantry carried them in advance of their guns; upon which the English halted to receive them, and both sides commenced a fire of musketry, which lasted for some minutes.

It so happened that, when the English line halted, the European battalion was immediately in rear of a field of Indian corn, which grew so high as to intercept them from the view of the enemy; but the sipahis on either flank were fully exposed. Colonel Forde, probably with a view of leading the enemy into the very error into which they fell, ordered the sipahi battalions to furl their small colours, of which one was allowed to each company, and to lay them on the ground. This circumstance, and the men being dressed in scarlet uniform, resembling that of the Europeans, for which the French were unprepared—the English sipahis on the Madras side wearing the native dress—led them to suppose that the Europeans were divided on the flanks; the French battalion, as their line advanced, instead of moving directly forward, obliqued to the left, to engage the 2nd native battalion, which they thus mistook for Europeans. When they arrived within the distance of 200 yards, they halted, dressed their ranks, and commenced firing by platoons. Colonel Forde, who perceived their error, rode up to the 2nd battalion to encourage the men to stand:—but the latter, observing the enemy's line of sipahis outflanking them to the left and gaining their rear, and being dismayed at finding themselves opposed to Europeans, began to fire in a hurried and irregular manner, and finally to give ground, retreating in the direction of the village of Chambole. Flushed with this success, the French battalion advanced rapidly, though in a disorderly manner, to follow up their advantage. Colonel Forde, who anticipated what would occur, had hastened to the European battalion, and forming them in line to the left, upon the left Company, commanded by Captain Adnet, advanced and took the French in flank, just as they were clearing the field of Indian corn. As the several companies came up into their new alignment, they poured in a deadly fire of musketry upon the enemy, which did great execution. Half the French grenadiers went down at the first volley from Captain Adnet's company; and, being taken completely by surprise and thus roughly handled, the whole French battalion went about in great confusion, and hastened to regain the support of their field-pieces, which they had left nearly half a mile behind.....The French rallied at their guns, thirteen in number, which were scattered about the plain in details, as they had been left when the advance commenced; these guns opened their fire on the English, as soon as their own troops were clear, and killed and wounded several men. Captain Adnet fell mortally wounded at the head of the leading company; but the men were not to be denied: the enemy's fire only induced them to hasten to the charge; and, forming line, they rushed on with the bayonet, drove the enemy from their guns, and once more put the French battalion to flight.

The day, if not completely gained, was at least secured from reverse by the possession of the enemy's field artillery and the flight of their European battalion; but much yet depended on the conduct of the 1st native battalion. When the European battalion advanced, its field-pieces had been left with this corps. Encouraged by this support, and the spirit of their gallant commander, Captain Knox, the sipahis, though opposed by nearly four times their own number, stood their ground nobly; taking

advantage of the cover of some embankments in their front, they kept up a warm fire upon the enemy,—to which the latter replied with great spirit, until they saw their own European battalion driven from the guns, and in disorderly flight, when they also began to retreat. Captain Knox now advanced with his battalion and the six field-pieces, to join the Europeans. The enemy's right wing of sipahis and the cavalry had retreated, as soon as they saw the French battalion defeated, without making any attempt to follow up the 2nd native battalion—which, having rallied, also joined the advance. Colonel Forde now determined to push on, and complete his success by attacking the enemy's camp, to which they had all retreated; and he sent to the Rajah to beg that he would advance, particularly with his cavalry, which would have been of the greatest use in following up the broken troops of the enemy;—but the Rajah and all his force were cowering in the hollow of a large tank during the action, and could not be induced to stir.

Colonel Forde, having made his arrangements, now advanced with his own troops; but, the ground being very bad, the guns, drawn by bullocks, were unavoidably left considerably in the rear.

A deep hollow way passed along the skirt of the camp, behind which all the French troops had rallied, supported by their heavy guns, placed so as to command the line of advance. But just as the English troops had taken up their position to attack, and the leading company had stepped out to give their fire, the field-pieces came in sight—and the enemy, as if panic struck, went to the right about, and fled again in the utmost confusion, leaving their camp and the remainder of their guns in the hands of the victors; but the English following them up rapidly, many threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. No victory could have been more complete. The enemy were totally routed and dispersed. Thirty-two pieces of artillery, including seven mortars of from 13 to 8 inches calibre, 50 ammunition carriages, a large supply of shot and shell, 1,000 draught bullocks, and the whole of the camp equipage and stores were captured; 6 French officers and 70 Europeans were killed or mortally wounded, and about 50 more slightly wounded; 6 officers and 50 Europeans, rank and file, were taken prisoners, and the loss of their sipahis must also have been considerable.

* * * * * * * *

Thus ended the battle of Condore, one of the most brilliant actions on military record; which, however, is generally but little known or mentioned in the service; and, by a strange chance, not one of the corps employed has ever received any distinction for this most important victory, whilst the 1st Madras European fusiliers, of which not an officer or man, excepting Captain Callender, was present, have the word 'Condore' emblazoned on their colours and appointments. The corps, properly entitled to this distinction, are the present 1st Bengal European fusiliers, the 1st Regiment of Bengal native infantry, and the Bengal artillery. The 2nd native battalion is no longer in existence, and the Madras sipahis present were never organized as a regular corps.—*Pp.* 215-220.

There is a slight misprint in this excellent description of the battle; thus the French battalion is described as obliquing to the left, to engage the second native battalion, instead of to the right, which it actually did. This should be corrected, as it involves in obscurity an important movement in the action, and might puzzle a young military reader.

After this engagement, although the French force was still superior to that of the English, yet Colonel Forde did not hesitate to advance and fight his way to Masulipatam. He was delayed, however, for six weeks, in consequence of the vacillating conduct of the Rajah, and the difficulty in procuring supplies of money, cattle, and carriage. On the 28th January, the force at length moved forward, and on the 6th February reached Ellore; but Anundíraj still delayed them; so that it was not till the 1st March that he was ready to march from thence. On the 3rd March, Captain MacLean took the little fort of Konkale, where he met with a gallant resistance; and, on the 6th, the force arrived before Masulipatam. We have no space to extract the full description of the siege of this strong fort; but the determined conduct of Colonel Forde in reducing it, entitles him to the highest military praise. The garrison consisted of 500 European and 2,000 sepoys, independent of an army of observation under Monsieur Du Rocher; while the forces of Salabut Jung, Subadar of the Deccan, amounting to 15,000 horse and 30,000 foot, were actually on their way to raise the siege of the place:—

The treasure chest was completely empty. Colonel Forde and all the officers of the force had advanced whatever sums they possessed, and the prize money had been used and all expended in procuring provisions, whilst the troops were several months in arrears of pay.

Such was the condition of the English detachment—besieging a superior force, which was well supplied with all the means and material for defence in a place of acknowledged strength—themselves with the most scanty material, ill supplied with provisions, and entirely without funds; whilst the enemy possessed a separate force without the wall, which crippled their resources, and prevented the arrival of the money sent from Bengal; —in addition to all which, a powerful Army was advancing to the relief of the place.—*P.* 239.

Colonel Forde saw that the taking of Masulipatam was the main object of the campaign; and, like a good General, he sacrificed every thing to gain that vital point. By his authority, example, and influence, he quelled a serious mutiny amongst his men; he negotiated and temporized with Salabut Jung, who had advanced within forty miles of the place; and, just at the moment that his small stock of ammunition was almost exhausted, and his enemies were rejoicing in anticipation of his speedily falling a prey to the combined army of Du Rocher and the Deccan troops, he stormed and took the fort, on the night of the 7th of April. With 372 Europeans, and 700 sepoys, he took a place, containing a garrison, as shown by the muster roll of the previous day, of 522 Europeans in the battalion, besides nearly 100 European agents of the Company, officers, and merchants, and

2,537 Caffrees, topasses, and sepoys. One hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance were found in the fort, and a large supply of military stores, which were of great value to the English at the time. The conduct of our troops in the assault was admirable: the sepoys emulated the Europeans in gallantry, and to their conduct on this occasion, much of this brilliant success may be justly ascribed:—

When the whole of the attendant circumstances are considered—the numerical superiority of the enemy, the strength of the place, and the disadvantages under which the English force was labouring, as also the great importance of the conquest—few achievements on Indian record can be compared with this brilliant affair, which is surely deserving of commemoration; and it is to be hoped that the corps still in existence, which were employed in that assault, may, even at this late date, receive the distinction so justly due, and be permitted to emblazon the word "*Masulipatam*" upon their colours and appointments. These corps are the Bengal artillery, the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, and the 1st regiment of Bengal native infantry.

The apparent impossibility and rashness of such an attempt were probably the chief causes of its success: for the garrison was only waiting the arrival of Salabut Jung and the Army of Observation, to commence a concerted and combined attack upon the English force, which they already looked upon as completely in their power, and consequently treated all its efforts with perfect contempt.—*P.* 241.

Salabut Jung was astonished and surprised at the fall of the place. He re-advanced to within fifteen miles of it; but finding it impossible to retake it, he concluded a treaty with the English, and hastily retraced his steps—his presence being urgently required in his own dominions, in consequence of the preparations that had been made by his brother, Nizam Ali, to seize the Subahdari. Thus every thing fell out as Colonel Forde had hoped, and anticipated. The most effectual aid was given to the English cause by the capture of Masulipatam, and the French interests in that part of the country were entirely destroyed. We must pass over the rest of the gallant acts of this detachment: but we give our readers Captain Broome's admirable summary of the effects of this expedition, which returned to Bengal in March 1760:—

Thus terminated this brilliant expedition, during which the troops obtained all the objects contemplated, diverted the attention and means of the French from the prosecution of the war at Madras, gained one glorious and complete victory in the field, took one of the strongest forts in that part of India, captured upwards of 200 pieces of cannon, acquired a most valuable and extensive tract for the Company, drove the French completely out of the Northern Provinces, and destroyed their influence at the Court of the Nizam;—and all this, in the face of a superior force of regular troops, and in spite of difficulties and obstacles of the most serious nature. Viewed under all the circumstances attending it, and the results obtained, this may be considered one of the most successful and important expeditions ever

undertaken by this army, although the details have been slightly passed over by historians generally.—*Pp.* 249-250.

While Forde was assaulting Masulipatam, Clive was not idle in Bengal. The attempt of the Shah-Zadah, Alli Gohur Khan, to emancipate himself from the thraldom, in which, the now almost nominal Emperor of the Moguls was kept by the ruling minister, Ghazi-ud-din Khan, and to recover for himself some portion of the former power of his house, caused great alarm at Múrshedabad. His party meditated an attack on Bengal, and requested aid from Clive; but, when he refused to assist them, made overtures to Monsieur Law, and advanced as far as Patna, where the Prince strove to gain over to his cause, Ram Narain, the Governor of that place. This latter temporized and negotiated; but, when well assured of the advance of the English under Clive, he shut his gates, and defied the Prince; who, after assaulting the place, was obliged to retreat, about the very time that our troops were successfully assaulting Masulipatam. The English thus triumphed in both quarters at the same time: nor could Monsieur Law, on his subsequent junction with the Prince, induce him to return and renew the siege, although he engaged to take Patna in an hour; which might easily have been done, as it was by no means a strong place, and the main body of the English had not then arrived, but only a small detachment under a native officer. The French, in this instance, as in many other parallel cases, endeavoured to *persuade* their native allies; the English, on the other hand, usually acted for themselves with a much greater tone of authority, and thus *compelled* the wavering inclinations of the fickle races of Hindustan.

The next affair of importance which occurred in Bengal was the attack of the Dutch, which threatened the most serious consequences to the Company's establishment—if not its total subversion. Mir Jaffier was only too glad to find some power which he could use in opposition to the English, and he rather too eagerly attempted to treat with the Dutch Company, hoping through their assistance to coerce his too powerful allies.

In a former number, in the "Notes on the right bank of the Hugly," a slight sketch was given of the transactions, which took place at this time; but we must now partly again go over the same ground. In that account we stated, that the English under Clive, during a period of profound peace, captured the Dutch vessels proceeding up the river, and sent Colonel Forde to attack the Dutch army on its route to Chinsurah;—in short, that the English were the aggressors, and that Clive determined to defeat the projects of the Dutch at the risk of his

own commission. A closer and more searching investigation however shows, that the Dutch were the first to attack the English: and as this involves the great case of a breach of national faith, we notice prominently the account given by Captain Broome, as truer and more substantially correct than our own.

Clive never at any time hesitated at incurring responsibility, but in this case he incurred none: and although he wrote that he most anxiously wished, that the next hour would bring news of a declaration of war with Holland, yet the Dutch themselves relieved him from this source of anxiety by commencing hostilities. They seized seven vessels under English colours, transferred the cargoes and stores to their own ships, and made the crews prisoners. They also attacked the factories at Fulta and Raepúr, burned the houses, and destroyed the effects of the Company, and finally fired upon and destroyed the *Leopard*, carrying an express to Admiral Cornish. Hence Clive inferred that war had been declared; and he prepared for hostilities. We are well aware that Mill states that Clive was the aggressor, and that he explains away the acknowledgment of the Dutch council, that they were in the wrong, by stating that they did so to avoid expulsion from Bengal; but all the authorities are against Mill. Orme, Grose, and Caraccioli, the author of the *Life of Clive*, all agree in stating that the expedition was fitted out against the English by the Dutch, and that these latter took the initiative. The facts of the case also, when critically examined, shew clearly that this must have been the case. The Dutch ships arrived in the river in the beginning of October, and landed and committed several acts of violence: and it was not till the 18th November, that Clive took, and hoisted the English flag in Baranagore. Captain Broome says it was the 20th; but this is evidently incorrect, as the letter from the Dutch council, dated "Hugly, 18th November, 1759," states, that they had that morning received the disagreeable news. Clive certainly appears to have acted uncourteously towards the Dutch authorities at Hugly, as he does not appear to have stated to them officially that he would hold them answerable for the ravages committed by their fleet; but letters had been passing between the parties for two months, and they must have been well aware that Clive had a full right, by the law of nations, to retaliate for the injury done. When the Dutch fleet advanced, and refused to make any apology for the insult of tearing down the English flag, or to restore the English property they had plundered, Clive ordered Commodore Watson to attack them at all hazards. This order was promptly responded to in true English style; and three merchantmen attacked and defeated the whole Dutch fleet of seven

men-of-war, four of which mounted thirty-six guns each. This was on the 24th; and, early in the morning of the 25th, Forde marched to encounter the troops of the Dutch, which had been landed from their ships the day before the naval action. The Dutch had entered the river, eager, confident, and audacious. They were the aggressors, and not the English. They trusted in their great superiority both in ships and men: but they were bitterly deceived; for their fleet was captured in a couple of hours, the broad pennant of the Commodore of the Dutch striking to an English merchantman; and the next day saw their army routed, and the memory of the massacre of Amboyna obliterated in the carnage on the field of Bedarrah:*—

The action was short, bloody, and decisive. In half an hour the enemy were completely defeated, and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field, 950 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, whilst Colonel Roussel and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans, and 200 Malays were made prisoners. The troop of horse and the Nawab's cavalry—which latter did nothing during the action—were very useful in pursuing the fugitives afterward, which they did with such effect, that only fourteen of the enemy finally escaped and reached Chinsurah. The loss of the English on this occasion was comparatively trifling. The advantage of a skilfully chosen position, the effect of a well-directed and well-served artillery, and finally the aid of cavalry, all tended to render this victory so decisive and complete, in despite of the disparity of numbers.—*P.* 270.

The Dutch were now as abject in their submission, as they had formerly been insolent in their supposed superiority. Deputies were appointed on both sides, and a treaty was speedily arranged. In noticing this, Captain Broome has committed the error of following Mill, by saying, "The Dutch being willing to place themselves in the wrong," which is inconsistent with his former clear statement that they were the first aggressors.

Soon after this, Clive, whose health had for some time been failing, determined to proceed to England, and left in the February following. His departure was considered a serious evil by all parties, and, in the words of a contemporary observer, "It appeared, as if the soul was departing from the Government of Bengal."

We now come to the consideration of the very worst period in the whole history of the connection of the English with India. The large sums of money, which had by some been suddenly acquired, created an insatiable craving in the minds of all the Company's servants. The wealth of Bengal was considered to be unbounded, and the disgraceful method of acquir-

* This is the battle, which drew forth Clive's celebrated letter:—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow."

ing fortunes by the unblushing sale of the highest appointments was openly resorted to by those in power; while the whole class of inferior civilians, by means of the free licences given under the broad seal of the Company, battened on the prostrate carcass of their victim. Nor do the military annals of that period altogether redound to our credit: as we were defeated on several occasions, and the love of money bore its baneful fruit amongst the ranks of both the European and native troops. The Shah Zadah hovered on the frontiers. On the death of his father, having proclaimed himself Emperor, he, by this means, recruited his falling fortunes, and again, with more prospect of success, advanced to the attack of Bengal. He invested Patna, and defeated the army of Ram Narain, its Governor, consisting of 40,000 men; in which action, the small English detachment of Europeans and sepoys, amounting to 700 or 800 men, were very severely handled; all the European officers, except Dr. Fullerton, killed; and four companies of sepoys almost annihilated.

This Dr. Fullerton deserves more than a passing notice; he was a brave, amiable and skilful man, and his almost miraculous escapes must have been due to some more constant cause than the mere chances of war. On this occasion he brought off the men and one gun with the utmost skill and coolness; the ammunition waggon having upset, he deliberately halted his party, righted it, and resumed his march in the face of a numerous army, flushed with the conquest of 40,000 men. This officer again escaped, when the war with Mir Cossim commenced, and when Patna was retaken from Mr. Ellis, as suddenly as that gentleman had previously acquired it. He was also not numbered amidst the slain at the total defeat of our army soon after at Manji; and he and four serjeants alone escaped from the inhuman butchery at Patna, when upwards of fifty civil and military officers, then prisoners there, perished.

Major Caillaud, then Commander-in-Chief, speedily advanced to the relief of Patna, and, at the battle of Sírpore, defeated the Emperor's forces, but was unable to follow up his victory. Mirun, the son of Mir Jaffier, who commanded the Nawab's army, so clogged Major Caillaud's movements, that he was unable to effect any thing of importance; and had the Emperor, who manœuvred with considerable skill and boldness, only persevered in his original intention of marching on Múrshedabad, the campaign might have ended differently. After the battle of Sírpore, the Emperor gave our army the slip, and marched southwards; but, finding the river route to Múrshedabad likely to be intercepted by the English, he burst his way, through the then almost unknown and difficult

passes of the Rajmahal hills, and poured down on the plains of Bengal. At his approach, all was confusion and alarm. Major Caillaud pressed anxiously in pursuit, and, but for the indecision of Mirun, might have brought the imperial force to action. Nothing considerable was however effected, and the Emperor, not finding the support that he had expected in Bengal, retreated by the route he came, and hastened to renew his attack on Patna. This time, aided by the skill and ability of Monsieur Law, he pressed the siege with vigour, and was as ably and bravely repulsed by our old friend Dr. Fullerton and Rajah Shitab Roy, with their small but gallant band of sepoys. The place, however, must ultimately have fallen to superior numbers, had not Captain Knox fortunately arrived in time to save it. He had been despatched by Caillaud to aid in defending Patna; and had,in the short space of thirteen days,under a burning April sun, marched from Burdwan, a distance of 300 miles; having also, during the march, been obliged to cross the Ganges twice to avoid the Emperor's troops. The very day after his arrival, by a successful sally, he made himself master of the guns and stores of a considerable detachment of the enemy in the trenches, and infused so much fear amongst them, that in three days the Emperor raised the siege. He then followed up the Emperor on his retreat; and, undismayed by the formidable odds, he even crossed his little force over to the other side of the river, to intercept Kuddum Hossein, on his way from Purneah to join the imperial army, and successfully and gallantly encountered his large division near Hazipore, and compelled him to retreat with a loss of 400 killed, and eight guns taken.

Major Caillaud and Mirun, soon after this action, joined in the pursuit, and relieved Captain Knox: but an awful event now occurred, which at once brought our army to a halt. The young Nawab Mirun, as precocious in crime as Suraj-ud-dowlah, the victim of his former cruelty, was amidst his guards, courtezans, and slaves, suddenly arrested in the midst of his pursuit, and lay a blackened corpse in his tent, having been struck by a flash of lightning. His death was a cause of general rejoicing to every one, but Major Caillaud, in consequence of it, returned towards Patna.

Affairs in Bengal had now come to a crisis. The cruelties and exactions of Mirun, and the misrule that ensued on the one side, and the demands of the English Government on the other, had completely exhausted the treasury: and to the financial difficulties were added intrigues, cabals, and disputes amongst all parties. It was at this time that Mir Cossim came

prominently forward, and contrived, by the promise of seventeen lakhs and a half of rupees to the Council and their adherents, to get himself appointed Nawab of Bengal; and the old Nawab, not without some show of violence, was deposed. Mir Cossim was a much more able ruler than Mir Jaffier: but unfortunately he was too able and too haughty to act as a mere tool in the hands of the English, and he saw with bitter disgust that, by the ruinous system of granting free passes to all the English civilians, the country was on the brink of ruin. With all the fierce passions of a cruel and vindictive Moslem, he was yet far in advance of his countrymen in knowledge and ability. He was too discerning and too greedy of wealth to feel friendly towards a nation, whose chiefs and servants were revelling on the riches, which they wrung from the impoverished country; and hence arose the hatred, which he cherished against the whole race, and which he subsequently so fearfully indulged.

Major Caillaud was succeeded in the command of the army in 1761 by Major Carnac, who appears to have been a vain foolish man, without much military ability, and fond of show and pomp, and who, though superseded the same year by Colonel Coote of the Royal service, still retained command of the Company's forces. Violent disputes in Council now took place, Mr. Vansittart's party espousing the cause of Mir Cossim, and the opposition, that of his Dewan, Ram Narain, whom the Nawab wished to sacrifice in order to obtain his accumulated hordes. To the disgrace of the English, the Nawab was permitted to effect his purpose, and the treasures of this minister, who had so long been our ally, were appropriated to pay part of the long-pending accounts due to our Government—or its members. But Ram Narain was not to perish unavenged; and a vial of wrath was soon to be poured out, which in its sweeping destruction spared neither age nor sex, and caused the horrors of the imprisonment of the Black Hole to be temporarily forgotten.

The opposition in Council obtained the ascendancy by the recall of Messrs. Holwell, Pleydell, Sumner, and McGuire, who had all signed the intemperate letter, which Clive addressed to the Court previous to his departure; and thus Mr. Ellis, the most violent of the opposition, was appointed to Patna. This was in February 1762; and, within a year, matters had come to such a pass between the English and the Nawab, that both parties prepared for war. Mir Cossim had formed an admirably appointed army, better armed and drilled than any force the English had yet encountered. Monghyr was his principal depot: but magazines and manufacto-

ries had been formed in various parts of the country, and the guns, carriages, and ordnance stores of powder, shot, and shell, which they turned out, were little inferior to European articles; while the muskets, with which his infantry were armed, were found superior to the Tower-proof arms of the Company's troops. He had 16,000 cavalry, all picked men from the North-west Provinces, and a large force of infantry and artillery, under some able leaders. This army had also gained experience by a not unsuccessful campaign in Nepál, where the troops defeated the Nepálese in several actions, but, from the unexpected difficulties of the mountain warfare, thought it prudent to retire. The English force did not exceed 1,500 Europeans, including infantry, artillery, and cavalry; but their native force had been gradually increasing since the year when Clive first formed them in Bengal, and now amounted to about 10,000 men in twelve battalions. We give the distribution of this force from Captain Broome:—

At Patna four European companies of infantry and one of artillery, with three battalions of sipahis, commanded by Captains Tabby, Turner and Wilson, amounting, after making allowance for desertions, to about 300 Europeans and 2,500 sipahis; at Burdwan, two native battalions, amounting to about 1,500 men; in the Midnapore district, three companies of European infantry, a detail of artillery, a troop of Mogul horse, and two battalions of sipahis, under Captain Stibbert and Lieutenant Swinton, making together about 180 Europeans and 1,800 Natives; in the Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckipore districts, two native battalions, and the independent companies at Dacca and Luckipore, amounting to little more than 1,800 sipahis, with a few artillery men; at the Presidency, H. M.'s 84th regiment, five companies of the European battalion, the company of French rangers, three weak troops of European cavalry (two of dragoons and one of hussars), the Commander-in-Chief's body guard (a newly raised troop of thirty European cavalry,) one troop of Mogul horse, one company of artillery, a company of European invalids, and three battalions of sipahis, viz., those of Captains Broadbrook, Grant, and Trevannion; making together about 1,000 Europeans, and little more than 2,400 Natives;—these were stationed between Calcutta and Ghyrettie. Two or three companies of sipahis, in addition to the local companies, were at Cossimbazar; and a local company was stationed at Malda.—*Pp.* 357-358.

Events now rapidly progressed. Mr. Ellis having rashly seized Patna, and thus commenced hostilities, one of the Nawab's brigades as quickly recovered the place. Our party was driven but—was finally obliged to cross the river—and, after sustaining a total defeat at Manji, where numbers were slain, the rest of the force were made prisoners. During this time Mr. Amyatt and his party, who had been permitted to leave Monghyr, were attacked by the Nawab's order, as soon as he heard of the affair at Patna, and all made prisoners or slain. This was a most inauspicious commencement of the campaign;

our loss amounted to 300 Europeans and 2,500 natives, either killed or prisoners, and, as we have already related, the European prisoners were afterwards all massacred. Mir Cossim, in his letter to the Council in Calcutta, taunted them, that, although they had previously refused him 300 muskets, yet now that Mr. Ellis "*from inward friendship had supplied him with all the muskets and cannon of his army*," and that he trusted the Council would make good the loss which had been occasioned by this gentleman's attack; his own loss he did not care for, but, says he, "you must answer for the injury the Company's affairs have suffered." The Council retorted by proclaiming his old enemy, Mir Jaffier, Nawab, and inviting all officers in Bengal to resist and oppose Mir Cossim.

Notwithstanding this inauspicious commencement, no campaign has ever been more honourable to our troops in India than that which now commenced under Major John Adams; and, although we cannot quite agree with Captain Broome, that his achievements were on a par with the conquests of Alexander in India, yet still they were such as the Bengal Army has just cause to be proud of. At the battle of Gherriah, fought on the 2nd August, 1763, our troops were hard pressed, and one battalion was cut off and nearly annihilated; extreme gallantry alone retrieved the day, and, as in later and still more hazardous encounters in our own days, all opposition was finally borne down at the point of the bayonet. Well may we ask, with Captain Broome, why no distinction or record has been granted to the troops, who were engaged in this field, where we so strongly contested for the supremacy in Bengal? No action had till then been fought in this Presidency, of so desperate a nature, or where the result was so important. After the battle of Gherriah, two days were employed on the field in repairing the losses, and the army then advanced to Oodwah nullah, a strong pass well fortified, commanding the only road that existed in those days to the north-west, and extending across the narrow gorge between the Ganges and Rajmahal hills. In front was a morass, and the newly strengthened works were lined with 100 pieces of cannon, while the width of the pass did not exceed 100 yards. This strongly entrenched position was attacked, and taken by assault, very early in the morning of the 5th September, when a fearful scene of carnage ensued. Fifteen thousand are said to have been slain, chiefly from the dreadful confusion into which the enemy fell, and partly from their being unable to escape across the Oodwah, where numbers were drowned. Much loss was also occasioned from the orders given to some of Mir Cossim's gunners to fire on their own men. After this, our

army slowly advanced on Monghyr, and took it on the 2nd October. It was, when enraged with the loss occasioned by these victories of the English, that Mir Cossim gave orders to massacre the English prisoners, which was but too faithfully performed by the cold-blooded wretch, Sumroo; but the details are too horrible for us to relate.

On the 15th October, the army left Monghyr, and, on the 28th, arrived at Patna. This place was quickly invested, and, after some hard fighting, was taken on the 6th November. Mir Cossim now retired across the Soane. He had still 30,000 men with him, including Sumroo's battalions and a powerful body of cavalry, but he had lost all energy; and many of his followers began to desert him. He sent handsome presents to the Nawab of Oude, requesting permission to enter his territories; and, having received a passport from him, written with his own hand on a leaf of the Koran, he advanced in perfect confidence: but he was destined to be betrayed. Major Adams would not violate the territories of the Nawab of Oude without the orders of Council: and, as there was now no longer an enemy in the province, and his health had become much injured, he obtained leave, and returned to Calcutta, intending to proceed to England; but died at the Presidency, on the 16th January, 1764. We extract Captain Broome's noble tribute to the memory of that able and distinguished officer:—

Had Providence been pleased to extend his life, there can be little doubt that he would have occupied a conspicuous position in Indian history; but, as it is, amongst the numerous able and distinguished men, who have upheld the honour of the English arms in this country, there is not one, whose career of success is more remarkable than that of Major Adams. With a limited force, of the native portion of which the majority were raw recruits, ill-supplied with stores, and with an empty treasure chest, he ntered upon, and brought to a conclusion, a campaign against a Prince, who ossessed the most perfect and regular army hitherto seen in India, consisting of disciplined and well-appointed infantry, an organized body of cavalry, and an excellent park of artillery, manned by Europeans, with the further advantage of possessing every stronghold in the country, commanding the whole line of communication and supply—and last, though not least, possessing the regard and good will of the people, who, whatever may have been his other crimes, had reason to be grateful for the moderation and justice, with which they had been invariably treated under his rule. In spite of these difficulties, Major Adams, in little more than four months, made himself master of the entire provinces of Bengal and Behar from Calcutta to the Karumnassa—expelled Mir Cossim Khan from the country—dispersed his troops, having defeated them in two well-contested pitched battles in the open plain, against fearful numerical odds—carried our strongly fortified positions by siege or assault—captured together between 4 and 500 pieces of cannon, and supplied and equipped his army from the enemy's stores.

By these brilliant successes, he obtained every object of the campaign, and placed Mir Jaffier Khan in full possession of his Subahdari. An

examination of the details of these important events, as far as the limited information available will admit of it, tends to show how greatly these successes were attributable to the personal exertions, ability, and foresight of the commanding officer, which were nobly seconded by the conduct of his subordinates and soldiers, into whom he had succeeded in instilling his own gallant spirit and—that grand criterion of an able General—a perfect confidence in his plans and operations.

The greater part of a century of continued conquest upon unequal terms has accustomed us to success under the most adverse circumstances; but, notwithstanding the numerous subsequent instances of a similar nature, it is impossible to look back without admiration and surprise, upon this march of a handful of European and native troops, advancing in one uninterrupted course of triumph and success, through a hostile country, in the face of a numerous, brave, and disciplined army, marching over such an extent of country, in the most trying season of the year, and only ceasing their labours when there was no longer an enemy in the field. What were the boasted Indian Triumphs of Darius, of Alexander, or Seleucus Nicanor, with their powerful and disciplined armies opposed to unwarlike barbarians divided amongst themselves, compared to this single campaign? The conquests of Alexander in India, which are hallowed by our boyish admiration and the applauses of twenty centuries, amounted to this, that with upwards of 100,000 disciplined troops, inured to conquest, he invaded the Punjab and defeated in detail the seven separate nations occupying that territory, not one of which could probably muster so numerous a force as Mir Cossim Khan, and certainly not half so formidable an one, even making every allowance for the difference of times and the changes in the system of warfare. But what is this compared with Major Adams, who with a force less than one-twentieth of that amount, traversed as great an extent of country with even more complete success, under much more pow erful opposition? Strip these early records of the classical and romantic prestige that envelopes them, and we shall find that the most wonderful amongst them fall far short of the deeds performed by a handful of Englishmen in modern days, who with the most limited means have conquered and maintained a powerful and wealthy Empire, into which the ancients, with their numerous armies and immense resources, were proud to have conducted a few fruitless inroads.

Amongst all these modern acts of moral and physical daring, we find a pre-eminent place occupied by that small but heroic band who fought and conquered under the able and gallant John Adams.—*Pp.* 405-406.

During the period of hostilities, which we have been recording, recruits, especially European, were enlisted without much discrimination. Thus numbers of Frenchmen and other foreigners were entertained, who subsequently became very troublesome; and a most serious spirit of mutiny was soon apparent, both amongst the European and native troops, who were even detected corresponding with emissaries from Mir Cossim Khan. The complaint made was, that a donation had been promised to them, which had not been paid. The mutiny in the European battalion, which was very serious, was finally quelled by the exertions of Major Jennings, and a prompt and liberal distribution of donation money; and this gallant officer was also mainly instrumental in restoring order

amongst the disaffected sepoys. Each European private received forty rupees, but each private sepoy received only six; and this was the cause of two battalions breaking out into open mutiny when the proportions were known:—

Clamour and discussion immediately arose in the lines; and, profiting by the example so recently afforded them by the Europeans, they resolved to endeavor to right themselves, and appeal rather to the fears than to the liberality of the Government. Accordingly, on the 13th of February, at 9'clock in the forenoon, in imitation of the Europeans, they assembled under arms on their several parades.

Captain Jennings, immediately that he heard of this, ordered the European battalion and the artillery to get under arms also, with a view of protecting the magazine and park, and further of preventing any communication betwixt the Europeans and the sipahis. The last precaution, however, was altogether unnecessary, for the Europeans were most anxious to show their sense of, and to atone for, their past misconduct; and the only difficulty was to restrain their violence, and prevent their falling upon the sipahis for presuming to follow the example they themselves had afforded. The European battalion was in the centre of the line, with the magazine and park in their rear, and the sipahi battalions were drawn up, two on either flank. Captain Jennings ordered the Europeans to load their arms, and also prepared two field-pieces for action; but gave positive orders that no violence should be used, unless an attack was made. In this state, both parties remained for some time, watching each other, when suddenly Captain MacLean's battalion *(the present 2nd Grenadiers)*, which was on the extreme left, setting up a shout, rushed down in an irregular body towards the Europeans, who had been drawn up in separate companies across the parade, with the park on their left, and two 6-pounders on their right. Captain Jennings, anticipating an attack, at first gave orders to oppose the advance of the sipahis; but, observing that they were moving without order and with shouldered arms, having apparently no hostile intention, he directed that they should be permitted to pass through the intervals of the battalion, if they would do so quietly. This was a nervous moment. The noisy and tumultuous advance of the sipahis left it somewhat uncertain whether they intended mischief or not; and to admit them in the midst of the ranks, was a dangerous experiment; whilst on the other hand, the discharge of a single musket would have been the signal for a general and fearful struggle, which must have ended either in the extermination of the Europeans, or the total dissolution of the native portion of the army, on which the Government were of necessity so deeply dependent. Several officers urged Captain Jennings to resistance; but he was firm, and repeated his order to let the sipahis pass unmolested. Still, the fact of contrary orders having been issued just before, and the feeling of the European troops at the moment, rendered him apprehensive that some violence or collision might occur. He rode along the ranks, exhorting the men to be steady and quiet, pointing out that the sipahis evidently only wished to pass through the intervals to the other flank; and he arrived at the right of the line just in time to snatch the match out of the hand of a subaltern of artillery, as he was putting it to a 6-pounder loaded with grape. The result justified his decision. The sipahis passed quietly through and proceeded to the other flank, where, on the extreme right, were posted their friends and comrades, the 2nd Burdwan battalion *(now the 8th N. I.)*, under Captain Smith, when the two corps went off together to the Karumnassa.—*Pp.* 420-421.

We have given this long extract from Captain Broome's interesting narrative, as it so well describes a most important crisis, which was happily terminated, and the two mutinous battalions restored to a sense of their duty, by Captain Jennings's exertions. He also altered the proportions, and granted the not unreasonable demand of the native troops, that their share of the donation should be made equal to half that of the corresponding ranks of the European battalion.

The army now came under the command of Major Carnac. We pass over all the details of his inglorious campaign against the combined forces of Mir Cossim, the Emperor, and the Nawab of Oude—merely observing that his Fabian policy neither suited the temper of the times, nor that of the men, who burned with impatience to signalize themselves, and thus wipe out the record of their late crimes. Had a more noble leader succeeded at once to the command of the troops, the painful scenes, which subsequently occurred under the stern, but impartial, Munro, might possibly have been avoided: and thus we cannot but think that Major Carnac, in addition to the disgrace which he afterwards brought on our army at Worgaum, has also partly to bear the blame of the mutiny which occurred at Manji.

Major Munro, on assuming the command in the middle of August, issued a code of minute and well-digested orders for the use of the army, and called the attention of all officers to the proper observance of their duty: he also saw to the enforcement of his orders, and, by a firm, and yet conciliating, course of conduct, gradually brought the army into order. We may judge of the state into which it had been permitted to fall, through the lax discipline of his predecessor, by the serious mutiny which arose amongst the sepoys, showing the urgent want of a strict and firm hand over them. The details of this mutiny at Manji are exceedingly graphic. The spirited manner in which Major Munro quelled it—how he brought the ring-leaders to a Drum-head Court Martial,—how, when the orders were given to blow those sentenced to death from the guns, the grenadiers claimed the privilege of suffering first, *as they had always been the foremost in the post of danger or of honour*—and how those gallant, but misguided men were permitted so to suffer—are all clearly detailed by Captain Broome, to whose work we must refer our readers for a picture of this most touching and harrowing scene, which caused a thrill of horror to run through all ranks, as the fragments of the bodies of their comrades fell scattered beside them on the plain.

This fearful spectacle raised murmurs amongst the troops;

but Major Munro, as intrepid and determined in action, as he was humane and considerate in feeling, notwithstanding the threatened opposition of the sepoys to the execution of the rest of the sentence, proceeded quietly with his duty. The guns of the European battalion and marines were loaded with grape, and, under penalty of instant destruction, the sepoys were required to ground their arms, until sixteen more of their comrades had in like manner suffered: which they did with firm and unmoved countenances. In a similar manner four men were executed at Moneah, and six at Bankypore; and we are almost at a loss which to admire most, the unflinching courage of him who executed, or of those who so suffered. That of both was admirable in its way; but the one was that of misguided and ignorant men, who were but too faithful to their fancied point of honour; the other that of a humane, but heroic and determined leader, resolute in the path of duty. Such men, under such a leader, might well be led to triumph at Buxar.

Major Munro was the Napier of those times. "Like him, he also considered that a light and well equipped force, confident in its discipline, and capable of rapid movement, was far preferable to a larger numerical army, whose movements were liable to be cramped by the necessity for a large establishment of baggage, stores and cattle, and whose efficiency in all respects could not be relied on." With such a force Major Munro quickly restored the prestige of victory to our army; took Rhotas; and, whilst the Nawab Vizir, who had learnt from the conduct of Major Carnac to undervalue the English, was indulging in luxury in his camp at Buxar, he rapidly advanced. By a skilful manœuvre, he crossed his force over the Soane on the 11th of October, and after a sharp skirmish of cavalry on the 13th, the main body of the enemy were encountered on the 24th, on the plains of Buxar. In this action, we had 857 Europeans, 5,297 sepoys, and 918 Mogul horse engaged, making a total force of 7,072; of this force only seventy-one were artillery-men, although the number of guns on the field was twenty-eight. The combined force of the enemy ten times out-numbered that of the English. Amongst them, instead of treacherous allies, were the disciplined battalions of Sumroo and Madoc, with field-pieces worked by Europeans, the powerful batteries of the Nawab Vizir's artillery, and the splendid Dúraní Horse. But combined forces invariably act together with difficulty; and the English, after a hard-fought action, conquered. Our loss in this battle was 101 Europeans and 847 natives, killed

and wounded; and when we compare this loss with that in the action at Plassey, where we had 1,100 European infantry and artillery in the field, and had only seven killed and thirteen wounded, it will be at once evident which was the more hard-fought and important action of the two. Yet a halo of fame encircles the field of Plassey, to which in no military sense is it entitled; and its victor has been lauded by numbers, who have scarcely ever heard of the far more desperate and glorious encounter at Buxar.

Previous to this action, Mir Cossim, whose treasures were exhausted, had been dismissed from the camp with ignominy, mounted on a tame elephant, on which he fled, to the westward, where, a few years after, he ended his days in extreme poverty and misery.

The battle of Buxar decided the fate of the campaign. A large booty fell into the hands of our troops, and four lakhs were received from the merchants of Benares, to save themselves from pillage. Arrangements were also quickly concluded with the Emperor, who was detached from the league: but the Nawab of Oude would not consent to deliver up either Mir Cossim or Sumroo. Whilst these negociations were pending, Chunar still held out. It had been twice assaulted in vain, as the steepness of the ascent to the fort enabled the defenders, who gallantly resisted, to roll down large stones on the assailants, by which numbers were bruised or slain; and, as the Nawab's troops were collecting again in force, the siege was temporarily raised. Major Munro went home this year, and resigned the command of the army to General Carnac, who was more successful in negotiating with the directors at home, than skilful in defeating the enemy in the field, and who had managed to get restored to the service, and to be placed in command.

Early in this year, the farce of nominating a Nawab to the Guddi at Múrshedabad was again enacted, as Mir Jaffier died in January, 1765: and a sum of about ten laks of rupees was received in presents on this occasion by the leading members of the Government. But such transactions were no longer to be permitted; the iniquity of the Company's servants in Bengal had now come to the full; and the proprietors of India stock, then a more influential body than at present, with an almost unanimous consent, determined to send Clive out again with full powers:—

The glaring and unblushing corruption of the Company's civil servants was to be put down with a strong hand, as also the whole system of the inland trade; a better administration of justice and revenue was to be

introduced, and a reduction in the expences of the Goverment effected, especially in the military department—*P.* 501.

Lord Clive landed on the 3rd May, and soon commenced his arrangements for reform in both the military and civil branches of the service. In this latter department, four gentlemen rapidly resigned; one was suspended; and one, accused of serious malversation, committed suicide. But as we are not now reviewing the civil, but the military affairs of those days, we pass on to notice the manner in which Lord Clive re-organized the army. This was now ordered to be divided into three brigades, each consisting of a company of artillery, one European regiment, and seven battalions of sepoys. The company of artillery consisted of seven commissioned officers, 102 Europeans, and a body of lascars to assist in working the guns. The strength of each European regiment was as follows:—

1	Colonel, commanding the whole Brigade.		
1	Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding the Regiment.		
1	Major.	36	Serjeants.
6	Captains.	36	Corporals.
1	Captain-Lieutenant.	27	Drummers.
9	Lieutenants.	630	Privates.
18	Ensigns.		

In those days all the field officers had companies: as the European force in India was originally raised in independent companies, which were afterwards formed into regiments.

The establishment of a battallion, consisted of:—

1	Captain.	30	Jemadars.
2	Lieutenants.	1	Native Adjutant.
2	Ensigns.	10	Trumpeters.
3	Serjeants.	30	Tom Toms.
3	Drummers.	80	Havildars.
1	Native Commandant.	50	Naicks.
10	Subadars.	690	Privates.

With each brigade was a rissalah of cavalry; and a fourth company of artillery was permitted for the garrison of Fort William. The ordnance, attached to each brigade, consisted of six 6-pounders, two howitzers, and twelve or fourteen 3-pounders. The professional reader will at once observe the great disproportion, which existed between the number of guns required for each brigade, and the strength of the company of artillery-men to work the guns. The Lascars of those days were, as artillery-men, totally useless. In Clive's whole system there is nothing so faulty, as the endeavour made to combine the duties of the artillery and infantry soldier; and nothing shows so clearly

that he had not that extensive and almost intuitive knowledge of the art of war, which some historians would lead us to suppose. Had Clive apportioned three European companies of artillery to each brigade, instead of one, or raised a distinct body of native artillery-men on superior pay to that of the sepoy, the guns could have been efficiently served, as each man would have been properly instructed in his duties: but when he continued the custom of allotting battalion guns to each native battalion, to be served by the men of the battalion, who had received little or no instruction in the art of "shooting with great guns," he committed, for a man of his supposed military skill, a great and unpardonable error.

The error, which he then committed of neglecting this, the most important branch of all modern armies, has continued to this day, and still goes on increasing: for it is an important fact, that the total number of European artillery-men in the Bengal army is now actually less than it was twenty years ago! It might have been supposed that the great loss at the action of Chilianwalla, and the protraction of the siege at Múltan, in consequence of the inability of the State to furnish a sufficient force of artillery for the army in the field, when compared with the brilliant results obtained in the subsequent action at Guzerat, where the proportion of artillery was more in accordance with the true theory of the art of war, would have sufficed to have opened the eyes of the Home authorities to the importance of this branch of the profession: yet, strange to say, it has not. The Punjab has been annexed, and various branches of the army have been increased: but that force, which is most required in time of war, and which requires the longest time to raise, drill, and instruct, has not been increased by even one man. Indeed, as we have said before, the number of both European and native gunners is now actually less than it was, ere our banners had been advanced to the station of Ferozepore. Facts and figures are powerful to convince even the most incredulous; and we therefore give the actual numbers. Five-and twenty years ago, the permanent establishment of native artillery-men was 1,664 privates: it is now 1,584. At that time, we had also three brigades of horse artillery; and the complement of European foot artillery was then 1,600 gunners: it is now 1,440. Nor in point of officers, although the number has been slightly increased, is it even yet in any proportion to the actual wants of the service. The spirit of the corps may have hitherto contended manfully in the hour of danger, to perform the full extent of duty required by the exigency of

the occasion; but is this just to either men or officers? Is it prudent? Or is it even a safe position for the Government to maintain?

It is possible that Clive was fettered by orders from home, in the organization which he made: but such an opinion does not agree with the full powers which, from the records of those days, it is said that he received. He may indeed be partly held excused on other grounds; for, except at sea, the full importance of artillery was then almost unknown. Few Generals, till the time of Napoleon, understood the full value of artillery: and the records of the war and sieges in Spain show that the English Government, even long after, in their continental warfare, would scarcely permit their favourite General, the Duke, to show what English artillery could do. The reason is plain. There is no royal road to knowledge, and it takes time to make even an artillery-man; nor could the officers in that corps be readily recruited from the ranks of the aristocracy. Could the fiat of the Horse Guards have at once converted the Life Guardsman, or the Captain of Dragoons, into a Captain of Horse Artillery, the scientific branch would have been popular enough; but as this could not quite be done with safety to the army, the artillery was comparatively neglected till modern days, when the more numerous armaments of neighbouring powers compelled us to pay more attention to so formidable a weapon. Clive therefore did but follow the usual custom of those days, in proportioning the strength of the different branches in the Bengal army; but, if he had the power to act otherwise, the organization, he made, proves little, either for his knowledge of the art of war, or for the merits of the system which he established. With this exception, however, we cordially agree with Captain Broome, as to the skill, firmness, and wisdom, displayed by Lord Clive, in the re-organization of the army, and the reform of the military services—one great point of which was, in both services, causing all officers to sign a covenant not to receive presents. The following extract shows how beneficial the reforms then introduced into the army were, and also how extensively they were required:—

> The army, by the new regulations, was thus placed upon a much more efficient footing. Each brigade was in itself a complete force, capable of encountering any native army, that was likely to be brought against it. The proportion of officers was considerably increased, especially, as regarded the higher grades and the staff; the division of staff officers was also better arranged; a more efficient check upon abuses was established; and the good effects of the change were soon rendered generally apparent. In an extensive reform of this nature, it was to be expected that some errors

and omissions would occur; but the more important of these were certain to force themselves into notice before long, and were capable of being corrected in detail. In the very first month it became apparent that some separate arrangements were necessary for the payment of the brigades, and Lord Clive, immediately after his return to Calcutta, laid before the Council a minute upon this subject, in consequence of which, a pay-master and a commissary of musters were appointed to each brigade. These duties were performed by civil servants, partly from an idea that a greater check would be established, and less inducement to connivance at fraud would result; but, in all probability, chiefly from the circumstance of the appointments being particularly lucrative, and consequently too valuable prizes to fall to the lot of the army. This system continued in force for many years, although there is little reason to believe that it was found an efficient one—the complaints of fraud and collusion between the pay-master, the commissary of musters, and officers commanding corps, being frequent and loud. The duties of both these departments being declared to be very heavy, deputies were subsequently added to each brigade. A military storekeeper, a commissary of boats, and a storekeeper of building stores, were also appointed in Calcutta, which situations were likewise held by civilians. The deputy Commissaries of the artillery companies had the charge of the brigade magazines. No army commissariat at this time existed, but all supplies of provisions, cattle, &c., were furnished by contractors, who, in their own persons, or those of their agents, were present with the brigades.—*Pp.* 543-544.

The operations of the army in the field, after Sir R. Fletcher succeeded Major Munro in the command of the troops on the frontier, including his pursuit of the enemy, the final dispersion of the army of Sujah-ud-dowlah, and the surrender of Allahabad to the British, are all clearly detailed by our author; but we must refer our readers to the work itself for details. We give in full the short account of the surrender of Chunar, which, under its brave old Killadar, so long held out, after the tide of conquest had swept past its gates:—

Major Stibbert lost no time in investing the place; and, having more extensive means than were available on the former occasion, the operations were carried on with great energy, and a much better prospect of success. More caution also was exhibited, of which dear bought experience had taught the necessity. Under the able superintendance of Captain Winwood, who commanded the 2nd company of artillery, and conducted the attack, three good practicable breaches were effected before any preparations were made for assault; and, when all was at length ready, the Killadar offered to surrender. This gallant old soldier, who had so ably resisted the former attack, would not readily have given up now without a struggle, notwithstanding the desperate state of affairs, had he not been compelled to do so by the mutinous conduct of the garrison, who, being greatly in arrears of pay and in extreme distress for provisions, refused to hold out any longer, or to serve a master, who had fled, and left them to perish by famine or the sword. On the 8th of February, the Killadar surrendered the keys of the fort to Major Stibbert, at the same time saying, with tears in his eyes, "I have endeavoured to act like a soldier; but, deserted by my prince and with a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you (laying his

hand on the Koran and pointing to his soldiers,) are witnesses, that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune."—*P.* 506.

Let those who think that native troops have no spirit, or may be insulted with impunity, weigh well the conduct of this brave old man, and reflect also on the following narrative of another officer in command of a small post near the site of the present cantonment of Cawnpore:—

At a little distance from the camp, was a small ghurri, or mud fort, with a ditch and a strong wooden palisade. This was occupied by a small party of the Vizier's troops, amounting altogether to only 14 men, under a native officer. This post was so insignificant as for sometime to escape notice; but, when its existence was discovered, Capt. Swinton was sent with a detachment to take possession of it. On arrival before the place, he sent for the native officer in command, and insisted upon an immediate surrender; to which the latter objected, except upon honourable terms. A discussion ensued, in which Captain Swinton appears to have lost his temper, and, in the most culpable manner, to have struck the native commandant, who was thus shamefully driven back to his post. Stung by this insult, the little party determined to sell their lives dearly, and made a desperate defence. The detachment under Captain Swinton was repulsed, and he was obliged to send for a reinforcement, with a couple of 6-pounders. The guns were now brought up to the gateway, which they blew open; but the entrance was barricaded within. Major Fletcher, hearing the firing, now came up, with Captains Goddard and Duffield's battalions and a party of bildars, who forced a passage across the ditch and over the walls; when, the defenders having nearly all fallen, the place was taken, but with a loss, in killed alone, amounting to more than double the number of the garrison.—*P.* 514.

Clive landed on the 3rd May, by which time the war was almost over, as on the 16th, Sujah-ud-dowlah sent a letter to Major Carnac, tendering his submission. Early in June, the army returned to cantonments; where Clive soon after proceeded to inspect them, and to have the covenants signed; and where he also arranged the treaty with the Nawab of Oude and the Emperor.

Captain Broome does not generally profess to give more than a passing notice of civil affairs, so as to connect the narrative; but we fully agree with him in the following remarks, which he makes, regarding Clive's treaty with the Emperor, whereby the Company acquired the Dewani of Bengal:—

The receipt of the Dewani, which completely changed the position of the Company in India, has been brought forward as matter of accusation against Lord Clive—more particularly, as he is stated to have determined upon it on his arrival at Madras, during his passage out. That he did so is not only probable, but very natural, and may be considered highly creditable to his judgment. It must not be forgotten, that the offer was by no means unexpected; or unprecedented. It had been formerly tendered by the Emperor as far back as 1761, and again in 1764, on several occassions. It is true that, in the first instance, the Court of Directors had approved of its refusal by the local Government; but circumstances had greatly changed since that time. The whole actual con-

troul of the provinces had devolved upon the British. It had become evident, that by their large military force, it could alone be maintained. The Nawab Nazim had gradually sunk into a cipher in the great account; and it was only subjecting the inhabitants to a double set of receivers and increased oppression, to leave the revenues to be collected by the durbar, for the use of the Company. On an impartial review of the whole transaction, it may safely be pronounced the most prudent, just, and—as regarded the inhabitants of the country—the most humane measure, that could have been adopted. It has also been urged against the illustrious nobleman, in whom the measure originated, that having decided upon it, he sent orders to invest the whole of his property in the Company's stock; but this only proves his strong conviction of the wisdom and advantages of the proceeding; and, as the Company's stock was open to all the world, there was no reason that he should debar himself from sharing in the expected benefits to accrue to it.—*Pp.* 531-532.

When Clive compelled the members of the civil service to give up their private trade, he reserved a monopoly in salt, betelnut, and tobacco—the traffic in which articles was to be carried on under the orders of Government by a committee, for the benefit of the civil and military services. Out of the profits, £120,000 was to go to the Company annually; and the balance was to be divided in certain proportions amongst the senior civil and military officers: but no portion of these allowances found its way into the pockets of the captains, or other junior officers. When, therefore, in the following year, the long debated reduction of the double batta was ordered, the senior officers, many of whom were friends of Clive, and had only lately joined the Bengal service, on the re-organization of the army on an augmented scale, did not so much feel the loss of the allowances, as their juniors in the service. Their situations, in fact, were already sufficiently lucrative, and their shares in the Inland Trade Society tended to remove all cause of discontent. This was, however, not the case with the captains and subalterns, who now suffered severely in their allowances, as compared with those of the former period. These men had been in the receipt of large allowances, and had, many of them, previous to the execution of the covenant, received at times from the native princes valuable presents. They had witnessed the retirement of some of their comrades with fortunes, drawn from those perennial streams of wealth, which were now to cease to flow. Some of them had, perhaps, hoped to retire themselves in a few years. All had in common aided in the conquest of the country, whence all this wealth was derived. All had hoped to partake in turn of the spoil; and, as few of them were personally friends of Clive, they looked upon his orders against the receipt of presents and the reduction of batta, as tyrannical and unjust. Hence arose the mutiny of the officers in the Bengal army, and their determination to combine, and oppose a passive resistance.

Nor can we be surprised, when we consider the state of those times, and the loose system which had so long continued. Nine years had not elapsed since the battle of Plassey; and the remembrance of the presents then received was fresh in the recollection of every one. The accounts of the booty received had been exaggerated rather than diminished, by the few years of plunder and misrule which had intervened; and the dazzling narrative was constantly repeated to fire the imagination of the youthful recruit on his arrival in the land of promise. But now they were "to bid a long farewell to all their former greatness;" the frost—the killing frost, had come to nip their blushing honours: and from a position of comparative affluence and independence, they were to be reduced to what (as they stated) would be one of ruin and misery. The blow was also doubly felt, as coming from Clive, who had himself benefitted so largely, when presents were allowed to be taken: and he, who had boasted that he was astonished at his own moderation in accepting only a quarter of a million sterling, now prohibited the receipt of a solitary gold mohur. Nor were the officers without extraneous support and sympathy. The civil service almost openly encouraged them, and subscribed largely to provide commissions for them in the royal service, should the mutiny fail; while the general feeling of the free merchants and other European residents in India was amply testified by the fact, that only two in Calcutta, and one or two in the Upper Provinces, could be found, who were willing to assist the Commander-in-chief by accepting commissions, which were freely offered to them.

Lord Clive, when at Múrshedabad, received a memorial signed by forty-one officers of the 3rd brigade, respecting the reduction of their batta, and the miseries that threatened them in consequence; but no suspicion appears to have existed of any combination, until the receipt of a letter from Sir R. Fletcher, announcing that the officers of his brigade seemed determined to combine. This was on the 28th of April. Next day, Captain Carnac, then with Lord Clive, received a letter signed "Full Batta," informing him that 130 officers in the three brigades had already lodged their commissions, and joined in an agreement to resign them, requesting him to do the same. This letter was laid before Clive. Other and more violent letters were subsequently received by other members of the staff from different brigades, all clearly proving, that the combination was general. We shall best convey to our readers Clive's sentiments and conduct on this occasion by the following extract:—

He saw at once that the combination was general: but his knowledge of

human nature convinced him that so considerable a number of men, actuated by so many various motives and principles, were not likely to persevere in a course, criminal in itself, and, in the event of failure, entailing certain ruin. He knew that a few of the senior officers had acquired considerable fortunes during the late campaigns, and to them the loss of their commissions might be a matter of comparative indifference: but he also knew that the majority were, on the contrary, entirely dependent on the service for support; and that, as the excitement wore off, and the crisis approached, they would naturally shrink from throwing aside their hopes of obtaining, not only an independence, but an actual subsistence. It was true that this very circumstance—were the Rubicon once passed—might render them desperate: and, enlisting the troops on their side, a general and fearful mutiny might ensue, which could only be suppressed by a powerful armed force from England, and even then the evils would be of the most serious nature. On the other hand, the slightest concession to a demand made in such a manner was out of the question. It was not only repugnant to the personal character of Clive, but would have been opposed to the practice of his whole career. Such a measure would have evinced the weakness of the Goverment, and the strength of the army; a lesson which, once learned by the latter, was not likely to be speedily forgotten. Similar opposition might be made to any future measure of Government with equal success; new demands might arise and be thus enforced; discipline and subordination would be at an end; and the civil government of the country become perfectly subservient to the military.

No time, however, was to be lost, On the 12th of April, Lord Clive formed a special committee, himself as president, and General Carnac and Mr. Sykes as members, in which it was determined that the demands of the officers should not be complied with: and an express was despatched to Calcutta, requesting the Council to write to the Madras Government, informing them of the state of affairs, and urging them to send round as many captains, subalterns, and cadets, as they could possibly spare, holding out every encouragement to the officers of that army, who should prove their zeal for the service, by coming round to Bengal.

A further resolution was passed, that any officer, resigning his commission, should be precluded from holding any place or situation whatever, in the Company's service.

Copies of these resolutions, as conveyed in the letter to Council, were forwarded to the commanding officers of the three brigades, with authority to make the contents known to their officers, if they considered that this proof of the firm determination of Government was likely to be attended with success.—*Pp.* 572-573.

Clive managed to bring the officers at Múrshedabad to a sense of their duty, and, with two exceptions, prevented their resigning their commissions. The efforts of the Council at the Presidency were also similarly successful with the officers in the immediate vicinity of Fort William. On the 1st of May, Sir R. Fletcher, at Monghyr, received the commissions of forty-two officers of his brigade. On the same day, the adjutant of the 3rd brigade sent to Sir R. Barker between fifty and sixty commissions from officers in his brigade, which, however, were imme-

diately returned by that officer, with an assurance that, should any of the officers presume to disobey his orders, the full penalties of military law should be put in force against them. He followed up this declaration by placing the adjutant in arrest, and forwarding him with three others to Calcutta by water. This determined conduct had the desired effect; and the rest of the officers continued temporarily to perform their duty without further question, although their resolution to resign remained unaltered.

Fully to understand the difficulties of Clive's position at this time, it must be remembered, that a large Mahratta force had moved down the Jumna to Korah; and Balají Rao, with a body of 60,000 cavalry, was preparing to cross that river at Kulpi. The death of the Nawab occurred also at the same time, and might have led to disturbances in Bengal. But Clive was fully equal to the emergency. He wrote to General Smith in the field, giving him full power to act, according as he might see occasion. He wrote to Madras for officers, and proceeded himself with all expedition to Monghyr, which he reached on the 15th. Sir R. Fletcher had by no means given a faithful picture of the circumstances, which had taken place in his brigade at that station; and his officers bitterly complained of his ill conduct and duplicity. "They declared that he himself had originated the combination, 'and artfully made tools of them in carrying out his private 'views of opposing Lord Clive's Government." One letter, which that officer wrote to Clive on the thirteenth, contained the following startling paragraph:—

> Some have been very troublesome, and particularly those whom I have all along suspected, and *whose confidence I used every art to gain in January last, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigade without giving any warning. I even went so far as to approve of some of their schemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge.*—*P.* 589.

Clive took no notice of his conduct at the time. On the 16th he harangued the Europeans; pointed out that the conduct of the officers was mutinous; that the ringleaders should suffer the penalties of martial law, and the rest be sent to England by the first available ship; and exhorted the men to orderly behaviour, until the arrival of other officers at Monghyr. He also distributed honorary rewards amongst the native officers; praised the sepoys for their fidelity, and ordered double pay for the men for two months. These measures were effectual; and the European troops, who had previously exhibited signs of mutiny, now gave three hearty cheers to the Commander-in-Chief, and returned quietly to their quarters. The officers, who had re-

signed, were ordered to proceed forthwith to Calcutta, and Clive started the next day for Bankipore and Patna, where, in Sir R. Barker's brigade, matters were quickly settled, as that officer was so universally beloved and respected.

The officers in the 2nd brigade, both those in garrison at Allahabad, and those in camp at Surajpore, had almost all combined to resign, which they did on the 6th May. Colonel Smith lost no time in communicating with the select committee, and his letter reached Lord Clive on his arrival at Monghyr. The officers in command of this brigade, confident of the fidelity of the sepoys, dismissed all the more turbulent of the European officers, and sent them down to stand their trial. Major Smith even threatened that, if they attempted to break their arrest, he would order the sepoys to put them to death. This spirited conduct broke the combination. Those, who tendered apologies, and whose characters had hitherto been good, were pardoned at once: and, with the exception of the ringleaders of each brigade, most of the subalterns were reinstated before the close of the year. Some were made to feel the consequences of their misconduct by the hesitation, which Clive affected to feel in restoring their commissions: and they not only lost their allowances during the interval of suspense, but many were superseded by officers, who had in the interim come round from Madras. To prevent any recurrence of such conduct, agreements were required from every officer not to quit the service under three years, or without giving a year's notice. The ringleaders were tried by Court Martial, and, with one exception, were sentenced to be cashiered. Some pleaded, that the court had no authority to try them, as they had resigned their commissions, and were not subject to military law; but this plea was not listened to by the court.

After the suppression of the mutiny, the conduct of Sir R. Fletcher came under review. This appears to have been bad throughout: and it was with general satisfaction that he was subsequently arraigned, tried, convicted of exciting sedition, and cashiered; nor did it much redound to the credit of the Court of Proprietors, that he was afterwards restored to their service, which indulgence he abused, by taking a prominent part at Madras in the deposition and confinement of Lord Pigot.

The volume closes with the retirement of Clive in the following January, and a well merited tribute of praise to that great man for his conduct in the Government. Whether some others might not have been found at that particular juncture equal to the performance of the part, which Clive so ably executed,

must ever remain undecided; but we may be very certain that, without some such able hand to stem the torrent of corruption, which then flowed in so broad and rapid a stream, the affairs of the Company would speedily have gone to ruin, and the cause of the English in India might have been lost for ever. Clive's conduct has, in some respects, not been sufficiently appreciated. He has been too much lauded as a soldier, and too little approved of as a statesman: but, the more the circumstances and the events of his Indian career are critically and minutely examined, the more noble will his conduct appear to have been, and his character more free from stain.

We have now followed to its close the interesting narrative of Captain Broome, and presented our readers with an epitome of his work, which we heartily recommend to their notice. We trust also, that he will speedily fulfil his intention of carrying on the history. It is the only work which contains a connected narrative of the military events of the period of which it treats, and so far, therefore, is complete in itself. As to the composition of the work, we are bound to say, that it might in some places be judiciously condensed, without omitting any necessary details; and it appears to us that the serial mode of publication, originally adopted, has rather injured than benefitted this volume. Some of the chapters might have been more conveniently divided, and the subjects, embraced in each, more skilfully combined into one picture; but Captain Broome has ably and faithfully performed the task which he appointed for himself; and the most carping critic must allow, that he has amply fulfilled his endeavour "to collect material with industry, to employ it with discrimination, and to narrate facts plainly and honestly."

We hope soon to meet with Captain Broome again, and we take leave of him now with regret; for the freshness and charm of the style, the minuteness and accuracy of the details, and the impartial and soldier-like spirit in which it is written, render this portion of his work, in our opinion, the most interesting book, that has yet been published on Indian Military History.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady; by Theresa Pulsky.* 2 *vols.* 8*vo. Colburn. London.*
2. *Hungary, and the Hungarian Struggle; by Thomas Grieve Clark. Edinburgh.* 1850.

The former of these volumes is a book to be placed on the same shelf with the touching memoirs of Madame la Rochejacquelin and Madame Bonchamps. Madame Pulsky had not, indeed, to endure the extremity of danger, misery, and horror, which those high-minded French ladies passed through: but if their trials were greater, the cause for which she endured was a far holier one. The struggle in La Vendee was for a false faith and selfish princes; that in Hungary, was for the dearest rights of a free and self-dependent people.

The history of Europe presents us with three examples of nations, temporarily enslaved by superior force, who have gloriously regained and maintained their freedom. In Scotland and Portugal, a disputed succession and a divided aristocracy were taken advantage of by a powerful and ambitious neighbour, to bring a distracted country under an iron yoke. In both, indomitable patriotism and intense national hatred toward the oppressors were the means—in the hands of the representatives of the ancient princes of the land—of breaking off the yoke of a people, infinitely superior in number, riches, and extent of territory, and nowise inferior in bravery. The struggle was decisive: the aggressor in both cases received a lesson, which effectually prevented any resumption of those schemes of conquest, which had ended in ignominious defeat. We hardly know whether Greece can be legitimately classed with these heroic examples. During upwards of four centuries, she bent under the Turkish yoke: yet, although roused to resist it, not by an impulse from within, but from *without*, she fought so gallantly and pertinaciously for her freedom, that the interference of foreign nations, which alone secured her the prize, must be looked upon, more as the interposition of a judge to award justice, than as that of a partizan to secure an advantage.

The close of the last century, which witnessed the judicial punishment of so many nations, beheld also the darkest and deepest of national crimes. Poland was torn asunder at the very moment, when she was most worthy of existence. The tyranny of her nobles, the immorality of all classes, and the anarchy of her Government—all called for retribution from the All-just, as well as the All-merciful, ruler of nations. But the instruments of His wrath heightened their own crime by punishing Poland, not for her defects, but for her determi-

nation of correcting them; not for her past tyranny, but for her newly established freedom; not for the confusion of her past elections and the evils entailed by the Liberum Veto, but on account of the danger to their own despotism, from the proximity of a constitutional and hereditary throne, a liberal aristocracy, and a free and thriving people.

The history of Hungary stands out in strong contrast to those we have named. She has never been *enslaved*. The Hungarians chose Ferdinand of Austria and his successors, as freely as any people ever chose a King—as freely as the Germanic Electors chose the same princes to be Emperors of the most Holy Roman Empire: consequently the continual never-ceasing struggle between a free people and their despotic princes assumed the party character of a domestic contest, rather than that of a unanimous national conflict for life and death against a foreign foe. A Hungarian magnate could serve the purposes of his lawful sovereign with far less violence to his honour and conscience, than a Scotchman of the fourteenth century could swear fealty to Edward, or a Fidalgo of the sixteenth could enrol himself among the courtiers of Philip II. Again, as the Austrian princes were truly the sovereigns of Hungary, the sympathy of foreign nations was in no wise roused. It would be expecting too much of the statesmen and diplomatists of England and France, to require that they should interest themselves in the domestic disputes of the Emperor and his subjects. Still less could foreign sovereigns be expected to forget the maxim of Frederick the Great, "mon metier, c'est d'etre Roi," and to form alliances with subjects, however just might be their cause against their King.

Only half of Hungary was free. Her nobles were probably the most patriotic in Europe; but then *they* were the Hungarian nation. The other half of her population were, like the Serfs, or Helots, deprived of all political rights, and could not hold a foot of land, until earth received them into her bosom. The great lesson, which nature teaches us, was unheeded. The equality between man and man, at his entrance into this life and his departure from it, ought surely to prevail, in some degree, during his passage through it. In all that regards their relations to God, all men are equal; in all that regards their relations to each other as human beings, desirous of kindness, claimants of justice, possessors of will, and owners of property, they should be no less so. The divinely appointed and most wisely ordered differences of station, of circumstances, and of enjoyment, are sufficient. Before God and the law, all men are equal. This had been forgotten in Hungary, as it was in France, in Germany, and in the West Indies—as it is in Asia, in Russia, and in the slave states of America. But the Hungarian nobles, whose fore-fathers, two centuries ago, had so fully understood toleration, that, while fighting for Protestantism, they did not expel the Jesuits, could not be blinded for ever, even by self-interest, to the

rights of others. The Diet of 1832 began to revise the Hungarian constitution. Before, however, we enter into the detail of recent events, we must take a glance at the past.

The youngest of the European nations, the Hungarians, more than any other retain the characteristics of the East, from whence they came. From their homes in Central Asia, they migrated to the shores of the Caspian; and from thence to the Black Sea, they rolled like a devastating flood over Eastern Europe. Attila shook the empire of Rome, as five centuries later, the second inundation of the same warlike race made the Emperors of Germany and Constantinople tremble. They are the only people, who can point to a social contract between their rulers and themselves, at the very beginning of their existence as a nation. Before their invasion of Europe, they elected Almos, the father of Arpad and his descendants, as their leader, or Duke, stipulating that, "if the Duke were to break the contract, he should be deposed, and cursed, and banished"—a very plain-spoken declaration—wholesome moreover, and often appealed to by their descendants. The Magyars, as the followers of Arpad were called, became the nobles, as the conquered inhabitants became the peasants of Hungary. Her first Kings were some of the best and most energetic, of whom any country can boast. Among them were St. Stephen, her first Christian King; Ladislas the Great, her chief Legislator; and "Koloman," the deformed, but far-sighted and enlightened Prince, powerful alike in mind and body, who, in the days of our William the Red, declared that "witches should not be punished—for *there were none!*"

The liberties of England and Hungary were secured about the same time. The Golden Bull of 1222, the Magna Charta of the Magyars, established the famous principles, on which so much of the subsequent fate of Hungary has turned, that "if the King 'or his descendants should despise the laws of the country, that 'then the Magnates and free men should be entitled to resist the 'authority of such a King, without thereby incurring the penal-'ties of high treason."

Hungary may be said to have entered the European family of nations in the time of Edward I. of England, by the election of Charles Robert of Anjou and Naples, great grandson in the female line of Bela IV. His son, Louis the Great, conquered Naples, to revenge the death of his brother Andrew, the prototype of the unfortunate Darnley, as the beautiful and bewitching Joanna was of Mary Stuart. What must we think of the charms and talents of her, who could prevail on the Pope to acquit her of the murder of her husband, on the ground that she had been bewitched. and who could induce the brother of that very husband to forego the indemnification, she was sentenced to pay for the expenses of the war? But the Hungarians suffered. The indemnity, which Louis forgave to the fascinating Queen of Naples, he raised from the peasantry, by granting a ninth of the whole agricultural produce to the nobles for ever,

as a reward for the sacrifices they had made during the war. Thus a woman's charms, a prince's momentary impulse, and things, which in common parlance are styled "mere accidents," often affect the welfare of nations. It is our consolation to know, that even these minute threads in the warp of human life are in the hands of Him, whose never-ceasing Providence rules the universe: and "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

The year 1414 was marked by a Jacquerie, as frightful in its character, and still more mysterious in its causes, than that which has so recently occurred in Gallicia. The Pope's Legate preached a Crusade: the peasants alone took the cross, and then turned their arms against the nobles. At this distance of time, it is difficult to assign the true origin of this outbreak, and to say positively, whether the peasants avenged the tyranny of their masters, or the priests the disobedience of their noble auditors. Probably it arose from a combination of both causes.

At the close of this century, the Hungarians, under the heroic Matthias Corvinus, overran Austria, and took Vienna. The battle of Mohacz in 1516—at which Louis II. ended his inglorious life, and by which Suleiman effectually broke the power of Hungary, which had so long been the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks—opened the way to the throne for Ferdinand of Austria, brother-in-law of the late King, and brother of the Emperor Charles V.

The end of the sixteenth century saw more than two-thirds of Hungary Protestant. The Emperor Rudolph, a thorough Jesuit, confirmed by his sole authority in 1604 all the laws in favour of the Romish Church, and forbade the discussion of religious subjects in the Diet. It might as well be forbidden in this present year in the British House of Commons. Upper Hungary immediately refused supplies; and the Hungarian cavalry swept up to the walls of Vienna. A peace was concluded in that city, securing perfect religious freedom to Hungary. But, after a short respite under Matthias, Ferdinand of Styria, the blood-thirsty and relentless tool of the Jesuits, ascended the throne; and the first man of note among the Esterhazys became his willing instrument. Thrice did that gallant warrior and enlightened statesman, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, compel the false Ferdinand to confirm the treaty of Vienna: but every advantage, gained by the Imperial arms during the Thirty years' war, was a signal to the wily Emperor for a fresh attack on the religious freedom of Hungary. He succeeded in destroying both the constitution and the Protestant faith in Bohemia: for he had sworn faith to his people, as priests swear fealty to Sovereigns, "with reservation of the rights of the Church."

Leopold I. marked his reign with the blood of the Protestants. They were obliged to fly in crowds to the protection of their Mussulman neighbours. Ferdinand II. and his son had been somewhat restrained and guided by the Counsels of Pasman, Archbishop of Gran, and Niklas Esterhazy; but Leopold had no

Hungarian advisers. He set blunderingly to work on unknown materials, and constant insurrections were the consequence. The story of the sufferings of the Hungarian Protestants, at the hands of the Austrians, is a tale yet to be told in the ears of indignant Europe. Notwithstanding this, Leopold prevailed (by the promise of a general amnesty) on the honest and credulous Hungarians, to settle the succession on the House of Hapsburg, and to abrogate that clause of the Bulla Aurea, which established the right of armed resistance. But though a clause may be erased (and probably the Hungarians are the only people whose constitution ever contained such a clause), yet the right remains inalienable. Macaulay tells us that, when the most bigotted Tories, the Cavaliers, and high churchmen of the restoration, who had strenuously maintained that no amount of tyranny could justify resistance even to a Nero, came in their time to feel the despotism of James II., their eyes were suddenly enlightened, both as to the lawfulness and expediency of resisting extreme tyranny by force. So it will ever be. It is an undefinable but an incontestable right—we might almost say an instinct.

Maria Theresa, the most popular and statesman-like of all the Austrian sovereigns, repaid the devotion of the Hungarians, to which she owed her crown, by every mark of confidence and regard, and appointed Hungarians to the highest offices. Her system was to maintain the constitution *without the Diet*, thus removing the strongest bulwark of liberty, without rousing the wrath of its short-sighted defenders. When the Diet of 1764 (the last she summoned after her throne had been secured) refused to regulate the relations between the peasants and their masters, she arbitrarily introduced her Urbarium, which accurately defined the rights of the peasantry. Her son, the "doctrinaire" Joseph, refused to be crowned King of Hungary, in order to be wholly unfettered by the coronation oath in his schemes for overthrowing the constitution. The upshot of his twenty years' reign of innovations was, that he left Belgium in insurrection; Hungary on the verge of it; and that, on his death-bed, he retracted every one of his ordinances, with the exception of the Toleration Act. His brother, Leopold II., attached the Hungarians more firmly than ever to his House, by solemnly recognizing their constitution and independence. This prince shares with Matthias, and Joseph I., the honour of being the only sovereigns, who acted honestly towards Hungary.

The late Emperor Francis was a prince of narrow mind and narrow heart, without education or imagination, and therefore, without sympathy; yet with a certain degree of affection for his precise and faithful Austrians, such as we all have for men after our own hearts, and which has given rise to volumes on "the paternal Government of Austria." He was like a despotic parent, who loves his well-trained little children, who only require bread and butter and dolls, and never ask for more; but who can neither endure, nor understand, the arrogance of his grown-up offspring, who justly require liberty both of thought and action. He had been thoroughly frightened by

the French revolution: and nothing makes a man so savage as past fear. He viewed progress as synonymous with revolution: and hence the petty vindictiveness, the mingled ferocity and meanness of his treatment of the Italian patriots, which he carried to such an extent, as to refuse to one of these unfortunate prisoners the solace of some books, which even Prince Metternich was anxious to lend from his own library. The lofty Maria Theresa had a heart to repay loyalty with love: but Francis could only appreciate servility. It is well known that he never forgave a complaint, however just, against a superior. Turnbull relates the case of an officer, who, feeling himself aggrieved by his colonel, represented his case to the Emperor: by whom he was justified by the eve, and returned, as it were in triumph, to his regiment: but, in a very few months, he was compelled to leave it, in pursuance of an order placing him on the pension list for life. Blind obedience was, with Francis, *the* cardinal virtue. No sooner was the peace concluded, than he forgot the loyalty shown by the Hungarians: no sooner were the Diets no longer needed to vote men and money, than they ceased to be summoned. He endeavoured to raise both troops and taxes by his arbitrary fiat, backed by force of arms, but was frustrated by the passive resistance of the counties.

In 1832 a reforming Diet once more sat. The policy of the Austrian Government, in Bohemia and the hereditary states, has ever been steadily to raise the peasantry and diminish the power of the nobles, by promoting commutations of forced labour into money payments, and endeavouring by every means to bring the peasantry under the immediate authority of the crown: but in Hungary, where the result would be to create another class, as free and independent as the nobles already were, the Government has sided with those of the Magnates, who obstinately opposed any change in the feudal institutions, or reform in the condition of the peasantry. In 1847, when the opposition, under Count Louis Batthiany in the Upper House and Kossuth in the Lower, obtained a majority, the immunity from taxation, peculiar to the nobles, was abolished; Transylvania was re-annexed to Hungary; the franchise was greatly extended; and municipal and other reforms—all having the same beneficial tendency—were carried through; solemnly ratified by the Emperor, on the 11th of April, 1848, and characterized, in the Royal speech, at the opening of the Diet, July 2nd, as "necessary to the progress and prosperity of the country."

In order fully to understand the subsequent events, we must bear in mind, that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. It was as distinct as Hanover from Britain; and not only was, but had been repeatedly recognized as, a wholly independent kingdom, with a representative Government. No imperial decrees are legal in Hungary, unless countersigned by the Hungarian ministry. The heir of the crown is not considered King of Hungary, until his coronation, at which he solemnly swears to maintain the constitution. Thus Joseph II., who refused to be crowned, is not reckoned among the Hungarian sovereigns.

The population of Hungary is about 14,000,000, of which nearly 700,000 are nobles, *i. e.*, free citizens and electors by right of birth. Every act of Government was discussed by the whole body of electors in each county, and their objections were brought before the Diet by the deputies, who, previous to April, 1848, were properly delegates, not representatives.

The French revolution took place in February. It had less effect in Hungary than in any other country, except our own. Kossuth, who saw its probable influence in Germany, declared in the Diet, March 4th, that the freedom of Hungary would never be secure from attack, until all the provinces of the Empire obtained constitutional guarantees. The revolution of March took place in Vienna, and Metternich fled on the 13th. In April, as we have seen, the Emperor ratified the acts of the Diet of 1847-48: but, at that very time, the Austrian ministers were secretly supporting the deputation of Serbs, Wallachs, Croats, &c., who sought to disobey and annoy the Hungarian ministry; as if Lord John Russell were to uphold Tipperary against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Croatia had been an integral part of Hungary, since the time of Koloman in the eleventh century. The Arch-Duke Stephen, Palatine of Hungary, called upon Baron Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, to explain to the Croatians, the acts which had just been ratified, and which ensured to them "*full* part in all the benefits of the enlarged constitutional liberty and equality of rights," of the Hungarians. The landed proprietors of Croatia were indemnified for the abolition of soccage (forced labour) out of the *Hungarian Crown Estates.* So much for the falsehoods propagated regarding Croatia having been driven to arms by the oppression of Hungary.

Our authority for these statements is the Emperor's own manifesto, dated Innspruck, June 10, 1848, addressed to the Croats and Sclavonians, in which Jellachich is accused of having *forced* the people by violence into hostile demonstrations against Hungary, of having seized the public treasure, imposed taxes illegally, and summoned the Croatian congregation, in defiance of the law, as well as of the Imperial Autograph Order, and in which he is deprived of all his dignities:—"All persons are sternly exhorted to renounce all sedi-
'tions, which aim at a separation from our Hungarian crown, and all
'authorities are commanded, under penalty of deprivation, to break
'off immediately all intercourse with Baron Jellachich and his ad-
'herents!"

The crafty policy of Austria is too little known to other nations. Few have read the incontrovertible proofs, that, in 1846, that Government excited the peasantry of Gallicia to assassinate their lords, in order to prevent the latter from joining the Polish insurrection; and that the dead bodies of the victims were brought in by the murderers themselves, and delivered up to the authorities at *ten florins a head.* We have now a letter before us, written by a Gallician proprietor, which speaks of the peasantry, as considered by the Government, as

"the saviours of the monarchy" in '46, and as consequently commissioned to supervise every action of their former masters. Another insurrection is feared. Few know these things:—alas! few care for them; for we are become Gallios, in regard to the sufferings of our neighbours. Few therefore are prepared to believe, that Jellachich was secretly ordered by the Emperor, or rather by the "camarilla" who managed the imperial puppet show, and at the head of which was the clever and intriguing Arch-Duchess Sophia (mother of the present Emperor), to act in open rebellion against his (the Emperor's) own legitimate Government, as King of Hungary. When Jellachich at last thought fit to appear at Innspruck (July 5th) to answer for his proceedings, the Arch Duchess Sophia invited him to tea. The Ban replied, "Imperial Highness, I am no longer any thing but Arch-traitor." Then said the Arch-Duchess, "My dear Arch-traitor, I expect you to tea." *Three days later*, the Palatine, in opening the Hungarian Diet, July 8th, speaking from the throne in the name of the King, denounced the insurgents in Croatia, as rebellious and guilty of sedition in declaring that His Majesty approved of their acts, and called upon the Diet to provide for the defence of the country. The Diet immediately voted a large levy, and passed the budget for 1848-49; and Count Batthiany went to Vienna to obtain the royal assent to these bills. But the battle, in which Radetzky overthrew the hopes of Italy, produced a sensible change in the love of the Austrian Cabinet. The royal assent could not be obtained! News arrived that the Ban had on the 1st September seized Fiume, and driven away the Governor and other authorities appointed by the Emperor himself, as King of Hungary. The Emperor, whose imbecility of mind from epilepsy is well known, wrote to the Arch-Duke Palatine, that he agreed with his Austrian ministry in their opinion, that he had "no right to sanction the propositions of the Hungarian Diet," or to grant the Hungarians a ministry of their own; and that the finances and army of Hungary must be confined to the Austrian ministers of finance and war;—an arrangement hitherto unheard of. This unexpected declaration astounded both the Palatine and the Diet; and a deputation was sent to Schoenbrunn to ascertain from the King, whether he recognized the laws of 1848, or not. As the deputies were assembled in the hall of the Hungarian ministry at Vienna, they were greeted with another *coup de foudre*, in the shape of an autograph letter from the Emperor to Jellachich, dated September 4th, reinstating him in all his dignities, and highly approving of all his acts. Still the deputation persevered. Their loyal and manly address was answered by the Emperor in faltering accents to the effect, that he would "sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to, and the *integrity of Hungary*." This took place on the 9th of September: and, on the evening of that day, Jellachich, at the head of 65,000 men, crossed the Drave, the boundary between Hungary and Croatia. The Palatine, having ascertained from Jellachich himself, that he had no written order from the Emperor, put himself at the head of the

Hungarian army, which only amounted to 8,000 regular troops. This step of the Palatine's was approved of by the Emperor. Count Batthiany, who was at the head of the ministry, directed M. Pulsky to represent to the Emperor the necessity of ordering Jellachich to withdraw from Hungary, so that all questions between Hungary and Croatia might be settled by arbitration: but, instead of this, the Emperor wrote to the Arch Duke to avoid any conflict with the Croatian army, now marching on Pesth. The Palatine, a Hungarian by feeling and education, gave up his post in despair and disgust, and retired to his German estates. The burning eloquence of Kossuth roused the whole nation to arms. The Hungarian regiments refused to follow the example of the German ones, who had gone over to Jellachich. The Austrian minister at war now threw off the mask, and ordered the surrender of Komarom (Komorn) to Jellachich: but the commandant replied that "the King legally conveyed his orders through his Hungarian ministry, and therefore no order could be accepted from His Majesty's Austrian ministry."

Another plan was devised. Count Lamberg was appointed "Commander-in-chief of all the troops in Hungary," with full power to *dissolve the Diet, if necessary*. This was in fact placing the country under martial law. M. Pulsky represented in vain, that this appointment would not be legal without the counter-signature of Count Batthiany. Count Latour, the minister of war, pledged his honour that he had no official relations with Jellachich. A few days subsequent, despatches from the Ban to Count Latour and others of the Austrian ministry were seized, and printed, and published, even in Vienna, acknowledging the receipt of stores, requesting more, and soliciting full recognition by the Emperor. Lamberg came to Pesth, in spite of all warnings from M. Pulsky and others, and was murdered by a mob, without there being the slightest ground for accusing any member of the Hungarian government of the remotest participation in the horrid deed. The Diet immediately passed a resolution for the seizure of the criminals. Batthiany went to Vienna, and resigned. Jellachich attacked the Hungarians on the 29th of September, and was beaten back by Moga. He retreated to Raab, and from thence to the Austrian frontiers, slowly pursued by Moga, whose object seemed rather to free the country from his presence, than to destroy him. He appears to have been actuated by that weakness, so often fatal in civil wars—an aversion to pushing his antagonist to extremity. It is founded on many kindly feelings, but is not the less a pernicious weakness. If war is necessary and just, it must be carried on without any compromise. This is the only way to serve one's country; and it is also the most merciful to all concerned. If Cromwell had not acted on this principle, he never would have restored peace to his country. If Cavaignac had not done the same, the fire, that burst out in June 1848, would now have been smouldering among the ashes of the French republic.

Two other bodies of invaders, amounting to 17,000 men, were

routed by the national guard. M. Pulsky received a letter from the Emperor, which stated "that his resignation, as under secretary of state, had been accepted by His Majesty." He smiled at its contents, for he had not offered his resignation. On the 3rd October, an imperial proclamation dissolved the Diet, and appointed Jellachich dictator of Hungary, placing the country under martial law. Meanwhile the Viennese were indignant at the advance of Jellachich—the soldiers were discontented at being sent against the Hungarians—the people endeavored to prevent their departure. They were summoned to disperse, and refused; the troops fired; the people returned the compliment; General Bredi fell dead, and the military were obliged to retreat with the loss of one gun. The conflict was resumed; and Count Latour was murdered. The Viennese Diet sent to Schoenbrunn to request the Emperor to recall the appointment of Jellachich, and to grant a general amnesty. The Emperor promised to fulfil their request the next morning—and, the next morning, fled to Olmutz! The Hungarians would not cross the frontier, until legally summoned. At last, when Prince Windischgratz bombarded Vienna, the Hungarian army advanced; but the city capitulated before their arrival, and the undisciplined Magyars were repulsed, and returned to Presburg. On the 28th October, the Hungarian bishop addressed the King, describing the dreadful cruelties and ravages committed by the Serbs. The Austrian General, Puchner, had desired all his officers to renounce the oaths they had taken to the constitution. The Wallachs surrounded 1,200 civil officers, and others, with their wives and families, who were on their way to take refuge in Enyed. These were mangled, mutilated, beaten to death, impaled. Upwards of nine-tenths of the whole were murdered. The survivors, mostly women, and dreadfully wounded, dragged themselves to the gate of the fort of Karlsburg, where the commandant of the Austrian garrison refused them admittance! The bishops, finding their efforts unavailing, issued a pastoral letter, calling on all the people to obey the constituted authorities, *i. e.* the Diet. The Wallachs and Serbs, like the Croats, had been stirred up by Austrian emissaries.

Hungary was menaced from nine points at once. She was in want of arms, gun-caps, medicines, brimstone, linen, &c., but nothing daunted. The committee of defence erected manufactories, which supplied all these wants. The unfortunate emperor, though weakened in mind and body by epilepsy, still retained so strong a sense of moral obligation, that, whenever the overthrow of the Hungarian constitution was advocated, no other answer could be obtained from him than "My oath, my oath; I cannot break my oath." His abdication was therefore determined upon; and his young nephew, the Arch Duke Francis Joseph, proclaimed in his stead. They then broached the doctrine, that the oath taken by a sovereign was only binding on him personally, and that therefore the young Emperor was free from all obligation towards Hungary; forgetting that the

same principle applied to the nation, and that, if the Emperor was in no wise bound to Hungary, Hungary was in no wise bound to him. On the 9th March, an imperial manifesto erased Hungary from the list of the independent nations of Europe, dividing its territory into five parts, separating Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia and Fiume from Hungary, and declaring the whole incorporated with the Austrian monarchy. The laws of 1848 were revoked, and Kossuth and the committee of defence outlawed. Perhaps so barefaced and so needless an act of perfidy was never perpetrated. The Diet declared that Francis Joseph could not be recognized as King, until he had taken the oath to the constitution, and been crowned according to the laws.

Gorgey was now commander-in-chief. Windischgratz was approaching with an overwhelming force. It was therefore deemed advisable to give up Buda. We will not dwell on the victories which followed, when Kossuth occupied one night the bed from which Windischgratz had fled in the morning, when Bem cleared Transylvania, and the Austrians were beaten six times in three weeks. But Gorgey, instead of pursuing his advantage, delayed and neglected all that should have been done. On the 14th of April, the Diet in a noble manifesto, worthy of being read and studied by all who can feel for an heroic people, declared, in manly and temperate language, that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine had forfeited the throne. Kossuth was named Governor of Hungary, and, with rare patriotism and self-devotion, offered to give up this, or any other, position, on which Gorgey might have set his heart. Kossuth wisely saw that the independence of Hungary was the point to be fought for; and he had no jealousy, either of the rise of another, or of the possibility of a military despotism. The brave Irishman, Guyon, plainly declared to Kossuth, that he would not fight under Gorgey, whom he considered as a traitor; but, under a more honest commander, he totally defeated Jellachich. It is inconceivable how even the confidence, natural to a generous and honest nature, could have so far blinded Kossuth's eyes to the treachery or folly of Gorgey's proceedings. On the approach of the Russians, whom the callous indifference of the other great powers had permitted to advance for the maintenance of tyranny, Gorgey, whose surrender had been spoken of as certain by Prince Wittgenstein, so far back as July 21st, declared that he could and would save Hungary—but only, if Kossuth resigned, and had him appointed dictator. Kossuth at once did so, and issued a proclamation, conferring the highest power upon Gorgey, and imposing upon the new dictator the responsibility of using his authority solely for the safety of the country. But Gorgey, having persuaded the army, that the Russians would return their arms, and march against the Austrians, as the Grand Duke Constantine was to be King of Hungary, surrendered at Vilagos on the 13th August, with 24,000 picked men, and an immense park of artillery. The tidings of the honourable treatment experienced by Gorgey and his officers, induced others of the Hungarian corps to surrender. Several stipula-

ted for "the same conditions that had been granted to Gorgey"—never dreaming that he had surrendered *unconditionally*.

Kossuth, Messaros, Bem, Guyon, Dembinsky, and others fled to Turkey. Klapka surrendered Komarom on honorable terms, which, it is needless to say, were grossly violated. *Then* the Austrian Government thought the time was come for revenge: and Haynau, who had so notoriously disgraced himself by cowardice, that the Russian Generals refused to act with him, became the willing executioner. On the 6th of October, 1849, four Generals were shot in Arad; eleven more were hanged. Among them was General Anlich, who, when asked for his defence, replied—"In July, 1848, by the order of the Emperor Francis, King of Hungary, I swore to the Hungarian constitution, and therefore I have remained true to my oath. I prefer death to perjury." The last was the gallant Damianics, hardly yet able to support himself on his broken leg. He had to witness the execution of twelve comrades. He said to an Austrian officer—"Ever the first in battle, why am I now to die the last?" The noble patriot, Count Louis Batthiany, who had been treacherously detained by Prince Windischgratz in June 1849, when sent with a flag of truce by the Diet, was shot at Pesth, on the evening of that bloody day, though he had been acquitted by the first court martial, by which he was tried. Condemned on false grounds by an illegal tribunal, he fell with the cry, "Eljen hazam"—"Long live my country," on his lips. Numbers of other victims followed. Of those who were *spared*, the colonels were condemned to eighteen, and the majors to sixteen, years' imprisonment. The "carcere duro" of Silvio Pellico may enlighten us on their fate; all others were forced to serve as private soldiers. In consequence of these executions, many of the Hungarian aristocracy, who, during the struggle, had retired to Austria, becoming passive lookers on, and who, after the surrender at Vilagos, had accepted office from the Austrian Government, now gave in their resignations, and returned to their estates.

In looking back on the struggle, we feel it to be an incomplete story. The Hungarians, after proving themselves more than a match for Austria, were crushed by treachery and Russia. *Next time*, Russia may have her hands full. It is not to be thought of, now that the truth is known, that there should not be found one among the great powers of Europe to throw her influence into the balance on the side of truth and right. The Hungarians require a military leader; one, who for the time shall wield both the military and civil power; one, on whom all can rely, and whose pre-eminence shall be so universally acknowledged, as to be a security against all contest for power, or jealousy of authority. Such a one, the Arch Duke Stephen *might* have been: but he proved himself unequal to the position, having preferred his family to his country. That Hungary will remain enslaved long by Austria, appears to us an impossibility;

> For freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is *ever won*.

In giving (what we believe to be) a true and faithful account of the late events in Hungary, we must advert to a diplomatic weapon, which has been of great use to Austria. Was it not Fouché, who declared that a lie, believed for twenty-four hours, was a great advantage? But thanks to the general ignorance of our statesmen and diplomatists, both of geography and history, those, who wish to impose upon the British public, can generally reckon on a much longer period of credulity. One artifice has been very successful. Maps are usually copied from those published by the Governments of the respective countries. If therefore either Russia or Austria wishes to persuade the world, that such a territory is an integral part of her empire, she has only to colour her maps accordingly. Thus most people believe Circassia to belong to Russia (though the Russian boundary is the River Kubán, to the north of that country) and Hungary to be a part of the Austrian empire, because so say maps and manuals. Those, versed in the secret history of our own time, are aware that the ignorance of English statesmen in these matters has been calculated upon by the astute and well-trained Russians in more cases than that of Greece, in which the proposal of a perfectly indefensible frontier succeeded in causing Prince Leopold to decline the proffered crown.

Numberless have been the misrepresentations of Austria. Those, accustomed to despatches from the fabulous Hystaspes, will not bear hard upon Jellachich, for styling his retreat to Raab, "a flank movement," or upon the Austrians, for styling their defeat by Klapka at Tokay a "victory;"—though we might enquire why they *retreated* immediately afterwards; and we can smile at their describing the successful relief of Komoron as a manœuvre, by which the Austrian General succeeded in forcing the Hungarian troops into the besieged fortress. We will not even notice their scurrilous personalities against Kossuth and the other patriots: but it is necessary to point out, that they not only accused Hungary of oppressing Croatia (how truly we have already seen), but they have represented this gallant struggle sometimes as "a *Polish* insurrection," incited, and carried on by Poles—and this, when even Prince Wittgenstein reckoned the Hungarian insurgents at 140,000; and sometimes as a war carried on by the nobles for the purpose of enslaving the people! And many of our gôbemouche countrymen believed them! We do not hesitate to affirm that a more barefaced lie was never forced down the throats of a gullible public, and that a more thoroughly national contest never took place.

And now a word of our authoress. We have left her out of sight, and we are inclined to complain of her for doing pretty much the same in her book. Her readers long to hear more of her, and her high minded husband. A young delicate and attractive woman, the only child of opulent parents, who had spared nothing to form her mind, or gratify her taste, she found in the ardent young Hungarian patriot, a man whose talents and heart were worthy of her own. The exclusive and borné society of Vienna had few attractions for so cultivated a mind. Circumstances, and perhaps a kind of presentiment, had thrown her

much into the best English society in Germany; and the tastes, thus excited, she found fully gratified in her new home in Hungary. She gives a delightful sketch of her life as lady of the manor, active without, happy within, with two lovely babes born in prosperity and affluence. Her third saw the light under far different circumstances. M. Pulsky, after taking a distinguished part in public affairs, was sent to England as envoy from the Diet; and there his heroic wife succeeded in joining him. The Austrian Government having had the meanness to confiscate not only her husband's property, but *her's*, they now owe their subsistence chiefly to the pen: and the young wife and mother now offers the spectacle of the gentle heroism, the indomitable courage, cheerfulness, and hope, which are often found even in the most delicate frame and retiring nature.

Mr. Clark's little work is the production of a young Scotch-man. It is written in a pleasing though somewhat grandiloquent style, contains a brief, but spirited and accurate, sketch of Hungarian history, and conveys very vividly the impressions, warm from the heart, of an intelligent and observant eye-witness.

Note.—The infamous Haynau has since been disgraced; and his latest public appearance has been as the Hero of the Brewery.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Boston. 1849.

The land of the Pilgrim Fathers is taking a high position in the department of Oriental studies, as the works of Stuart, Robinson, and others of the New England School show. The eagerness, with which German, the fount of modern philological science, is cultivated, has given a depth to linguistic research among the Americans, equalling, or even excelling, that in the mother country. While the British Government of Bengal gives little countenance to Oriental studies, which are so useful for acquiring a knowledge of the native character and consequently in the administration of justice, we see the genius of Orientalism pluming his wings in the valley of the Rhine, on the banks of the Seine, and now in a land trodden, not many centuries ago, by no foot save that of the roving Indian.

The American Oriental Society was formed in 1842, at Boston, for the cultivation of the Asiatic, Polynesian, and African languages; and, notwithstanding the obstacles arising from the immature state of American institutions, and the bustling activity of the people, it has made great way—the Missionary enterprise, commercial zeal, and the popular education of the country, adding to its ranks a host of supporters. Studies of an Oriental class are calculated to give a sobriety and enlargement to the American mind, which is in danger of adopting a frivolous tone from the multiplicity of periodicals, party newspapers, and works of light literature, which form the chief staple at present

of American reading. We are glad, however, to see that Yale College has a Professor of Sanskrit, who has given us, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, a *Memoir on Buddhism*, superior to all that has ever issued from England on that subject. He shows an intimate acquaintance with the most authentic works relating to Buddhism, and considers that Budha, like Ram, Raghu, &c. was an historical character, born B. C. 543, near Oudh, a Kshetriya by race. Like Muhammad, devoted to meditation in his youth, and like him zealous to proselyte, he selected Oudh as his Mecca. The author also notices the three great Buddhist convocations, which sent Missionaries to all parts of Asia, selected from their ablest men. One of them, Mahindra, was the son of the great monarch Asoka. A daughter of Asoka, also, is said to have founded monastic institutions in Ceylon.

The excellent notice of *Lassen's Antiquities of India*, makes us regret that there are so few readers in India, who can understand or appreciate Lassen's researches; for he is doing for the Antiquities and Geography of India, what has been accomplished by Bopp for its Philology. He has *done*, indeed, what only German industry could effect —so mastered the 100,000 Sanskrit slokas of the Mahabharat, as to shed a flood of light on the state of India, both social and religious, previous to the days of Alexander.

The American Missionaries, of whom there are 234 scattered over the East, have nobly co-operated, both by their literary contributions, and donations of books, to the success of this Society. The papers in the Journal on Arabic Musical notes—on Arrakan—on the comparative Vocabularies of the principal Negro Dialects of Africa—on the Zulu language—the translation of an imperial Barat, and the article on the present condition of the medical profession in Syria, are all written by Missionaries, and are creditable to their talents and industry. Men, who edit works in thirty-eight different languages, fourteen of which were written for the first time by them, are important auxiliaries to Orientalism.

The Society proposes submitting a series of questions on Oriental subjects to various American Residents and Missionaries in the East, in order to elicit information, and direct enquiry to certain important points. This plan was adopted originally by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the form of *desiderata*. Another important object is "to promote the application of the study of classic authors to Oriental research." At Oxford, in the classical examinations, questions are frequently proposed on the connection between the Sanskrit and Greek languages. We trust indeed, that the day is passing away, which restricted the classical studies of youth to Greek and Latin, as if they had been the only monuments of antiquity. Arabic and Sanskrit literature are now advancing their just claims to a share of attention: and the increased attention paid to Hebrew in schools and colleges, and the spirit of philosophical analysis, with which philological pursuits are conducted, will gradually lead to the study of the

Eastern languages, as containing some of the noblest monuments of genius and the finest examples of acute thought. We cordially hail therefore the direction that our American friends are taking, and hope to see Oriental Societies flourishing far and wide in the land of Columbia.

Report on the Diamond Harbour Dock and Railway Company. Rushton.

This report is of importance at the present juncture, when an electric telegraph has been constructed between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. The report has been drawn up with great care and diligence by Mr. Simms. As it treats of a question deeply affecting the commercial interests of the great port of the Gangetic valley, and is probably in the hands of very few of our readers, we shall give a brief analysis of its contents.

The proposal to erect docks at Akra was rejected by Government: but, an English Company having brought forward the project of having docks at Diamond Harbour, Mr. Simms was ordered to report on it: and he has given his opinion decidedly in favour of selecting Diamond Harbour. Comparing it with Kidderpore, he writes :— "Kidderpore has no greater accommodations than Diamond Harbour 'in the landing, storing and securing of merchandize, with a much 'less saving in the Preventive and Pilot establishments of Govern-'ment, and without any saving at all in either the risk, or the charge, 'of the river navigation. By a railroad to Diamond Harbour, a day 'may be saved in the posts from Calcutta to Europe, to Madras, 'and to Bombay."

The Company propose to have a capital of one million sterling. Their plan is to make a railway to Diamond Harbour from Calcutta, with docks near the Hajipur creek, which has a depth of fifteen feet water—the rail to be made along the line of the present road. On this plan, Mr. Simms observes :—

"The ships are exposed to great danger in the river from storms, 'and the bore. The freshes are so strong at times, as to prevent the 'tide reaching Calcutta; and, in former days, before steam was em-'ployed, ships were frequently detained ten days off Garden Reach, 'without being able to get up to the city." The expense of a vessel of 400 tons, towed by steam from Diamond Harbour to Calcutta, amounts, for, steaming and pilotage to more than 900 rupees—a higher expense than even the conveyance of the freight of such a ship by the proposed railway. By a railway, the dangerous shoals of the James and Mary also would be avoided, which cannot be removed, as long as there is a confluence of three rivers, unless the stream of the Damúda be turned into the Rúpnarayan, near Tamluk, as is suggested by Mr. Simms.

Diamond Harbour had a bad name for unhealthiness; but that arose, perhaps, more from the reckless and intemperate habits of the sailors, than from the climate; for, during the last seven years, only one native has died out of eighty, that were connected with the Harbour Master's department there. The locality may therefore improve in salubrity, as Calcutta has done. Diamond Harbour has the advantage of being sheltered from the S. E. and N. W. monsoons.

The profits on the railway are calculated on 13,575 tons of merchandize at 2*d.* per ton, 10,000 passengers at 3 rupees each, 20,000 at 1½ rupees, and on one thousand ships, averaging 300 tons, at three rupees a ton, which are likely to avail themselves of Diamond Harbour.

Appended to the report are valuable tables, which elicit the following facts. The distance from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, in a straight line, is twenty-seven miles; along the centre of the river, forty-five; and, along the navigable channels, fifty. When a ship is not towed by steam, she takes on an average 3¾ days between Diamond Harbour and Calcutta, and, from April to June, five or six days. Only a small number of the vessels, which come to Calcutta, avail themselves of steam tugs; between 1832 and 1845, of 7,235 arrivals of vessels in the Calcutta port, only 1,082, or $\frac{1}{7}$th, availed themselves of steam. Out of the number of 885 vessels,* grounded between Calcutta and the Sand Heads, from 1835 to 1844, 327 were wrecked above Diamond Harbour, or $\frac{3}{8}$th of the whole number.

The late Mr. Greenlaw, a man of long experience in nautical matters, from a firm conviction that ultimately large ships would not be able to come to Calcutta, proposed to Government to select Tarda as the port, instead of Calcutta. A surveying vessel was sent there, but it was found in one particular place to be too shoaly. Tarda lies to the east of Calcutta, and was famous for its trade in the Portuguese times. The history of Bengal shows clearly, that the tendency of all its rivers is to become shallow, and to open out new channels in other directions. The Damuda flowed down by Nya Serai formerly. The Hugli, which now passes by Chandernagore, Serampur, and Calcutta, in former days flowed four or five miles to the west of these places, and, making a detour through Sankral Reach, passed into Tolly's Nullah, and so down by Barripur. The natives call the channel of the Hugli below Calcutta, the Khata Ganga, and attribute no sanctity to it, as, they say, it was not the original channel of the river. This changing of the channel, with the fact that the Hugli, like the Damúda, Bhairab, and other rivers, is filling up its bed—as is seen by the history of Chandernagore, which was battered in 1757 by a 60-gun ship, though no such vessel could now pass up—calls for serious attention on the part of the mercantile community, and affords an additional argument in favour of the plan of fixing the docks at Dia-

* There is surely some mistake in these numbers. They would give a wreck in the Hooghly for every three days!—Ed.

mond Harbour, with a railway communication to Calcutta; for, as Mr. Simms remarks, had the London Dock Companies the advantage of railways, when they began their excavations, they would never have made them so near London, but would have placed them at the distance of twenty or thirty miles. This proposed plan respecting Diamond Harbour therefore agrees with experience. We have an illustration of the benefits, that may result from it, in the case of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company, whose seat of business and mercantile agency is in London, while their docks are at the distance of sixty miles from it. In fact railroads alter the state of matters altogether; they have sent London "out of town," by enabling a great number of those connected with trade in it, to live at the distance of ten or twenty miles."

As the overland route to England is only a revival of a former route, so this plan of concentrating a large amount of traffic in connection with docks at Diamond Harbour is likely to be followed by the restoration of fertility and populousness to the Sunderbund districts, which, six centuries ago, according to Portuguese testimony, formed a portion of the garden of Bengal. Even the now desolate and wild island of Sagur contained, two centuries ago, a population of 80,000 people: but they were all swept away in one day by a mighty inundation: and this has been the fate of many Sunderbund districts. Tamluk, on the Rupnarayan, was a famous port in the days of the Romans: but that process, by which the rivers of Bengal are gradually silting up, was one of the causes that led to its ruin, the same as it did to that of the once proud and palmy Satgan, whose port could once float the largest ships, but can now give accommodation only to a Bengali boat. The first railway, ever projected in India, was one to Diamond Harbour; though the plan was abandoned, yet it evidently indicated, that the importance of Diamond Harbour was felt;—and we trust, therefore, that this proposal of Mr. Simms will meet with all due consideration.

A Treatise on Problems of Maxima and Minima, solved by Algebra. By Ramchundra, Teacher of Science, Delhi College. Calcutta. 1850.

It is with sincere regret that we are compelled to speak with very limited approval of the merits of this work, both as regards its object and its execution. The very nature of the problems of Maxima and Minima involves the idea, which is the fundamental one of the Differential Calculus; and, however it may be disguised, that idea must pervade all investigations of the problems. What then is the use of a cumbrous, and often inelegant, process of doing that without the Calculus, which, in reality, it is the proper duty of the Calculus to do, and which it does so much more simply and elegantly? We can see no advantage, in an educational point of view, in teaching

this cumbrous method of dispensing with the acquisition of that, which is at once so easy of acquisition and so worthy of it, as Taylor's Theorem. In any other point of view, the thing is equally useless. In actual practice, problems of Maxima and Minima never occur, except in investigations which, we may safely state, are never carried on by persons ignorant of the principles of the Calculus. Moreover, the author is in error, in supposing that he has succeeded in inventing a method applicable to the solution of *all* problems of the kind in question. His method may be applicable to all problems involving only algebraical functions; but these are in reality only a small portion of the problems that continually occur. Those that involve logarithmic and trigonometrical functions are left untouched.

While we are thus compelled to express our doubts, as to the utility of the object of the book, we cannot be much more complimentary as to the mode of its execution, which is, in general, clumsy and school-boy-like. We very gladly, however, exempt from this censure the "new method" of finding the value of a variable, which gives a maximum or minimum value to an algebraic function of it of the third, or any higher, degree. This is an original and neat application of a familiar principle; and had there been any utility in the application, and had the details of the application been as well executed, as the conception itself is ingenious, we should have been spared the task of expressing our disapproval of the work, and should have had, instead, the far more gratifying one of chronicling an ingenious device of one of a class of Mathematicians, in whose success we feel the liveliest interest. As it is, we state with much pleasure our conviction, that the mind, which formed this conception, is capable of far better things than are achieved in the work before us.

Our author gives two solutions of each problem; but the second is in every case no solution at all. It is merely a *proof* of the accuracy of the result; inasmuch, as it consists in assuming the unknown quantity as equal to the result obtained by the former method, with the addition of some indeterminate quantity, and then showing that that indeterminate quantity is equal to nothing.

Our author has laboured under a disadvantage, resulting from his distance from the press. A list of errata corrects ninety-two blunders; but a careful perusal of a considerable portion of the book warrants our saying that there are four or five times as many left uncorrected: and these not of trifling moment, but such as make absolute nonsense of the passages, in which they occur.

If these remarks should fall under the notice of Ramchundra, or any of the class to which he belongs, we trust that they will receive them as a token of the interest, that we take in their progress. We have spoken our sentiments freely, as becomes those who are engaged in researches on abstract truth. We have cheerfully accorded commendation, when we conscientiously could; and we have expressed our disapprobation as tenderly as our conviction would permit.

Selections from French Poets of the past and present century, rendered into English verse, by R. F. Hodgson, B. C. S. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co. 1850.

This handsome little volume has been for some time lying on our table, and we have had ample leisure to judge of its merits. These, so far as concerns the execution of the task, which the author has assigned to himself, are considerable. His verses are not only smooth and elegant, but sometimes rise to the level of genuine poetry, and always give abundant indication of a well-informed and highly cultivated mind.

But it was an unhappy thought to confine his selections within the narrow limits of French poetry, and to narrow these still further by restricting himself to the last two centuries. In the wild legends of Bretagne, in the spirit-stirring lays of the Troubadours, and in the more thoroughly French poems of the olden time, with much of the ruggedness of Nature, there is also much of Nature's freshness and vigour. The old poetry is very deficient in brilliancy and point, and would make an altogether wretched vehicle for declamation ; but in revenge, it contrives to enchain the interest and stir the blood, and is never stilted, vapid, or affected, like too much of modern French poetry.

The true poetical genius of France, during the 18th century, found voice in the noble tragedies of Racene and Corneille, and the eloquent and passionate prose of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The claims of Voltaire to high poetical standing are at the best equivocal ; and the much vaunted odes of J. B. Rousseau seldom rise above mediocrity. In that galaxy of genius, which shone on her Augustan age we have dramatists, satirists, and fabulists ; we have Moliere and Beaumarchais, Boileau, Delille, and La Fontaine—but not one solitary lyrical poem, that has become world renowned, or, indeed, that is worth reading or remembering. Mr Hodgson appears to have felt this ; for he has selected very sparingly from the poets of the 18th century—and, to say sooth, had all that he has selected been left out, his book would have been so much the better.

Lyrical poetry is more worthily represented in modern France ; and we, in more youthful days, have lingered with pleasure over the dreamy and sentimental pages of Lamartine, the more than American nationalities of De Vigny, and the graceful and elegant verses of Delphine Gay, Amable Tastu, and Madame Desbordes-Valmore. To our more mature judgment, however, but two names stand out prominently from the mass. They are those of Victor Hugo and P. J. De Beranger. Hugo is a man of genius, and has written a few fine lyrics ; but his fame will rest, rather upon his "Notre Dame," than upon his dramas, or minor poems. But Beranger is a *national* poet. His name alone, of all living French poets, is sure of immortality. He has been called the Burns of France, but except in the gift of genius, and in their intense nationality, these two great men are

utterly dissimilar. Unfortunately Beranger's happiest efforts are untranslateable, and, therefore, we suppose, Mr. Hodgson has not attempted any of these, although he has selected largely from Beranger. His selection, altogether, indeed, appears to have been made upon the principle, not of what was best, but of what was easiest; and we cannot accept it as a fair representative of what is highest in modern French poetry.

But it is not only with his choice of specimens that we find fault: his canon of translation appears to us altogether heterodox and unsustainable. We give it in his own words:—

> For whereas Prose may be defined as consisting of words and their meaning, so must Poetry be described. as words, and their meaning, *and something more.* It is that *something more* which makes poetry; it is the idea of the poet, which hangs, like odour round a rose, about his work; and this being lost,—if it were in any sort possible to dissever it from the words he has sung, they must pass out of their high class in literature into some other, and rank either as bad prose, or pure nonsense.
>
> Now there is only one way, in which that disseverance can be effected, and that is by putting those words literally into another language: the experiment is easily tried, and let those therefore who doubt, satisfy themselves. This I need hardly say, I have in my rendering necessarily endeavoured to avoid. Wherever the genius of the two languages permitted corresponding words to convey, with the charm of rhythm and diction, analogous ideas in poetry. I have been strictly literal; at other times I have paraphrased with greater or less freedom for the preservation of the poetic "*estro*" of the original; I have not scrupled to mask expressions, nor even to give the equivalent for thoughts, which might stand out in discordance with English notions of good taste; and I have allowed myself in all this to be guided by my instinct, as an ardent admirer of poetry, and, I trust, a capable appreciator of the genius of those whose works I have clothed in "our dames' tongue."

Now, while we allow that a literal translation of the *words* would in many cases be absurd, we hold that a literal translation of the *meaning* is the essential element of every good or true translation. If we take any great poet, such as Homer, or Dante, or Shakespeare, who, we may ask, will presume to paraphrase any thing of theirs "by instinct?" Or, taking them singly, what other individual in the world can pretend to the possession of their peculiar "*estro?*" Translations conducted on Mr. Hodgson's principle, have two great disadvantages; they have neither the merit of a faithful rendering of the original, nor the freedom of a good imitation. That Mr. Hodgson *can* produce at once good English verses, and a nearly literal rendering of the original, his version of the following litile poem by V. Hugo will evince:—

L'ETANG ET L'AME.	THE TANK AND THE SOUL.
Comme dans les étangs assoupis sous les bois,	As in some stagnant tank by forest's side,
Dans plus d'une âme on voit deux choses à la fois;	In human souls two things are oft descried;
Le ciel,—qui teint les eaux à peine remués	The sky,—which tints the surface of the pool
Avec tous ses rayons et toutes see unées,	With all its rays, and all its shadows cool:
Et le vase,—fond morne, affreux, sombre et dormant,	The basin next,—where gloomy, dark, and deep,
Où des reptiles noirs fourmillent vaguement.	Through slime and mud unnumbered reptiles creep.

In his translation of Beranger's "Le chant du Cosaque," he has

caught something of the true '*estro.*' We extract it, as a fair specimen of the book:—

THE SONG OF THE COSSACK.

O my courser, best friend of the Cossack, come forth
At the sound of the trumpet that calls from the North;
So intrepid in foray, so dauntless in fight,
May the dark death of hundreds thy prowess requite;
Though at present thy housings with gold do not shine,
All the booty I reap in the battle is thine;
Then neigh in thy triumph my old trusty steed,
And trample down people and kings in thy speed!

There's a farewell to peace, so that onward's the cry!
Of old Europe the ramparts all ruinous lie;
Come repose in yon mansions, where art is enshrined,
And my greedy hands fill with the treasures we find;
And again drink those waters, where twice thou did'st lave
Thy limbs, all ensanguined, in Seine's turbid wave;
Then neigh in thy triumph, my old trusty steed,
And trample down people and kings in thy speed!

Pent up and beleaguered, king, noble, and priest,
By a people, through wrongs, from allegiance released,
From the Cossack supinely assistance implore,
In the hope they will rivet their shackles once more;
So I've levelled my lance, and will ne'er lay it down,
Till I've humbled before me the cross and the crown.
Then neigh in thy triumph, my old trusty steed,
And trample down people and kings in thy speed!

By the tremulous light of the Bivouac fire
Did a phantom colossal gaze on us in ire;
And he thundered, "Behold of new conquests the day,"
And his batt'e-axe, westward, denoted the way.
Of the king of the Huns 'twas the terrible shade;
And by Attila's sons must his law be obeyed.
Then neigh in thy triumph, my old trusty steed.
And trample down people and kings in thy speed!

All the glory and pomp that old Europe can show,
All her knowledge, that shields not her breast from the foe,
Shall be lost in the waves of the dust-rolling cloud,
That our coursers around us shall raise as a shroud!
So in *this* fresh invasion blot out and efface
Every vestige of laws, and religion, and race.
Then neigh in thy triumph, my old trusty steed,
And trample down people and kings in thy speed!

Yet even in this spirited poem we must protest against the first four lines of the 3rd stanza, as a tame and incorrect dilution of the original, which we subjoin:—

Comme en un fort, princes, nobles, et prêtres,
Tous assiégés par des sujets souffrants,
Nous ont crié; Venez! soyez nos mâitres:
Nous serons serfs, pour demeurer tyrans.

Our next extract shall be his version of Arnault's famous little poem 'La Feuille,' which is sometimes wrongly attributed to Madame de Stael:—

THE LEAF—AN ALLEGORY.

Detach'd from thy protecting bough,
Say! withered leaf, where wand'rest thou?

Alas ! the oak from which I sprung
By raging storms was prostrate flung,
And ever since that fatal hour,
The sport of elemental power,
I'm whirled unceasing o'er the land,
By cutting blasts, or Zephyrs bland ;
Where the inconstant breezes blow,
Without complaint or fear I go.
From forest depths to arid plain,
O'er hill and valley back again :
For time doth not the rose leaf save,
Nor laurel bays that crown the brave.
For all on earth must pass away,
And Nature's changeless laws obey.

The following version of these stanzas was made many years ago, and is, at least, somewhat nearer the measure and meaning of the original than Mr. Hodgson's :—

Sever'd from thy parent bough,
Withered leaf, where goest thou ?
Nothing know I ; on the oak,
Which sustained me, fell the stroke
Of the rushing hurricane :
Ever since I wander ; still
At the wind's inconstant will ;
Over forest, over plain,
Down the valley, up the hill,
Onwards, without fear or pain,
Sweep I, with the breeze that blows,
There, where all things lay them down,
With the leaf from beauty's Rose,
And the laurel crown.

We close our extracts with the following beautiful little poem of Victor Hugo's, which Mr Hodgson has 'paraphrased' in his happiest manner :—

THE TOMB AND THE ROSE.

With those bright tears of limpid dew,
Which on thy leaves each morn I view,
What dost thou, flower of beauty, do ?
One day demands a tomb.

The Rose replies ; In stilly night,
With those sweet tears of pearly white,
Are fed my flowers of rich delight,
That all around perfume !

And what awaits, demands the Rose,
Those, at the eve of life's last close,
Who with their weight of sins and woes,
Are cast in thine abyss ?

All pass my portals, Death replies,
For every mortal being dies.
But from my womb they all arise
Angels of love and bliss !

We have scarcely done justice to Mr. Hodgson in our selection ; for some of his longer translations, especially those from Lamartine, are really admirable. But the crowded state of our pages warns us to conclude.

Observations on the Indian Post Office, and suggestions for its Improvement; with a Map of the Post Office Routes, and an Appendix of the present Postal rates and regulations. By Captain N. Staples, Bengal Artillery. London. 1850.

This is a seasonable pamphlet on a subject of great moment, and we trust it will do no little good in England. In these days of ours, little good is effected without "agitation:" and no little experience has taught us, that it is by agitation in *England* that good is generally effected in India. It would seem, indeed, that things are now ripe for Post Office reform in India; and we trust that ere long an effective measure will be adopted.

We remember to have heard long ago of a great drought, that grievously afflicted the people of a certain district. Whether it was merely local, or whether it extended over an extensive region, our memory is not charged withal; but at all events, there was a certain parish, whose inhabitants were very clamorous, and who saw nothing in prospect, but famine for themselves and their cattle, unless rain should speedily fall. In this emergency, as in all others, they had recourse to their minister. The worthy man assured those who applied to him, that he would certainly pray for rain, and that prayer would as certainly be heard, and the request as certainly granted, provided that one condition were fulfilled. That condition was, that *all the parishioners should be unanimous* in their desires for it. Of this the applicants thought that there could not be the shadow of a doubt. The whole parish had been crying out for weeks nothing but "Rain, rain;" and there was not a man, woman, or child in it who would not purchase the precious fluid at the price of half their substance. But the reverend man was not quite so sure as to the unanimity of his flock. "Call a meeting of the whole parish (said he) the day after to-morrow; then we will hear what every one has got to say; and if ye be, as ye say, all of one mind on the matter, then we will unite in prayer, and I doubt not but we shall receive the boon that we crave." The meeting was called; the parish assembled; one or two of the grave seniors stated the alarming prospect; and it seemed that there could be no difference of opinion on the subject. "Well, (said the worthy pastor) ye seem to be all of one mind on the matter; so now we will proceed to offer up our united supplications." "Wait a wee," said an elderly matron,—(the parish, we should perhaps have said, was to the northward of the Cheviots) "wait a wee—just till the day after the morn—I've a muckle washing to dry."

The application is all too easy. The newspapers have conflicting interests; and they, who are the recognized organs of public opinion, have their own "washings to dry." One has a large town circulation, and cannot bear that a *stamp* should be put upon papers, which are not to be carried by the Post Office at all, or upon those that are to be carried only a little way; but argues strenuously for a uniform *postage*, by which those, who now pay nothing, should still be required to pay nothing, and those, who now pay much, should

pay little. Another has a large circulation in the Mofussil, and is all for a *stamp*. And we believe it is, in a great measure, on account of the difficulty of settling this delicate question, that nothing has hitherto been done. For ourselves, having no interest in the matter at all, we are free to say that it appears to us that a uniform *stamp* is in strict accordance with the *principle* of Mr. Hill's measure, which, we believe, has given universal satisfaction in England, while it is certainly in contravention of the *details* of that measure, which have given no less satisfaction. People all rejoice that they can send a letter to any distance for a penny; but John Bull would doubtless utter a Stentorian roar, were he required to pay a penny for every letter which he sends by his own servant for delivery in the next street; and yet the principle is the very same, when he pays a penny for sending a letter from London to Richmond, (in order that he may enjoy the privilege of sending another if he likes from London to Panama for the same price.) He has been accustomed always to a stamp upon his newspaper, and therefore roars not, when it is reduced to two-ninths of its former amount. But it is unquestionable that our friends in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Mírut, Agra, Lahore, and wherever newspapers are published, would grumble not a little, were the price of their daily paper increased by 313 annas a year, in order that the price of the same paper may be reduced to their neighbours in the Mofussil by double that amount. Perhaps the best way would be to "halve the difference." Impose a uniform half-anna stamp, and a uniform half-anna postage. This would certainly not please both parties; but it would do what is perhaps next best in all cases where interests clash—it would displease both parties equally, and neither very intensely.

Captain Staples is a practical man; and his suggestions are worthy of serious attention on the part of the authorities; and such attention we doubt not they will receive. His remarks on the cumbrous machinery, that has been for so long a time employed to do what there is no occasion to do, and what the machinery itself does not do well, are, we think, thoroughly to the point. Altogether, the pamphlet is a good one; besides being, as we have already said, a seasonable one. Its value is greatly enhanced by the map of India, which is prefixed to it, and which is, as the auctioneers say, "well worth all the money."

Since this notice was in type, we see an effect of the pamphlet in an advertisement by the acting Post-Master-General, intimating the discontinuance of the system of registration, a measure strongly advocated by Captain Staples.

Recollections of India; drawn on Stone, by J. D. Harding, from the original Drawings by the Honorable Charles Stewart Hardinge. Part 1. British India and the Punjab. Part 2. Kashmir and the Alpine Punjab. London. 1847.

It is very well that gentlemen who come to India, should exercise the talents, which Nature and the drawing-master have given to them,

by sketching the scenery of this gorgeous land. Nor can we conceive any possible objection to their handing over their sketch-books, on their return, to a skilful lithographer, in order that copies may be multiplied for their friends, who will naturally attach a value to the productions of their pencils, *because they are theirs.* But we do lament over that feeling so prevalent in England, on which publishers reckon, when they can place an author's name on a title page, with the prefix of "HONORABLE." The son of a Viscount may be quite as good a draughtsman as the son of a shoe-maker; but we cannot, for the life of us, divine any reason why he should be a whit better. Yet we venture to say that the main inducement to the publisher to risk a large amount of capital on this sumptuous volume, was the prefix to its author's name. We have no sympathy whatsoever with those who cry down the higher classes of society. We believe that no class of men exists in the world, among whom a larger share of accomplishments is to be found, than amongst the families of the English nobility; and we believe there is just as much "snobbishness," (we need make no apology for using a word which Mr. Thackeray has rendered classical) in the Eton boy who glories in bullying a duke, as in the Oxford tuft-hunter who glories in fawning upon one. We are too well aware of the dignity of our vocation to follow the lead of either. *Tros Tyriusve*, who gives us a good book, shall have our very hearty commendations. Lord or commoner, who palms a bad or an indifferent one upon the public, shall get no countenance from us.

In the present case we must say, that the merits of the book before us, are almost all due to Mr. Harding, while its demerits are chargeable upon Mr. Hardinge. The difference, as a Scotchman might say, "is a' in my E." Mr. Hardinge draws well enough for ordinary purposes, but he has a singular infelicity in selecting his *points de vue.* To take the first view for example, that of Barrackpore—we venture to say that there is not any one person, among all who see the view, that will recognize it as representing the place whose name is attached to it. It is true that there is a river at it, as there is at Macedon, and eke at Monmouth; but where the Barrackpore river runs, and what are the ups and downs of it, we cannot imagine. In the river too there are boats;—and that such boats were never on the Hugli, we are not in a position to assert; but certainly we never saw any at all like them. Altogether we cannot in the least imagine whence the view is taken, or what part of the river it represents. When our artist has to do with buildings, his choice is more circumscribed, *and therefore* is not so infelicitous; but even then he has a singular taste for *back views.* Of the places that we have not seen, it is but fair to say that some make very agreeable pictures; and we are willing to believe that these afford a more accurate idea of the places themselves, than those whose fidelity our rather circumscribed travels enable us to judge of. They are beautifully lithographed; and, in this respect, the book is truly an ornament to the table of any drawing-room.

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